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THE NEW  
ANNUAL REGISTER,

For the Year 1804.



THE PRINTER'S MARK



THE NEW  
ANNUAL REGISTER,  
OR  
GENERAL REPOSITORY  
OF  
HISTORY, POLITICS,  
AND  
*LITERATURE*,  
For the Year 1804.

TO WHICH IS PREFIXED,  
PART I,  
OF THE  
HISTORY OF KNOWLEDGE, LEARNING, AND TASTE,  
IN GREAT BRITAIN,  
During the Reign of King William III.



LONDON:  
PRINTED FOR JOHN STOCKDALE,  
PICCADILLY.

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1805.



WILLIAM H. HARRIS

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## P R E F A C E.

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IN submitting to the Public the NEW ANNUAL REGISTER for the Year 1804, Mr. STOCKDALE, the proprietor, feels it incumbent upon him to state the principles on which it is his intention that a work of so much importance shall in future be conducted. At all times, it is the duty of the historian to record events with fidelity, and to state with impartiality the measures which are carried into execution, and, as far as they can be distinctly ascertained, the motives which led to their adoption. Not merely in compliance with the wishes of the proprietor, but in conformity to his own inclination, the editor of the Historical Department has endeavoured to preserve throughout the most temperate and unbiassed impartiality. It remains with the Public to decide, whether he has succeeded in the accomplishment of this design.

With



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THE  
HISTORY  
OF  
KNOWLEDGE, LITERATURE,  
AND TASTE,  
IN GREAT BRITAIN,  
DURING THE REIGN OF WILLIAM III.

PART I.

FROM the important political consequences to which the Revolution of 1688 gave rise, it might naturally be expected, that the progress of science, literature, and the fine arts, would be accelerated. This effect, however, was more likely to be a distant than an immediate result of the happy change produced by this event in the government of the country. For the accession of the Prince of Orange to the abdicated throne of James II. was followed by internal rebellion and foreign warfare. Periods of public agitation are more favourable to the exertion of high moral energies, than conducive to the advancement of general knowledge. To the pursuits of science and of learning, the peaceful reign of internal tranquillity is peculiarly congenial. Political events of extraordinary interest are calculated to divert even the philosophic mind from the calm and patient investigation, upon which successful inquiry so materially depends. But, on the other hand, when the principles of liberty are accurately defined and established on a solid foundation, they cannot fail eventually to facilitate the progressive improvement

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ment of scientific and literary investigations. In the reign of Queen Anne, a number of eminently distinguished characters appeared, and little doubt can be entertained, that their justly great reputation may, in a material degree, be traced to the influence of causes founded in the events of the preceding reign.

Notwithstanding the circumstances which we have mentioned as unpropitious to the advancement of general knowledge, it must be admitted that during the reign of William, mathematics, physics, poetry and painting, were cultivated with no inconsiderable success. The boundaries of science having, at once, been so extensively enlarged by the individual labours of the immortal Newton, the improvements and discoveries of his cotemporaries and successors, when separately contemplated, appeared to possess but little comparative importance. It is only by estimating them collectively, that their relative and intrinsic value can be duly appreciated.

With regard to the distinguished individuals, whose talents were successfully employed, during the reign of William III., in the cultivation of literature and science, we acknowledge that it is with diffidence we undertake the task of selection. A succession of short reigns renders it difficult to exhibit a clear and distinct view of the productions of men of eminence. For it is almost impossible to avoid occasional confusion, either by reference to performances published before the period under review, or by the anticipation of meritorious works which subsequently appeared. The best criterion for ascertaining the precise reign which has been adorned by the literary or scientific exertions of persons of distinguished talents, is to determine the period in which their reputation had justly attained its greatest splendour. But even this might become a disputed point. For the historian of the reign of Charles II., James II., William III., and Queen Anne, might hesitate under which the eminent persons, who in all of them enjoyed very just distinction, might be most appropriately placed.



The scientific researches of the Royal Society at the period under consideration, were conducted with success. Independently of several eminent characters whom we have formerly noticed, Hooke, Wallis, Flamsteed, and Wren, were among the number of its most distinguished members.

At a very early age, Hooke discovered a genius for mathematics by making toys with great art and ingenuity. He was educated under Dr. Busby at Westminster school, where, in addition to an extensive knowledge of languages, he made considerable progress in acquiring the elements of geometry. He went afterwards to Oxford, and was introduced to the Philosophical Society. The celebrated Boyle, discovering the peculiar inclination of his genius, employed him as an assistant in chemical operations; and Dr. Seth Ward, the Savilian professor, instructed him in the science of astronomy. Mr. Hooke very soon distinguished himself by a number of important improvements and mechanical inventions. He also invented several astronomical instruments, and even assisted Mr. Boyle in completing the invention of the air-pump. In 1666, he presented to the Royal Society a model for rebuilding the city of London. It met with general approbation, but was not executed. He was, however, appointed one of the city-surveyors. In the year 1677, upon the death of Mr. Oldenburgh, the secretary to the Royal Society, he received this important appointment. It appears that for many years he had been connected with this institution; for, in 1664, sir John Cutler founded a school for mechanical instruction, and settled an annual stipend on Mr. Hooke for life; but the number and subjects of his lectures were to be under the direction of the Royal Society. Shortly after receiving this situation, he was appointed by the Royal Society curator of experiments, with an additional salary. He remained many years in his capacity of secretary. In 1696, an order was granted to him for repeating most of his experiments at the expense of the Royal Society, upon the stipulation that he should fully and accurately state their results, and the deductions to be made from them. He was also required to

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complete

complete a description of all the instruments which he had invented. This task he never performed. His health was at that time in a declining state; and his constantly increasing illness rendered him unable to satisfy the wishes of the society. He died in 1702. One striking proof of the estimation in which his talents were held, is, that he was attended to the grave by all the members of the Royal Society then in London.

The character of Mr. Hooke has been described in rather unfavourable terms. His temper was neither open nor generous. He was possessed of extensive philosophical knowledge, but was ambitious of being thought superior to the rest of mankind in the powers of invention and discovery. It has even been asserted, that he sometimes claimed the inventions and discoveries of others, while he boasted of many of his own which he never communicated. In many parts of his religious character he was exemplary; for he seldom received any remarkable benefit in life, or made any useful discovery in the prosecution of his philosophical studies, without offering his grateful acknowledgments to the Deity. He wrote the *Lectiones Cutlerianæ*, *Micrographia*, a description of helioscopes, and of a variety of mechanical improvements, and published some philosophical collections. His posthumous works were afterwards collected and published by the secretary to the Royal Society.

We have, upon a former occasion, cursorily alluded to the talents of Dr. Wallis, the Savilian professor of geometry at Oxford. At present we shall only notice a few circumstances connected with his life and studies. He was originally educated at Cambridge, and became a fellow of Queen's college. He retained his fellowship until he married. Having entered into the church, he was appointed chaplain to lady Vere. While he resided in her ladyship's family, he studied and improved the art of deciphering. In 1643, he published *Animadversions* on lord Brooke's treatise entitled, "The Nature of Truth," and in the following year he was chosen one of the secretaries to the Assembly of Divines at

West-



Westminster. Upon the ejection of Dr. Peter Turner, the Savilian professor, he received the vacant appointment. He is the author of a Grammar of the English tongue, which was published at Oxford in the Latin language. In his controversy with Mr. H<sup>obbes</sup>, he acquired considerable celebrity, which was afterwards much increased by the publication of his mathematical works. Upon the death of Dr. Langbaine, he was chosen keeper of the archives of the university. After the Restoration, he met with very great respect. The king himself expressed a favourable opinion of him, for the services which he had rendered his majesty and his royal father. He was, therefore, confirmed in all his places, admitted one of the king's chaplains in ordinary; and appointed one of the divines empowered to revise the Book of Common Prayer. He complied with the terms of the act of uniformity, and continued, without any fluctuation of religious sentiments, a zealous and steady conformist. His correspondence with learned men was extensive, and his contributions to the Royal Society, of which he was one of the earliest members, were valuable and numerous. In 1697, the curators of the university of Oxford collected the mathematical works of Dr. Wallis, which had been printed separately at various times, partly in Latin and partly in English, and published the whole in the Latin language, in three volumes folio. Beside the works we have mentioned, he was the author of many other valuable performances. This excellent mathematician died in the year 1703.

Flamsteed was a very distinguished cotemporary of Hooke and Wallis. He was educated at the free-school of Derby; and it was intended that he should afterwards be sent to one of the universities, but the feeble state of his health made it necessary to relinquish the plan. In the year 1662 he was taken from school. Sacrobosco de Sphæra being shortly after put into his hands, he undertook the task of studying it without assistance. This accident laid the foundation of all the mathematical and astronomical knowledge for which he afterwards became so justly celebrated. Having pro-



cured Street's Caroline Tables, he proceeded in the study of the motions of the planets, and calculated an eclipse of the sun. He showed this calculation to Mr. Halton, who was himself a good mathematician, and fortunately received from him both the advantage of personal encouragement, and the assistance of some of the best publications upon astronomical subjects. Upon this, Flamsteed prosecuted his studies with great vigour and success. In 1669 he calculated some remarkable eclipses of the fixed stars by the moon, and addressed them to lord Brouncker, the president of the Royal Society. His performance was read before that society, and was so highly approved as to obtain for him a letter of thanks for the communication.

From this time, he began to collect all the mathematical works which were published either at home or abroad. His father, observing that he was engaged in correspondence with many ingenious men, whom he had never seen, advised him, notwithstanding he had hitherto discountenanced his studies, to go to London, that he might become personally acquainted with his correspondents. He gladly embraced this offer. He immediately visited Oldenburgh, the secretary to the Royal Society, and Collins, one of the members. They introduced him to sir Jonas Moore, from whom he received some valuable scientific instruments. At Cambridge also he visited some of the most celebrated men, and entered himself of Jesus college. In the spring of 1672, he translated into Latin and published a variety of extracts from Gascoigne's and Crabtree's Letters, and spent the remainder of the year in the successful prosecution of his astronomical studies. In 1673, he wrote a small tract in English, concerning the true and apparent diameters of all the planets, when at their nearest or remotest distances from the earth. He wrote, in the following year, an Ephemeris, in order to demonstrate the falsity of astrology, and the ignorance of those who pretended to have acquired a knowledge of this imaginary science. He also prepared a table of the rising and setting of the moon, together with the eclipses and apparent course



course of the moon among the planets and fixed stars. In the year 1674, in consequence of an intimation from sir Jonas Moore, that a true account of the tides would be acceptable to his majesty, (Charles II.) he composed a small ephemeris for the use of the king. It appears that sir Jonas Moore entertained the highest opinion of the talents of Mr. John Flamsteed; for what he collected from his discourse, he was in the habit of communicating to his friends about the court, to whom Flamsteed received from him the most flattering recommendation. He constructed for sir Jonas a barometer, and supplied him with a long series of observations upon the weather, and the mode in which this instrument indicated its approaching changes.

Having taken his degree of master of arts at Cambridge, he designed to enter into orders, and to accept of a small living near Derby, which had been promised him by a friend of his father's. In the mean time, sir Jonas Moore, who had been informed of his intentions, succeeded in persuading him to reside with him in London; but in his resolution to take orders Flamsteed remained unchanged. In 1675, he was appointed astronomer to the king, with a salary of 100*l.* per annum. This circumstance, however, did not suspend his inclination for the church. He was afterwards ordained at Ely-house by bishop Gunning. In the month of August 1675, the foundation was laid of the Royal Observatory at Greenwich. During this time, Flamsteed lodged in that neighbourhood, and continued his astronomical observations. His doctrine of the sphere was published in 1681, in a posthumous work of sir Jonas Moore, entitled *A new System of Mathematics*.

Although but moderately provided for, Mr. Flamsteed appears to have been perfectly satisfied with his situation. His greatest ambition was directed to the acquisition of knowledge, and the advancement of science. This reputation attracted the notice of the world, obtained for him the advantage of royal favour and protection, and procured him the friendship of sir Isaac Newton, Dr. Halley, Mr. Moli-

neux, Dr. Wallis, Cassini, and many other illustrious persons. After being presented in 1684 to the living of Burstow, which he held till his death, he showed the same assiduity for the improvement of astronomical science. Of this there is sufficient evidence in the many papers addressed by him to the secretaries of the Royal Society, many of which are published in the *Philosophical Transactions*.—His *Historia Cœlestis Britannica* was published in 1725, in three volumes folio, and dedicated by his widow to George I. A great part of this work was printed before his death, and the rest completed, except the prolegomena to the third volume. It is stated in the preface, that in 1704 he communicated an account of his collection of observations to the Royal Society, who were so highly pleased with it, that they recommended the work to prince George of Denmark. Several of the most distinguished members of the Royal Society were appointed by the prince to inspect Mr. Flamsteed's papers. Upon their report, the greater part was printed at the expense of the prince, and the remainder after Mr. Flamsteed's death. His name has been mentioned with the highest respect by many cotemporary writers of eminence; and in particular by Wotton and Dr. Keil.

Although the Royal Society could boast of having among its members many of the most illustrious characters of this and of foreign countries, yet, with the exception of the immortal Newton, it would be difficult to fix upon any individual of this institution more distinguished for profound and universal knowledge than sir Christopher Wren. We have before paid to his genius a transient tribute of respect; but his great and diversified talents fully justify a more ample statement of his claims to public admiration. His biographers represent that, at a very early age, he discovered an extraordinary inclination for learning, and in particular for mathematics. At about fourteen years of age, he was sent to Oxford, where his rapid acquisition of mathematical knowledge not only excited astonishment, but procured him very great distinction. He took a bachelor's degree at eighteen, and before he had completed his twentieth year he

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was elected a fellow of All-Souls college. Soon after, he became a member of the learned and ingenious society which was then established at Oxford for the improvement of natural and experimental philosophy. In 1657, being then only twenty-five years of age, he was chosen professor of astronomy in Gresham college. The following year he read a description of the different phases of Saturn, and also communicated to Dr. Wallis some very ingenious cycloidal demonstrations. It is about this time that he solved the problem proposed by Pascal to all the English mathematicians, and returned another, solved likewise by himself, of which the French mathematicians never gave any solution. Sir Christopher Wren held the appointment of professor of astronomy at Gresham college only till the year 1661, when he was chosen Savilian professor in the room of Dr. Seth Ward.

Among his numerous and eminent accomplishments, he had acquired in the reign of Charles II. so much skill in architecture, that his majesty thought proper to order him to assist sir John Denham, surveyor-general of his majesty's works. In 1663, he was chosen fellow of the Royal Society, being one of the members first appointed by the council after the grant of their charter. The contributions of sir Christopher to the scientific transactions of the society were many, and of considerable importance. He constructed a lunar globe, which represented not only the spots upon the surface, but the hills, eminences, and cavities; it was also calculated to exhibit all the menstrual phases of the moon. It appears that he formed this globe, at the express desire of Charles II., to whom he presented it with an appropriate Latin inscription. In 1665, he went to France, to survey all the important architectural monuments in Paris, and to examine what was most remarkable in every branch of mechanics. Upon his return, he was appointed architect and one of the commissioners to repair St. Paul's cathedral. A contest arose with respect to the plan upon which this was to be executed. The fire of London terminated the dispute, and entirely destroyed the mutilated cathedral. Sir Christopher Wren pre-  
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sented to his majesty a plan for the rebuilding of the city. Like Mr. Hooke's, it was approved, but remained unexecuted. Upon the decease of sir John Denham, in March 1668, he succeeded him in the office of surveyor-general of his majesty's works, and in the following year he constructed that beautiful monument of finished architecture, the Theatre at Oxford. The dreadful conflagration of the city of London gave him many opportunities of exercising his architectural talents. Beside the works of the crown, St. Paul's cathedral, the parochial churches, and other public structures which had been destroyed by this dreadful calamity, were rebuilt from his designs, and under his immediate direction. Constant attention to these important objects made it necessary for him to resign his Savilian professorship in 1673. It was upon his suggestion that Greenwich was fixed upon for the erection of the royal observatory, to which, as we have before seen, Mr. Flamsteed was first appointed his majesty's professor. In 1680, he had the distinguished honour of being elected president of the Royal Society; he was afterwards appointed architect and commissioner of Chelsea college, and principal officer of the works in the castle of Windsor.

The architectural monuments of sir Christopher Wren exceed sixty, of the first importance and magnitude. The Monument, Trinity college library, Greenwich hospital, St. Mary-le-Bow, St. Stephen Walbrook, and St. Paul's cathedral, are considered as structures of very superior excellence. The church of St. Stephen has been reputed his master-piece. It displays the most beautiful architectural symmetry, and is supposed, in taste and proportion, to vie with the most celebrated edifices of which Italy can boast. It appears singular that this exquisite specimen of architecture should have been so much overlooked; and foreigners have justly questioned the judgment of a nation that has hitherto placed so little value upon so much perfection.

Although the constitution of sir Christopher Wren was far from being robust, yet, by temperance and skilful management,



ment, he preserved good health to a very unusual length of life. He died on the 25th of February, 1723, at the very advanced age of ninety-one years. He was interred with great solemnity in St. Paul's cathedral. He was modest, devout, virtuous, and unaffectedly communicative.

He never printed any thing himself; but several of his works have been published by Dr. Wallis, and in the Philosophical Transactions. In the latter there are many very valuable papers by sir Christopher Wren on mechanics, optics, and astronomy. He improved and invented a number of instruments to facilitate the study of these sciences. At different periods, he wrote a number of important papers relative to the discovery of the longitude at sea. He first instituted the experiment of injecting fluids into the blood of animals. The merit of this discovery was the subject of a contest; which, however, was justly decided in sir Christopher's favour. This extraordinary man was also the author of an algebraical tract relative to the Julian period, and, among a variety of other performances, of a treatise on the Temple of Diana at Ephesus, and on the Mausoleum erected by the disconsolate Artemisia, to the memory of the king of Caria. Besides his peculiar eminence as an architect, it thus appears that his learning and knowledge were of surprising extent. Mr. Hooke, who was intimately acquainted with him, and very able to make a just estimate of his abilities, has comprised his character in these few but comprehensive words: "I must affirm, that, since the time of Archimedes, there scarcely ever has met in one man, in so great a perfection, such a mechanical hand and so philosophical a mind." A far greater authority than Hooke, the illustrious and immortal Newton, speaks thus of him, with other eminent men: "D. Christophorus Wrennus, eques auratus, Johannes Wallisius, S. T. D. et D. Christianus Hugenus, hujus ætatis geometrarum facile principes."

The state of general literature during the reign of William III. shall be the subject of future inquiry; at present, we shall proceed to give a short account of one branch of the fine arts



arts which was cultivated with success after the Revolution, and which received some benefit from his majesty's encouragement. We allude to the art of painting.

It is to be regretted, that during this reign portrait-painting was so generally encouraged. In the investigation of the cause of a preference so injurious to the progressive improvement of the art, it will indubitably appear that a great variety of circumstances contribute to limit the exertions of genius to this inferior department. The personal vanity of individuals, the avaricious disposition of many artists, the state of public refinement, and even the forms of public worship, with a number of other causes, may tend to discourage the execution of works of high and decided excellence. While portraits please more than representations of the most interesting historical subjects, or of the sublimest features of nature, it is not to be expected that painting can flourish. Nor, while the artist is contented with remuneration for labour, will he ever aspire to embody upon canvass, with all the happy effect of combined taste, spirit, and expression, the splendid actions which confer immortality on those by whom they were achieved. As luxury almost invariably accompanies great refinement, so, whatever prejudicial effects it may produce with respect to public morals, it in most cases contributes to the promotion of the fine arts. This is in some measure illustrated by the different reigns of Charles II. and William III. With respect to the effect of any particular form of religion upon the fine arts, it may be observed that the ornamental splendour of the Romish rites has been more subservient to their extension and improvement, than the simplicity which characterizes the exercise of the protestant faith. To what extent these observations may be supposed to apply to the period immediately after the Revolution, we shall not undertake to determine.

Among the distinguished painters in the reign of king William, it may be proper to mention the names of sir Godfrey Kneller, Monoyer, Berchett, Riley, Closterman, sir John Medina, Van Wyck, and Woolaston. A great many other  
painters

painters rather lived, than flourished about the same time. Menoyer was scarcely inferior to Van Huysum in painting flowers; his works were perhaps less exquisitely finished, but his colouring and composition were executed in a bolder style. He was educated at Antwerp as a painter of history, but his inclination induced him to prefer flowers. He went to Paris, and was received into the academy with applause. At Versailles, Trianon and Marly, he met with employment for his pencil. The duke of Montagu brought him to England, where he received very considerable encouragement. —Berchett was a native of France, and improved so rapidly under La Fosse, that before he was eighteen years of age he was employed in the royal palaces. He came to England in 1681. King William employed him in the palace which he built at Loo. Berchett painted the ceiling in the chapel of Trinity college, Oxford. —Riley has been esteemed one of the best native painters that flourished in England at this time. His talents were obscured by the fame of Kneller and the great reputation of Lely. He was humble, modest, and of an amiable character; but his diffidence of his own talents was so great that he easily became disgusted with his own works. This was probably the source of many objections to his performances. He received instructions in painting from Fuller and Zoust; but he acquired little reputation till the death of Lely. —Closterman was a native of Osnaburg. Upon his arrival in England he painted draperies for Riley. They afterwards painted in conjunction, but Riley executed most of the heads. Among the persons of distinction whom he painted in this country were the duke and duchess of Marlborough and all their children. Ambitious of reputation, Closterman went to Spain, where he painted the king and queen, and composed several letters on the paintings in that country. As an artist, Closterman did not rise above mediocrity. His colouring was strong, but heavy, and his composition was deficient in grace. —Sir John Medina was a native of Brussels. He came to England in 1686, where he painted portraits for several years. The earl of Leven encouraged him to go to Scotland. He painted most of the Scotch nobility, and the paintings of the professors in the Surgeon's hall at Edinburgh were



were executed by him: they possess considerable merit. Medina also painted historical subjects, and landscapes. The prints in the octavo edition of Milton were designed by this artist. He was knighted by the duke of Queensberry, the lord high commissioner, and was the last knight made in Scotland before the Union.

John Van Wyck was a good painter of battles and of hunting pieces. His figures and horses are well executed in the style of Wouverman. The colouring of his landscapes is warm and vigorous. He painted the battle of the Boyne, the siege of Namur, and many other large pieces; but his small paintings have the most merit.—Woolaston was a native artist, and a successful painter of portraits.

Of the artists who flourished in this reign, sir Godfrey Kneller is entitled to the highest reputation. Had he lived in a country where his merit would have been justly appreciated, he would probably have acquired the fame of one of the greatest masters. The emoluments arising from the practice of his art seduced him into the fatal error of making his reputation subservient to the acquisition of wealth. His historic painting of king William has been deemed by some a favourable specimen of his very superior talents; others prefer the original sketch of it, which they conceive is executed with the fire and spirit of Rubens. In the latter the hero and the horse are in the heat of battle; in the former, it is the king riding in triumph, with his usual phlegm. Of all his works, sir Godfrey most valued his converted Chinese; but his portrait of Gibbons is supposed to be of still superior excellence. It has the freedom of Vandyck with the harmonious colouring of Andrea Sacchi; no part of it is carelessly executed. In general, to give greater finish to the head, he neglected the subordinate parts, so much indeed, that his draperies often exhibit great negligence of manner. His airs of heads are graceful, notwithstanding the tasteless style of dress which prevailed in his time. There is, however, a degree of sameness in his airs, and his composition is sometimes destitute of grace and ease.



Sir Godfrey Kneller was born at Lubeck, the most antient of the Hanseatic towns, about the year 1648. He was at first designed for a military life, and was sent to Leyden to learn mathematics and fortification. His inclination, however, was decidedly in favour of painting. His father acquiesced in his wishes, and sent him to Amsterdam, where he studied under Bol, and had some instructions from Rembrandt. Kneller had none of the servility of a disciple; he imitated neither of his masters. Even in Italy, he avoided all imitation. It has, however, been imagined that the style of some of his performances bears a resemblance to that of Tintoret; and even the manner of Rubens is said to be discoverable in some of his works. If the latter is any where perceptible, it is probably in the equestrian figure of king William. It has been asserted that this painting is an imitation of Rubens's design of the ceiling for the banqueting-house, which was in sir Godfrey's possession.

Kneller and his brother came to England in 1674, without intending to reside here, but to return through France to Venice. He painted the portrait of the duke of Monmouth, who was so pleased with the performance, that he engaged the king his brother to sit to Kneller, at a time that the duke of York had been promised the king's picture by Lely. Charles proposed that both artists should draw him at the same time. Lely had the advantage of choosing his own light; sir Godfrey, however, performed his task with superior facility, expedition and effect. Lely very honourably did justice to the abilities of his competitor. This success fixed Kneller in England, where he soon acquired very great reputation. Charles II. treated him with great distinction, and king William with still more. For the latter he painted the beauties at Hampton Court. He was knighted by him, and received an additional present of a gold medal and chain. He drew for his majesty a portrait of the Czar. Many of his portraits in the gallery of Admirals are worthy of the great subjects whom they represent. The last of sir Godfrey's public works was the Kit-cat Club, who, although generally mentioned as a set of wits, were,  
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in the opinion of lord Orford, the patriots that saved this country. He lived to paint George I., and had the honour of being made a baronet by his majesty. Sir Godfrey continued to exercise his profession during the greater part of this last reign, and died in 1723, at the advanced age of seventy-nine years. In his religious opinions sir Godfrey appears to have thought very freely, and his moral sentiments were tinged with the licentiousness which prevailed in the reign of Charles II. He possessed, however, much goodness of heart. His wit was brilliant and his vanity excessive; nor could it be expected that Kneller should be free from this general foible, flattered as he was by Dryden, Addison, Prior, Pope, and Steele. Sir Godfrey frequently painted his own portrait. Many of his works have been engraved, particularly by Smith, who has done them the most ample justice. The first engraving of his works was a portrait of Charles II., by White. Some of his best portraits are those of king William, the czar Peter, Marlborough, Newton, Dryden, Godolphin, Somers, the duchess of Grafton, and lady Ranelagh. The portraits of lord Godolphin and the duke of Marlborough are in the possession of the earl of Chichester. Ten sovereigns sat to sir Godfrey Kneller. The most beautiful of Addison's poetic works was addressed to him on his picture of George I. in which he compares the painter to Phidias and the subjects of his pencil to the Grecian deities. In this elegant production, the parallel between the English history and the Greek mythology is supported with a surprising ease and felicity of expression\*.

\* Lowthorp, Sprat, Montucla, Biographia Britannica, Biographical Dictionary, Lord Orford's Works, &c. &c.



BRITISH AND FOREIGN

# HISTORY

For the Year 1804.





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# BRITISH AND FOREIGN HISTORY

For the Year 1804.

## CHAPTER I.

*Retrospective Observations on some of the Principal Occurrences of the preceding Year—Principle and Character of the present War—Offensive and defensive Operations—First hostile Proceedings of the Enemy—Character and Extent of the Conspiracy of Colonel Despard, and of the Rebellion in Ireland—Financial Measures of Government—State of Parties, and Causes of Party Dissensions—Gradual Secession of Mr. Pitt from the Support of Mr. Addington's Administration—Negotiation for Mr. Pitt's Return to Office—Causes of the Failure of these Negotiations—Session of Parliament 1803-4—Address on His Majesty's Speech—India Bonds—Bank Restriction Bill—Curates' Relief Bill—Re-enactment of Martial Law, and Suspension of the Habeas Corpus Act, in Ireland—Debates on the Army Estimates, and the general Defence of the Country—Bill for the Regulation of Volunteer Exemptions.*

PEACE and war are the two great events which most affect the fate of empires, and the welfare of the human race. The peace of Amiens, which terminated the last of the many wars that arose out of the French revolution, cannot fail to be a prominent feature in the records of history; but, if the political interest of this occurrence be estimated by the consequences which resulted from it, it will probably be regarded as an event of far less importance than the recommencement of hostilities. For upon the issue of the present contest depend the liberties of Europe, the

permanency of future peace, and the general happiness of mankind. The arms of Great Britain or the arms of France must ultimately decide the great international question, whether or not the independence of Europe is to be sacrificed to the establishment of military despotism? The renewal of war between the two most powerful nations of Europe will, under this view, render the year 1803 a memorable æra in the annals of public events.

The personal ambition of the military chieftain of France, and the lawless spirit of aggrandizement

which characterized the measures of the government, place the origin of the war in too distinct a light to render it a subject of future controversy. The expediency of promptly terminating a precarious peace, will scarcely be disputed by any one capable of forming a just conception of the conduct and designs of the enemy, during the short interval of repose which preceded the recommencement of hostilities. If, then, while we reflect on the origin of the war, we are satisfied that we have unsheathed only the sword of justice, we have also reason to congratulate ourselves on the success with which it has been employed. The first period of warfare has, upon many occasions, been chiefly consumed in preparation. But the activity and energy of government were immediately directed against the vulnerable possessions of the enemy, and many of their valuable colonies submitted, with little resistance, to the British arms. The measures adopted for the general defence and security of the empire displayed a considerable degree of systematic vigilance, and in a short time allayed the apprehension which had arisen from an opinion, that the low state of our peace establishment would make it very difficult to provide for the safety of the country, with a celerity suited to the exigency of the times. This apprehension was by no means general, and was soon removed by the rapidity with which the ordinary and extraordinary means of defence were called forth and embodied. The militia, the army of reserve, and the volunteer force, were successively called out, enrolled, and established; and measures were resorted to without delay for a considerable augmentation of the regular army.

The organization of the different descriptions of military force, however necessary for the immediate security of the state, did not by any means exclusively occupy the attention of government. A system of blockade was promptly carried into execution; and the enemy, who had vain-gloriously held the insolent language of menace and invasion, saw their forces collecting for this purpose confined to their ports, or compelled to navigate their shores, under the protection of land batteries and flying artillery. Notwithstanding these exertions, which enabled this country at a very early period of the contest, not only to assume a defensive attitude, but to commence offensive operations, the proceedings of government were exposed to much animadversion, both within and out of parliament. The nature and object of these animadversions, it will be our duty more particularly to notice in our analysis of the proceedings of parliament.

While Great Britain thus commenced and prosecuted the war, in the true spirit of open and legitimate hostility, the first belligerent proceedings of the enemy violated the acknowledged rights and the long-established law of nations. The hereditary dominions of his majesty were invaded, plundered, and oppressed. Contrary to the liberal principles upon which former wars had been conducted, and which were respected even by the rapacious revolutionary governments of France, the electorate of Hanover, hitherto securely neutral, as an integral part of the German empire, amidst the disputes in which Great Britain was involved, was immediately over-run by the devastating armies of France. The neutrality of Germany was thus infringed,



infringed, in direct opposition to existing engagements, and in defiance to those very powers which had guarantied the execution of the treaty of Luneville. The faith of nations, and the laws of hospitality, were also most cruelly and shamefully violated in the detention of our unsuspecting countrymen; who, upon the repeated assurances of personal liberty and security, reposed a misplaced confidence in the false honour of the French government. These unprecedented occurrences gave but little reason to expect, that the ordinary modes of warfare, mitigated by the refinement of civilization, would be resorted to by a rancorous and implacable enemy. But we are confident, whatever success may attend the barbarous prosecution of war by the arms of France, the generous and humanely-tempered courage of the British nation will reject, with disdain, every form of hostility which is not strictly consonant to the established system of European warfare. The only fairly hostile proceedings of France; at the commencement of the contest, were directed against our commerce. The extensive commercial relations of this country made it impossible to adopt, within a very limited period of time, the maritime regulations best calculated to defeat the first operations of an enterprising foe. Our losses were, therefore, somewhat considerable; and it was not possible to prevent them. Situated as this country and France were at the beginning of the war, our merchant vessels being dispersed over every part of the ocean, no measures, however judicious, could well prevent our losses from bearing almost a necessary proportion to the prosperity of the country, and the

means of annoyance which the enemy had at their disposal.

In this view of the chief occurrences of the last year, it is entirely unnecessary to mention the frantic conspiracy of colonel Despard, and the rebellious insurrection in Ireland, in any other terms than those of retrospective allusion. It will be sufficient to remark, however we despise the former, or lament the consequences which attended the latter, that both of them led to the discovery of a fact, which places in the strongest light the loyalty of the people of this country, and even proves, that, in Ireland, disaffection and treason were neither widely diffused, nor assumed the character of a dangerously organized rebellion. The conspiracy of colonel Despard, wildly planned, and in every respect inexecutable, was abetted only by a few miserable and deluded confederates. The rebellion in Ireland, though attended with ferocious and sanguinary excesses, was by no means formidable, with respect to the condition, resources, and numbers of the insurgents. The most active and vigorous exertions were employed with immediate effect to quell the insurrection. But impartiality requires that we should state, that some doubt has been entertained, whether or not the Irish government exerted a due degree of vigilance, in order to detect the conspiracy, and to provide against its explosion.

Such disastrous events as conspiracy, rebellion, and war, produced no material impression on the general prosperity of the country. The prodigious augmentation of the national debt in the course of a long period of hostility, the immense arrears funded in the first year of peace, and the injurious ef-



fects on commerce which naturally resulted from the revival of the contest with France, might justly be supposed to present many serious obstacles to any extensive system of financial supply. On the contrary, they appeared to oppose no material check to financial operations, on a scale which in magnitude far surpassed any system that had ever been adopted. The gigantic project of raising the greater part of the supplies within the year, at a time when the enemy had conceived the most sanguine hopes that the resources of the state were in a great measure exhausted, could not fail to convince the French government of the folly of waging against this country a war of finance. It must, however, be confessed, that this system of raising supplies was extended beyond its natural limit. The circumstances which we have described, as calculated to affect the prosperity of the empire, were certainly entitled to serious consideration. Had a system of finance been adopted with due reference to such circumstances, the impolicy of so great a departure from the ordinary mode of raising supplies, would at once have suggested the necessary limitation. But still, though the war taxes have been less productive in consequence of the disproportionately extensive scale upon which they were imposed, yet the possibility of having recourse to so vast a system of supply, must always be considered as an infallible criterion of public prosperity.

The financial plans of Mr. Addington met with comparatively little opposition. The parties which, previously to the war, had been formed against his administration, and which, after that event,

became more firmly consolidated, in order to effect a change in the ministry, chose rather for the objects of their severest animadversion, the measures taken for the defence of the country, and the prosecution of hostilities. It will be proper to notice, in the sequel, the means by which they ultimately accomplished a change in his majesty's councils. The change which they produced no way corresponded to the object which they had united to attain. Nothing less than a radically new administration, formed of individuals more distinguished for great talents than for political unanimity, could satisfy the expectation of those who were now drawn up in hostile array against the ministers of the crown. Even before the commencement of the war, the spirit of party had manifested a considerable degree of asperity. Several parties, indeed, appeared in the British senate. Their views and sentiments were extremely different. One party represented the pacific conduct of ministers as tame, abject, and submissive. The honour of the British name, they asserted, had been prostituted to the extravagantly ambitious views of a military tyrant, who insulted our moderation, and treated with contempt the disposition we had shown for the preservation of peace. Another party, apprehensive of numberless evils that might inseparably attend the renewal of hostilities, insisted on the necessity of maintaining a pacific system. They exhausted every argument which the ground of expediency could supply, in order to demonstrate the impolicy, under the existing relations of the continental states, of engaging in a war, without a prospect of co-operation on the part of any of the European powers, and



and consequently without a chance of making on France any material impression. A third party took a middle course. They justified the forbearance of ministers, and regarded it as a pledge of their pacific intentions. They acknowledged that Great Britain could never submit to a series of insults and aggressions; but conceived that government, under the peculiar circumstances of this country and France, had acted a wise and honourable part in endeavouring to avoid, as far as they were justified by temperate and dignified policy, the renewal of the horrors and calamities of war. Such was nearly the state of parties at the beginning of the rupture. Those who were the advocates of peace, engaged in opposition to ministers immediately upon its termination. This party gradually coalesced with those who had stigmatized the peace of Amiens as a hollow truce, and were now dissatisfied with every measure of government. The difference of former opinions was forgotten; and however desirous the one party might be for the return of peace, and the other for the vigorous prosecution of the war, they cordially united their most strenuous efforts, with a view to produce a radical change in the administration.

As the gradual secession of Mr. Pitt from Mr. Addington's administration very materially contributed to accelerate that event, which had long been the object of the most active exertions of the opposition, it may be proper to inquire upon what grounds Mr. Pitt's promise of constant, active, and zealous support was given and withdrawn. It has been stated, that when Mr. Pitt retired from office, he felt convinced that, under the peculiar circumstances of the

period, his majesty had selected for his ministers persons by whom, it was probable, the government of the country would be wisely and safely administered. Upon this conviction, he and lord Grenville gave them an assurance of their support. The new administration, it was said, had publicly and privately professed their intention of continuing to act upon the same general system which had been adopted by their predecessors. It was, therefore, in consequence of an essential departure from that system, that Mr. Pitt found it expedient to withdraw his support from Mr. Addington; nor, to use the language expressed by the partisans of the former, would it have been consistent with public duty, or common sense, to have given unqualified support to any line of conduct which ministers might be disposed to adopt. It has also been declared, that Mr. Pitt never gave, and that Mr. Addington never understood he had received, such a promise.

On the other hand, it was alleged that the country had been involved in a state of inextricable embarrassment, by the measures which the preceding administration had pursued. It was, therefore, of the first national importance, since peace was unanimously desired, and, indeed, was an event upon which the happiness and prosperity of the country most intimately depended, that a ministry should be formed possessing both the disposition and the talents requisite for the accomplishment of this great object. Mr. Addington and his colleagues were the persons selected to promote the ardent wishes of the nation, and remove the difficulties which would have obstructed the success of any pacific over-



tures from the ministers whom they succeeded. It has been represented that, in these arrangements, the establishment of a temporary ministry was the object Mr. Pitt had in view. The popularity of the early part of Mr. Addington's administration began, however, to awaken political jealousies; and the authority which was intended to be provisional, appeared to assume a character of permanent stability. The friends of the minister did not hesitate to declare, that the disapprobation which Mr. Pitt had expressed on various measures of his government, arose, not so much from political dissonance of opinion, as from motives of personal jealousy, united with an unextinguishable ambition, which disdained every gratification but a complete resumption of power. Whether Mr. Pitt's secret opposition was dictated by public or private feelings; whether he felt a conviction that ministers were unequal to the arduous task of a judicious management of public affairs, and conceived it his duty to engage in arrangements for his return to office, in order to devote his talents and his influence to the service of his country, at a moment of extraordinary difficulty and danger; or whether he acted from individual considerations alone, are questions to which the partisans of Mr. Pitt and Mr. Addington will be disposed to reply in very different terms. It seems, however, in opposition to any unfavourable conclusion, that, without any previous step taken on his part, Mr. Pitt, on the eve of the war, was invited to a negotiation, the object of which was to place him at the head of the government; and that, instead of impatiently grasping at office, he declined the proposal, because it was

coupled with conditions (the exclusion of lord Grenville) inconsistent with what he felt due to his public situation, and with his views of the public service.

The failure of these arrangements naturally increased the disunion which prevailed. The exclusion of lord Grenville exasperated the parties embarked, with various views, in opposition to the ministry. However discordant the elements of which these parties were composed, they appeared to have blended them into an apparent political unison of sentiment. To deprive ministers of office, and to substitute an able, firm, and vigorous administration in their place, was the sole object to which their efforts were directed. Although the exertions made by government to meet every public exigency were great beyond all precedent, yet the extraordinary talents of those by whom they were opposed, deprived them, in a great degree, of the just approbation of the country; and, in time, attached such unpopularity to many parts of their conduct as to rob them of the confidence which they had inspired. The natural consequence of the success which accompanied the efforts of the opposition, was that change in his majesty's councils which took place in the course of the succeeding session of parliament.

The meeting of parliament took place on the 22d of November 1803. In the speech from the throne, his majesty stated, that since the last meeting of parliament, it had been his chief object to carry into effect the measures which had been adopted for the defence of the united kingdom, and for the vigorous prosecution of the war. In these preparations he acknowledged that he had been seconded.



seconded by the voluntary exertions of all ranks of his people, in a manner which had, if possible; strengthened their claims to his confidence and affection. Their exertions, he observed, had proved, that the menaces of the enemy had only served to rouse their native and hereditary spirit; and that all other considerations had been lost in a general disposition to make those efforts and sacrifices, which the honour and safety of the kingdom demanded, at so important and critical a conjuncture. But though his attention had been directed to the great object of internal security, his majesty said; that no opportunity had been lost of making an impression on the foreign possessions of the enemy. After enumerating the islands and settlements which had surrendered to the British arms, he expressed his satisfaction with respect to the conduct of the operations by which those valuable acquisitions had been made, and the promptitude and zeal which had been displayed by the officers employed on those services, and by his forces acting under their command by sea and land.

The leaders, and several inferior agents, in the late traitorous and atrocious conspiracy in Ireland, having been brought to justice; and the public tranquillity having experienced no further interruption, his majesty expressed a hope, that such of his deluded subjects as had swerved from their allegiance were at length convinced of their error, and that, having compared the advantages they derive from the protection of a free constitution, with the condition of the countries under the dominion of the French government, they would cordially concur in resisting any attempt against the

security and independence of the united kingdom.

His majesty informed both houses, that he had concluded a convention with the king of Sweden, for the purpose of adjusting the differences which had arisen on the subject of the 11th article of the treaty of 1661. He said, that he had directed a copy of this convention to be laid before them, and he trusted that the arrangement was calculated to uphold our maritime rights, whilst it would be found to be established upon principles of reciprocal advantage. Embarked with his brave and loyal people in a common cause, his majesty declared it to be his fixed determination, if the occasion should arise, to share their exertions and their dangers, in the defence of the religion, the laws, and the independence of the empire; and to the activity and valour of his fleets and armies, to the zeal and unconquerable spirit of his faithful subjects, he confided the honour of his crown, and all the valuable interests involved in the issue of the contest. Actuated by these sentiments, and humbly imploring the blessing of Divine Providence, his majesty affirmed, that he was confident, should the enemy attempt to execute their presumptuous threat of invasion, the consequence would be to them, discomfiture, confusion, and disgrace; and that ours would not only be the glory of surmounting present difficulties, and repelling immediate danger, but the solid and permanent advantage of fixing the safety and independence of the kingdom on the basis of acknowledged strength, the result of its own tried energy and resources.

To the commons, his majesty



expressed his perfect reliance on their public spirit for making such provision as might be necessary for the service of the year. He congratulated them on the progressive improvement of the revenue, which could not fail to encourage a perseverance in the system of defraying the expenses of the war, with as little addition as possible to the public debt, and to the permanent burthens of the state. He lamented the heavy pressure which must unavoidably be experienced by his people: but was persuaded that they would meet it with fortitude, under a conviction of the indispensable importance of upholding the dignity, and of providing effectually for the safety, of the empire.

The marquis of Sligo moved the address in the house of lords. He rose to express those sentiments which the speech from the throne had suggested. He felt most strongly the importance of perfect unanimity, and trusted that nothing which might fall from him would obstruct the success of so desirable an object. He called the attention of their lordships to the character of the enemy with whom we had to contend, and represented our annihilation, as an independent state, to be the sole aim of his hostile operations. But if ever there was a period when this nation was peculiarly deserving the admiration of the world, it is now, when every individual, born to the protection of equal laws, stands forward, without distinction of rank, class, or situation, to shed his blood in defence of that invaluable inheritance. Great Britain offers itself, to the admiration of the world, in a novel attitude: a nation of soldiers, not brought together by the

terrors of revolutionary laws, not invited by the hopes of plunder from the devastation of contiguous nations, but voluntarily stepping forth on principles of the purest and sublimest patriotism, and actuated by the heroic determination to die in defence of a free, unrivalled constitution. The noble marquis observed, that if France, assisted in her projects against other states by their internal dissensions, entertained the same expectation here, she would discover, that, whatever difference in political opinions might prevail, or however we may be divided in another part of the empire by distinctions of religion, there are principles in which we are unanimous: we will not be invaded by a foreign enemy; we will not submit to the dictation of a foreign power: we will live independent, as our ancestors lived, or we will not survive our independence.

He felt a considerable share of confidence in addressing their lordships on the subject of the insurrection in Ireland; having been there before it broke out, during its progress, and after its suppression. He asserted that the conspiracy had been fomented by the intrigues of France. It had been traced to its very source; and not only every ringleader, but every conspicuous person concerned in it, had been discovered and brought to punishment, after being allowed the full benefit of those mild, just, and lenient laws, which in their madness they had attempted to overturn. If, by the misinformation of their emissaries, the enemy should attempt to execute their design of invading Ireland, the noble marquis pledged himself to their lordships, that they would meet



meet with a vigorous resistance from every rank and every persuasion of the inhabitants. After making a few observations on the other topics contained in the speech, and dwelling, with grateful satisfaction, on the declaration of his majesty, to share the dangers and the exertions of his faithful people in the common cause in which we are embarked, he concluded by moving an address to his majesty. The address consisted, as usual, of a repetition of the sentiments and topics contained in the speech, accompanied with general expressions of gratitude and satisfaction.

The earl of Limerick seconded the motion. He took an extensive view of the exertions which had been made to carry into effect the measures adopted for the prosecution of the war, and for the defence of the united kingdom. On this subject, he observed that the conduct of ministers merited the fullest approbation. The numbers armed and trained for service, far exceeded the extent of the military force which the feverish efforts of France had raised in the most fervid moments of the revolution. He conceived that it was an object of indispensable necessity, to provide in the first instance for the internal security of the empire. Mad and Quixotic would that conduct have been, which grasped at foreign acquisitions, and left the heart and soul of all naked and unprotected. If any were dissatisfied with the comparatively trivial number of these acquisitions, he exhorted them to remember, that England, from her system of low establishment in time of peace, could not immediately call the whole of her force into action.

On the state of Ireland, the earl of Limerick expatiated with much

eloquent animation. He thanked God that those hands which had been raised to murder their best fellow citizens, and destroy a constitution under which every thing flourished, were now cold and lifeless. The numbers engaged in the insurrection were contemptible; the plan itself rash and ill-digested. The malignant spirit, however, which prevailed among the people was mischievous and extensive. He stated that much of the feebleness of the attempt was to be attributed to a difference of opinion among the leaders, as to the time of beginning the rebellion. This disagreement produced the most fortunate effects; it palsied their efforts; it distracted their councils. Many of the country leaders, with their associates, who had come to Dublin to join in the insurrection, dissatisfied with all the measures of the confederates, left the city the day preceding the explosion of the conspiracy. He highly applauded the temperate proceedings of government in leaving the trials of the conspirators to the due course of law, instead of exercising the power conferred by the legislature, of resorting to trials by military tribunals; and he praised their mildness and forbearance in delaying the trials till the public mind, naturally inflamed by the sanguinary atrocities of the rebels, had full time to cool, and till they were certain that impartial justice would be faithfully administered. Although he entertained a hope, that many of the rebels were not irreclaimable, yet he acknowledged that the stain of jacobinism could never be thoroughly effaced. The generation tainted with it must pass away. He was, however, of opinion, that a remedy for the mischief might be found in the loyalty and spirit



spirit of the great body of the people. That loyalty and spirit could now act with effect; they were armed and embodied. The volunteers of Ireland, he trusted, would keep the disaffected in awe. Constant duty, and active exertion, had given them the steadiness and discipline of regular troops; they had been tried in the hour of danger, and had confirmed their claims to public confidence.

On the restriction imposed on the militia of Ireland he expressed his decided opinion, that it was consonant neither to the letter nor to the spirit of the Union. In the last session, it had been thought improper to continue the restriction on the English and Scotch militia. The principle of suspending the restriction was certainly just; and as long as this invidious distinction was permitted to exist, with regard to the militia of Ireland, the Union, he asserted, would be imperfect. It would be an union on parchment, and not that consolidation of interests, of services, and of affections, which the name of union denotes. But if the English and Scotch militia were not permitted to serve in Ireland, he could discover no reason, why a portion of the Irish militia should not be allowed to serve in this part of the British empire. They would have no objection to the service, and he would pledge his existence, that they would not only distinguish themselves, but equal any of our regiments in steadiness and valour. To this it might be objected, that the militia had been raised upon other conditions, which must be faithfully observed. But these objections might be removed, by permitting them to volunteer for service in any part of the united

kingdom; and, to prevent them from abandoning the service for which they may volunteer, a law might be passed, in order to oblige them to remain, for a limited period, in any part of Great Britain.

The earl of Limerick shortly adverted to the system of finance recommended in the speech, and to the convention concluded with the king of Sweden. On the spirited and patriotic declaration of his majesty, to share the dangers of his subjects in the hour of invasion, he dwelt with appropriate and nervous language. He predicted, that the haughty invader, surrounded by barbarian guards, and by battalions stained with the blood and gorged with the plunder of Europe, would shrink from the contest, or possibly find a grave in the waves which opened a passage to our shores. Peace might then be safely concluded. The talisman of Gallic power would be broken; the charm dissolved. Europe would at length be convinced, that the road to national security is the road of fortitude and exertion.

The question was then put, and the address unanimously voted.

In the house of commons, the address was moved by *Mr. Cropley Ashley*, and seconded by *Mr. John Berkeley Burland*. The former dilated considerably on the various subjects which his majesty had introduced into his speech. The latter, pursuing in some degree a different course of observation, demonstrated the importance of the crisis, and the necessity of unanimity. He was, however, apprehensive, not of a want of courage in the people, nor of vigour in the government, but of an improvident confidence in the security of the nation, arising from the great resources of the country, and



and the many difficulties which must oppose a successful invasion. He warned those who might be disposed to hold this language, to reflect on the rashly adventurous character of the enemy, and pointed their attention to the armaments which covered the coast, from the Texel to the bay of Biscay. He wished them to consider that he had invaded Egypt, when France was involved in war with most of the powers of Europe; that whatever he threatened, he attempted to execute; that humanity, which opposes a barrier to the ambition of ordinary men, formed no obstacle to his views. He advised those who conceived that Bonaparte had never seriously entertained the project of invasion, to reflect on all these circumstances; which he regarded as sufficient to convince them, that he would certainly attempt to carry his menace into execution.

Whatever might be the issue of the contest, however glorious its ultimate termination to Great Britain, he should always regret the revolution which it had produced in the manners and constitution of every state in Europe. For, while the military despotism of France exists, every nation in Europe must rely, for the preservation of its laws and its independence, chiefly on the strength of its military force. But since this evil had arisen, he rejoiced to see that arms were confided to those who were actuated by interest, as well as by principle, to use them in defence of the laws and constitution of their country. He contrasted the character of the military force of Great Britain and France, bestowed a warm tribute of praise on the conduct of the navy, and concluded by sup-

porting the address, which, he was convinced, expressed the genuine feelings of every subject of the empire.

Mr. Burland was succeeded by Mr. Fox, who rose merely to advert to two points—one of which was omitted, and the other particularly alluded to, in the speech. He meant, the mediation of Russia, and the state of Ireland. In the course of the last session of parliament, when he called the attention of the house to the mediation of the court of Petersburg, a noble secretary of state, no longer in that house, distinctly pledged himself, that ministers were not only disposed to accept of the mediation of Russia, if offered, but, if not offered, directly to solicit it. He had every reason to think, that the noble secretary (lord Hawkesbury) was sincere in the pledge which he then gave, and that ministers had acted on that declaration. After an interval of time, sufficient to have in some degree ascertained how far such an application was likely to be successful, he expected that his majesty would have referred, in his speech, to a subject of so much importance. With regard to the situation of Ireland, he saw no reason to think, that the confident hope expressed in his majesty's speech, of the permanent continuance of tranquillity, would be realized while the present system was pursued. He observed, it was asserted in the speech, that the leaders of the late rebellion had in view the introduction of French dominion into Ireland. Whatever might be the crimes of the leaders of the insurrection, whatever atrocities the rebellion had exhibited, upon which no man reflected with greater horror than himself, he did not think it just to stigmatize the authors



authors of the conspiracy with at all leaguings themselves with the French government, in their views of destroying all connection with this country. Such a connection the leaders of the conspiracy had most unequivocally disclaimed. He trusted that the house would not suffer itself to be misled, by any general assertions respecting the permanent tranquillity of Ireland; nor be so far influenced by them as to conclude that future inquiry would be unnecessary. Mr. Fox sat down with declaring, that he should not disturb the unanimity which there seemed every reason to expect would prevail in voting for the address.

The chancellor of the exchequer, in reply to Mr. Fox, stated that the mediation of Russia had been accepted; but from the discussions to which it had given rise, his majesty's ministers had reason to see, that it was not likely to be of any advantage in accomplishing the object in view. He was not surprised that the hon. gentleman should have noticed this omission in the speech; but circumstances of a nature which he hoped would be only temporary, had prevented ministers from making a communication on this subject to the house. He could not absolutely pledge himself to make a communication, should the obstacle to which he had alluded be removed; but he assured the house, that it was the wish of his majesty's servants to conceal no information which might be necessary to explain the circumstances attending the negotiation. The chancellor of the exchequer then adverted to what had fallen from Mr. Fox, relative to Ireland, and contended that it was by no means implied in his majesty's speech, that the leaders

of the rebellion had conceived any design of introducing French dominion into that country. On the contrary, it only expressed a hope, that the Irish, by contrasting their own condition with that of the nations subjugated by the French government, would be induced to resist the common enemy of the civilized world. He would concede to the hon. member, that many of the leaders of the rebellion were sincere in their abhorrence of French alliance; but he had the best means of knowing, that they were disposed to avail themselves of French aid, in order to prosecute their views with a better prospect of success. He deprecated all discussion with respect to the state of Ireland in the present situation of affairs, from a conviction that it would only tend to aggravate existing evils, without producing any species of advantage. He concluded with giving his cordial vote for the address.

The question was put from the chair, and unanimously agreed to; and a committee was appointed to prepare the address.

Upon Mr. C. Ashley's moving, that the address be read a second time, Mr. Windham thought it necessary to explain the nature and motives of the vote which he had given the preceding evening. He wished to guard against the error and misconception of being supposed, while he gave an unlimited support to the cause of the country, to give the same countenance and approbation in unanimously supporting his majesty's ministers. He felt particularly anxious not to be understood to belong to those who conceived the cause of the country should be identified with the cause of ministers, and declared, that no unprejudiced mind could pretend



to assert, that, taken collectively, the co-operation of their talents was equal to the direction of public affairs in the present perplexing and overwhelming crisis. He concurred with Mr. Fox respecting Ireland, and thought the speech expressed much more of hope, than the state of that country could fully justify. If the insurrection had been so easily quelled in Ireland, the suppression of it was not so much to be attributed to the foresight, the vigilance, or the vigour of ministers, as to the neglect of the enemy to aid the insurrection, or the determination of the insurgents not to avail themselves of their co-operation. With regard to our conquests in the West Indies, Mr. Windham considered them unworthy of triumphant exultation. He exhorted ministers to look to the state in which we might ultimately be placed, and not, according to their usual policy, to bound their views to the present day. For, whatever might have been done, with a view to maintain our character, our dignity, our safety, and our independence, it should be recollected, that little is accomplished, until the cause in which we are engaged be brought to a safe, honourable, and decisive issue. Alluding to some representations he had made, relative to the inadequacy of the preparations for the defence of the coast of Norfolk, he pledged himself, should any misfortunes arise from disregarding his admonitions, to make them the ground of an impeachment of the conduct of ministers.

When Mr. Windham had resumed his seat, the address was read a second time, and agreed to unanimously.

On the 30th of November, lord Castlereagh submitted to the house

a motion on the subject of the East India company's bonds; the object of which was, to enable the company to give an interest on their bonds not exceeding the rate of interest, which exchequer bills may bear at any time, in order that, as a circulating medium, they may enjoy, in the market, their just and fair proportion. Another object of the bill he meant to bring forward was, to enable the holders of such property to include the interest due upon it, in the general statement of their income; so that the levying of the provisions of the property tax should not produce the effect of exposing India bonds to a depreciation of value. He stated, that the amount of the bonds issued by the company did not exceed 80,000 or 90,000*l.*, the duty upon which would not be of sufficient importance to induce the house to withhold any facilities to the operations of a great commercial company, particularly as the just amount of the duty would be eventually received by the proposed regulation. In a subsequent debate on this subject, lord Castlereagh denied that the bill would extend an exclusive preference to the East India company, and represented that it was of the first importance to encourage the prosperity of a company, whose interests were so intimately connected with the promotion of the general prosperity of the public. This, he said, would be evident from the annual amount of revenue accruing from the commerce of the company, which might be computed at no less than 3,226,000*l.* The noble lord then demonstrated the impolicy of crippling the commerce of the East India company, which annually exported nearly two millions of British manufactures:



tures: a sum which they could not be enabled to employ in the export trade, if a sudden run were allowed to be made upon their exchequer. The principal object of the bill was to prevent a run of this description from taking place.

On the same day, leave was given, upon the motion of the chancellor of the exchequer, to bring in a bill, to continue, until six months after the conclusion of a definitive treaty of peace, the restriction on the issues of cash by the bank of England. The expediency of this important measure seemed to be so generally recognized, that the motion passed without debate, and unaccompanied by any observations deserving of particular notice.

In the house of lords, a short debate arose on this subject, in which lord King, in the course of a variety of general observations, proposed to restrain the bank directors from a discretionary issue of paper, by requiring of them a monthly return of notes in circulation. Lord Hawkesbury conceived, that such a regulation might be construed into a reflection upon the directors, who had uniformly discharged the trust reposed in them, with prudence and circumspection. Lord Grenville, without intending to resist the progress of the bill, stated that he proposed, on the third reading, to offer a few observations. Upon this occasion, his lordship acknowledged that the bill might be necessary, during the alarm of a threatened invasion; but objected to the period of the restriction, which might be continued longer than necessity required. Although the circulating medium would find its level most easily by being left to itself, without the interference of legislative

authority, this general principle admitted of an exception when the restriction was originally imposed. The frequent repetition of such acts, he contended, would be productive of serious injury, and could be justified only by the most urgent and pressing necessity. It was true, that, by the accounts on the table, it appeared, the bank had not issued notes to a greater amount than in the preceding year; but it was a well-known fact, that the private paper in circulation had, in consequence of the restriction on the bank, increased in an uncommon degree. This species of paper, although it did not possess the stability of bank notes, had received a decided preference; because no person could legally claim cash for the notes of the bank, but for private paper he might still legally make such a demand. The only instances which his lordship recollected of restrictions on payments in money, were in the cases of the Mississippi, and the assignats; and these restrictions produced the ruin of the establishments which they were intended to support. Regarding the excessive increase of private paper as arising from the measure before the house, he expressed an opinion that it might become an evil of the greatest magnitude, in the event of the actual landing of the enemy. Such an event would most deeply affect public credit, by the immediate depreciation of the private paper in circulation. His lordship, in opposition to the general opinion on the unpatriotic practice of hoarding specie, employed an argument which, he confessed, might appear paradoxical, but which he asserted to be true: the desire of hoarding money would naturally produce a demand for it; demand would raise its value, and an increased



creased value would as naturally procure a supply. He concluded by stating, that he wished to suggest to their lordships the appointment of a committee, formed of members of both houses, to act in conjunction, if that should be deemed regular, to inquire into the state of the paper circulation of the country; and recommended, in order to remedy the existing evil, that the bank directors should try the effect of a limited circulation of specie.

Lord Hawkesbury regarded the increased circulation of private paper as arising from the extended commerce, agriculture, and prosperity of the country, and not, as lord Grenville had asserted, from the restriction on the bank. He said, however, that he did not mean to object to a committee of inquiry, as suggested by the noble lord, but conceived it proper to reserve that subject for future consideration. In reply to an observation made by lord Hawkesbury, that the bank had not increased their circulation of paper,

Lord King stated, that it appeared from the accounts delivered in up to the 25th of November, that their out-standing notes were upwards of 17,900,000*l.*; and that in the year 1797 they were short of 14,000,000*l.* Their issue of paper, therefore, had increased about four millions.

After these observations, the bill was read a third time, and passed.

It will be in the recollection of our readers, that, in the course of the preceding year, Sir W. Scott brought in a bill to encourage the residence of stipendiary curates. It passed through the commons, but was rejected by the house of lords, in consequence of a money

provision having been annexed to it, which rendered it improper to be entertained by their lordships. Sir W. Scott, therefore, proposed to omit this clause, and to introduce into the bill another which would facilitate its operation. But as the enforcing of the residence of the beneficed clergy would deprive many of the curates of their respective cures, the sum of 8000*l.* was granted later in the session, upon the motion of the chancellor of the exchequer, in order to provide relief for this meritorious class of men. For this purpose a separate bill was introduced, as a provision in the former to relieve curates of this description had been the cause of its rejection.

The next subject of material importance, which engaged the attention of parliament, was Mr. secretary Yorke's motion for leave to bring in two bills to continue the acts of the preceding session, for the suspension of the habeas corpus act, and for the re-enactment of martial law, in Ireland. Long and animated debates arose upon these bills through all their respective stages. It will be our duty to exhibit a correct, but condensed, sketch of the chief arguments employed, by the advocates and opposers of this important motion. The debates upon this occasion embraced a variety of topics, which in some degree branched out of the original subject of discussion. The conduct of the government in Ireland previous to, and during the suppression of the rebellion, underwent a full investigation. As these proceedings have, through various channels, been so frequently submitted to the consideration and judgment of the public, and later in the session became a distinct subject



of parliamentary discussion, it is unnecessary that we should go through a long detail of circumstances, either to justify or to arraign, the conduct of the Irish government. It will, perhaps, be now sufficient, upon a subject of so much notoriety, to observe, that the measures of that government were justified, and condemned, with nearly an equal degree of confidence. The immediate suppression of the rebellion seems, however, strongly to indicate, that government were not taken by surprise, and that judicious measures had been pre-concerted to quell the insurrection. The constitution of courts martial, having an immediate relation to the subject of debate, gave rise to considerable discussion; without, however, leading to any change in their formation, with respect either to the number, or the age, of the members of these tribunals.

We now return to the discussion immediately before us, and shall confine ourselves to a concise statement of the arguments for, and against, a measure which so materially affects the liberty of the subject. The arguments of Mr. secretary Yorke chiefly rested on the establishment of the fact, that the suspension of the habeas corpus act, and the re-enactment of martial law, in Ireland, were absolutely necessary, from the peculiar circumstances of the country. He considered it the misfortune of the present times, that we were not permitted to enjoy liberty or property, without sacrificing a part to preserve the remainder. That baneful event, the French revolution, had obliged us to resort, much oftener of late years than at any former period of our history, to a temporary abridgment of our

rights. There was no alternative—our security required it. In times of extraordinary difficulty and danger, new and extraordinary remedies must be employed. He proceeded to state a variety of grounds, in order to demonstrate the necessity of adopting these measures. The insurrection in Dublin, in the month of July; the manner in which it was conducted; the atrocities which accompanied it; the intelligence of which government was in possession, which afforded every reason to believe, notwithstanding the declaration of many of the rebels, and particularly of Emmett, their principal leader, that there did exist a connexion between the conspirators in Ireland and the French government, through the medium of Irish traitors resident in France, who had been pardoned by the Irish government, although deeply implicated in the rebellion of 1798, supplied abundant materials to prove the necessity of adopting the measures proposed for the sanction of parliament. He conceived it of the highest national importance, that government should not be left destitute of powers adequate to meet any emergency; and measures of precaution, he observed, were indispensably necessary, more especially when it was remembered, that the enemy had avowed his determination to avail himself of the disaffected, to aid his designs of invasion both against this country and Ireland. He took occasion to declare, that there could be no foundation for an opinion that the Irish government would abuse the extensive powers granted by the bills submitted to the consideration of the house, since, upon a former delegation of similar powers, the trial by martial law had been resorted



sorted to in only one instance; in the case of a man who had been detected in endeavouring to seduce soldiers from their allegiance.

Mr. Yorke was succeeded by colonel Hutchinson, who dwelt with much feeling and eloquence on the state of Ireland; and, at the same time that he supported the motion, acknowledged that he should have voted for the adoption of these strong measures with more satisfaction, if ministers had shown a disposition to change the present government of the Irish people, for a system more congenial to their wishes, and more conducive to their interests. Such a system alone was calculated to prevent the recurrence of those calamities, which had rendered it necessary to have recourse to these coercive means of prevention.

In reply to an observation made by several members, that, however desirable a change might be in the system pursued with respect to Ireland, the present time was unfavourable to the discussion of so critical a subject, lord Temple observed, that the great question of the union had been discussed and carried into effect during a period of hostility. A doubt having arisen, whether or not it was intended to carry both bills through the house at the same time, Mr. Burroughs, upon receiving information to that effect, said he should not withhold his support from the suspension of the habeas corpus act, but objected to the reenactment of martial law, since, in the numerous trials which had taken place, it had not been found necessary to resort to it.

Lord Castlereagh, on the contrary, declared, that the very circumstance of government being vested with these powers, was the

means of enabling them to resort only to the civil tribunals of the country. No measure, he asserted, had so materially contributed to obviate the extension of the mischief which had originated in the rebellion. The adoption of this measure had facilitated the suppression of the rebellion in 1798, and had since been attended with the most beneficial effects. His lordship observed, that a principle of precaution was the great principle upon which a wise legislature should act. Its object should be to prevent, rather than to punish, crimes. By vesting government with these extraordinary powers, the rebellious would be convinced of the impracticability of their treasonable designs, and nothing would more contribute to encourage the loyal part of the community, which had such powerful claims to support. To refuse to invest government with powers, which would in no instance be misapplied, would, he affirmed, elate the spirits of the deluded victims of rebellion, while it would paralyse the exertions, and augment the fears, of those firm and patriotic friends of the constitution whom it was the peculiar duty of parliament to support and protect.

Mr. Burroughs opposed the motion upon the ground, that when martial law was formerly enacted, a rebellion actually raged in Ireland, and ample documents were produced to prove its necessity. This measure was on that occasion defended upon the principle, that jurors were overawed in the discharge of their duty, and that witnesses could not come forward to give their testimony without great personal danger. It was because the ordinary tribunals of justice were necessarily closed from



these causes, that it became requisite to have recourse to military decisions. No such circumstances, he said, existed at this period. Jurors could discharge their duty with safety. Witnesses could give testimony without danger. He also conceived it proper, that the Irish members, whose attendance at that time was not considerable in point of numbers, should be consulted, before any suspension took place of the constitutional privileges of their constituents. Upon this point, Mr. John Claudius Beresford took occasion to remark, that he had been very recently in Ireland, and had had an opportunity of ascertaining what were the sentiments of at least three-fourths of the Irish members resident in that country. He requested the house to be assured, on his veracity, that they were all convinced the re-enactment of the bill was indispensably necessary to the preservation of tranquillity, and the protection of all loyal subjects.

Mr. Corry corrected the statement made by Mr. Burroughs, relative to the existence of rebellion at the time martial law had formerly been enacted, and observed, that in the year 1801 it had been renewed in the course of the session, although no rebellion, nor any appearance of rebellion, existed in any part of Ireland. It was not unknown, he said, to the hon. member, that, till the bill was passed, the system of intimidation was universally prevalent, and the courts of common law were necessarily shut, not against rebels alone, but against the loyal and patriotic part of the community. So far from viewing the re-enactment of martial law as an act of oppressive severity, all loyal and well-disposed persons, he affirmed,

would consider it as a measure not of oppression, but of protection; not of unconstitutional rigour, but of wise precaution.

Upon the second reading of the bill, Mr. W. Elliot, col. Craufurd, and Mr. Francis, founded their objections to the measure upon the absence of such facts as were necessary to establish the necessity of its adoption. Mr. Elliot reminded the house, that, at other periods, the reports of two secret committees had been produced to justify such extraordinary powers. In the course of the session of 1800, the bill was renewed on the specific grounds of these reports. In 1801, the first session of the imperial parliament, the bill was renewed at an early period of the session, and, subsequently, its duration was prolonged. But it would be in the recollection of the house, he said, that this second renewal did not take place, till it was declared, on the report of a committee specially appointed, to be indispensably necessary to the tranquillity of Ireland. On a subject of such magnitude and importance, he could never consent to act on the principle of implicit confidence in any government. As a conscientious representative of the people, he must be guided by facts in acceding to, or opposing, any legislative measure. At present the house had no facts to guide their judgment, and the only information before them was contained in the king's speech from the throne. He regarded an application to parliament for extraordinary powers, without stating any grounds whatever for the measure, as unwarrantable and unconstitutional. For the sake of justice, for the sake of policy, from regard to the dignity of the house, he conjured ministers not



not to precipitate the passing of the bill. The great benefit resulting from the union, he observed, had been described to be the freedom of the imperial parliament from the prejudices of a local legislature; but if the Irish were to experience only measures of coercion, if their interests were not to be gravely and impartially brought under the consideration of the legislature, they could never be expected to feel for this country that cordial attachment which was so infinitely desirable.

Upon this occasion, lord Castle-reagh entered more fully into the discussion of the question than on the former reading of the bills, and replied to colonel Craufurd and Mr. Francis at considerable length. His lordship admitted that, when martial law was re-enacted in 1799, two reports of a secret committee had been adduced, to prove the necessity of the measure. But the expediency of such reports depended, in a great degree, upon circumstances. This mode of presenting information to the legislature, and to the public, might often be advantageous. Occasions, however, might occur, when to resort to it might be highly impolitic, and even dangerous. In such circumstances, he thought, his majesty's ministers were now placed. Government, he said, was, at that moment, actively and successfully engaged in tracing out the remotest ramifications of the insurrection. While such inquiries were being pursued, it would be extremely difficult to frame such a report as would disclose facts, without defeating the object of the investigation. He admitted there was at present less visible danger, because the cause of loyalty had received a vast aug-

mentation; but there were still many traitorous and malignant spirits, in Ireland, bent on projects of the most atrocious nature. To counteract their views, to defeat their designs, the present bill, as a wise measure of precautionary power, appeared to him both expedient and politic.

Mr. Windham observed, that ministers were proceeding to renew martial law in Ireland, without urging a single word, or adducing a single reason, in justification of the measure. He wished to hear some parliamentary ground, on which a suspension of some of the most important privileges of the subject could be justified. If the statement were correct, that the people of Ireland were sensible of the superiority of the blessings which they enjoy under the British constitution, and were in a condition of material improvement, they should be restored to the situation in which they stood previously to the rebellion. If this statement were true, the necessity of the measure in contemplation would by no means be established. The war, in which we are engaged, afforded, in his opinion, no kind of pretext for it. This plea would be equally resorted to in all succeeding wars; and hence it would follow, as a necessary consequence, that the habeas corpus act should be suspended, and military law established in Ireland, whenever the country happened to be at war. His knowledge, however, of the situation of Ireland, and his reliance upon the information of gentlemen well acquainted with the state of that country, led him to conceive, that the necessity of the present measure rested on far more solid grounds than any which had been advanced to de-



monstrate the necessity and expediency of its adoption.

The chancellor of the exchequer maintained that the expression in his majesty's speech, relative to the restoration of tranquillity in Ireland, was perfectly just; but it did not at all impair the force of the arguments advanced to prove the necessity of the re-enactment of martial law. It was known that the rebellion was suppressed, that the greater part of its principal agents had been brought to justice, and that, although much of disaffection was understood to prevail in Ireland, yet tranquillity existed. The existence of that tranquillity, he affirmed, was to be secured by precisely the same means to which the country was indebted for its attainment. The extraordinary powers of the bill before the house were, therefore, deemed essentially necessary effectually to repel an invading enemy, and to repress domestic treason. With respect to the necessity of arming government with these powers, he declared, that notoriety, connected with the enemy's plans and avowed objects, furnished sufficient grounds to sustain the assertion, that circumstances imperiously demanded those measures which ministers had submitted to the consideration of parliament.

It is almost unnecessary to observe, that the bills passed through all their respective stages without any division of the house. Nearly the same course of argument having been pursued in the house of lords, we shall only notice, and within as small a compass as possible, a few of the most forcible arguments advanced by those who took a distinguished part in this very important discussion. Lord

Hawkesbury, in the course of a neat and appropriate speech, observed, that while it was the excellence of our constitution to grant to the subject the greatest portion of practical liberty, it was one of its wisest provisions, that extraordinary powers should be vested in the executive government, on the appearance of circumstances of extraordinary emergency. It was under circumstances of this description, that the suspension of the habeas corpus act, and the re-enactment of martial law, were submitted to the consideration of their lordships. The unfortunate state of Ireland, he said, had compelled ministers to resort to measures, which every friend to the constitution would adopt, only when he viewed them as essential to the preservation of the state from the greatest miseries with which a nation could be afflicted. He appealed to the candour and fair judgment of their lordships, whether the notoriety of the abortive attempt of the 23d of July, and of the objects of that rebellion, did not furnish a fair parliamentary ground of necessity for the renewal of the bills. Although tranquillity, so far as the efforts of general rebellion were suppressed, had been restored, it was not in the nature of things, that all the evil passions which the insurrection had inflamed should at once subside. It was, therefore, necessary to have recourse to measures of precaution. Their lordships, he said, would recollect that his majesty, by the exercise of his prerogative, had the power of proclaiming martial law, when it appeared to him to be necessary for the safety of the empire. All the ordinary forms of law were then, for the time being, suspended. In fact, the com-



mon law was, in the interval, considered to be extinct. But the present bills were designed to repress the views of the disaffected, without interfering with the civil and criminal proceedings of the ordinary tribunals.

The earl of Suffolk, lord King, and lord Grenville, without intending to oppose the passing of the bills, complained that ministers were proceeding to deprive a large proportion of his majesty's subjects of the most important privileges of the constitution, without having supplied the house with any information respecting the state of Ireland, or proved the necessity of a renewal of these extraordinary measures. Lord Grenville took a comprehensive view of the subject under discussion. He admitted that there were times and circumstances, when, in conformity to the principles of the constitution, extraordinary powers were to be granted to meet extraordinary danger. But it was always to be recollected, that the existence of this danger was to be clearly and unequivocally established. When martial law was first introduced into Ireland, a rebellion of a most formidable nature raged with the utmost violence. By the valour of the king's troops, and by the spirit and zeal of the loyal inhabitants, that rebellion was suppressed. But a system of murder and intimidation was afterwards introduced, and a regular conspiracy framed to interrupt the ordinary proceedings of the courts of common law. It was necessary that some strong measure should be adopted. Martial law was enacted, tranquillity was immediately restored, and the ordinary tribunals reverted to their natural course. According to the admission of his majesty's ministers,

the state of Ireland, his lordship said, was, at the present moment, perfectly tranquil: the proceedings of the civil and criminal courts experienced no interruption; no system of intimidation now prevailed:—and yet, notwithstanding this generally favourable state of things, the necessity of establishing martial law was gravely asserted. Lord Grenville said, he felt no hesitation to concede, that in the case of actual rebellion, the proceedings of the ordinary tribunals must necessarily be suspended. Common law, in that interval, was virtually extinct. He was far from wishing to dispute so obvious a position; but he objected to any system which attempted to reconcile the existence of martial law, and common law, at the same period. If the courts of common law could go on with their functions, martial law was dangerous and unnecessary. On the other hand, if martial law was necessary, the common law, however much the event might be lamented, must, for a period, lose its application and efficiency. The renewal of the suspension of the habeas corpus act, his lordship contended, stood on a footing very different from that of the re-enactment of martial law. In forming a judgment of measures of such magnitude, it appeared to him, that the character of those by whom extraordinary powers were to be exercised, was a matter of the first importance. The powers granted by the suspension of the habeas corpus act were exercised by persons of the highest rank in the state. Every step they took was open to future censure, and they were liable to the most severe responsibility. Very different was the situation of those who were to carry the provisions



of the martial law bill into effect. They might be misled by local prepossessions, and by the influence of prejudice and passion. To them, however, no such high responsibility attached. Upon these principles his lordship disapproved of the re-establishment of martial law; but as it had been declared to be necessary, he should withhold his opposition to the measure.

The earl of Limerick, lord Hobart, lord Darnley, and the lord chancellor supported the motion. The lord chancellor stated, that the notoriety of the recent outrages in Ireland, and the uncertainty whether the spirit of insurrection was extinguished, furnished, in his opinion, sufficient grounds to establish the necessity of the measure. His lordship affirmed, that it was difficult to ascertain what might be the effects of any rebellion. An inconsiderable riot might rapidly swell into a formidable insurrection; and, within a short period, brand the regular government which it opposed, with the aspersion of rebellion. To the suspension of the habeas corpus act in this country, at a period when the exigency of the case demanded it, he expressed his conviction, that their lordships were indebted for their present tranquillity and safety, and for the privilege, which they now enjoyed, of deliberating how far they should submit to a temporary relinquishment of part of their rights, for the permanent preservation of the whole.

The bills for the suspension of the habeas corpus act, and the re-enactment of martial law in Ireland, passed through the house of lords without any division, and without, in their last stage, leading to any further discussion. As any

subject which affects the enjoyment of the best privileges of the constitution, cannot fail to excite a considerable degree of interest, we have thought it necessary, upon this occasion, to depart from our principle of exhibiting a very concise analysis of the proceedings of parliament. When, however, subjects of less importance arise, we shall occasionally give only a short, but faithful sketch, of the arguments on both sides, without fatiguing the reader's attention with a statement disproportioned to the topic of discussion.

The debates which arose on the 9th of December, on the motion of the secretary at war, to refer the army estimates to a committee of supply, embraced a very extensive view of the general defence of the country. As the estimates for the whole military establishment of the year could not then be ascertained with accuracy, it will not be necessary to enter into any circumstantial detail of the items which he submitted to the consideration of the committee. A few of the leading points will be a sufficient introduction to the defence of the empire, which formed the prominent feature of this discussion. The force proposed to be voted for the public service amounted, for guards and garrisons in the united kingdom, to 167,669. This number exceeded the force voted in the preceding year by an addition of 58,768. The embodied militia for Great Britain and Ireland amounted to 109,947, and the volunteer corps to about 450,000. But from the statement of lord Castlereagh it appears, that the volunteer force in Great Britain, accepted and arrayed, amounted to 340,000, and in Ireland to 70,000, making  
a total



a total of 410,000 rank and file in the united kingdom. Foreign corps, the barrack department, and the general staff establishment were also submitted, among the estimates, to the attention of the committee. For the staff, it was proposed to vote the sum of 154,647*l.*; which, though large, was represented to be necessary, in consequence of the number of brigade officers employed to train the volunteer force of the country. For the latter description of force in Great Britain, he estimated, that a sum of 730,000*l.* would be necessary, from the 25th December 1803 to the 25th December 1804. Of the volunteer force, the right hon. gentleman stated, that about 45,000 served without pay; 42,000 infantry, and 2500 cavalry. An additional expense of 20,000*l.*, he observed, would be incurred by the necessary appointment of agents and field officers.

The question being put upon the first resolution, Mr. Windham rose, and observed, that the subjects under consideration afforded the house an opportunity to take a view of the general state of the country, with respect to its means of defence. The army of reserve, he asserted, had cost, in bounty money alone, 1,000,000*l.* not granted by parliament, but levied in a manner more incommodious to the subject. The expense of the volunteers was also about 1,000,000*l.* to government and as much to themselves. Hence, the creation of these two descriptions of force had been attended with an expense to the nation of 3,000,000*l.* Taking the population of the united kingdom at 15,000,000, he had expected to find the military establishment amount to about 400,000. It far exceeded this

number. This was a splendid armament, and, in point of numbers, more than adequate to repel any force which the enemy could bring against this country. But it was necessary to consider the materials of which it was composed: whether the structure were of solid masonry, or only of lath and plaster. The proportion and arrangement of the parts must be examined, in order to estimate the combined strength of the whole; for, if the parts were not correspondent, the whole must be defective. Mr. Windham contended, that, although men were never more eager to come forward, the zeal and spirit of the volunteers had not been properly directed. It was absurd, he said, to train them to act with troops of the line. This practice was defended on the ground, that a battalion, whether young or old, added to a body of men, increased its strength. But the case admitted of a different illustration. Frigates were not brought into the line of battle, not because their metal would produce no effect on a 74, but because they might be forced out of the line, and consequently the ship near them might be the more exposed. It was the same in the army. An officer, unless secure of his troops, would not attempt any difficult enterprise. From these considerations, he was of opinion, that the volunteers, instead of being disciplined to act in the line, should be employed to hover about the foe, in order, in this manner, most effectually to harass and annoy the enemy. He illustrated the success with which this mode of attack might be conducted, by the circumstances attending the capture of general Burgoyne. With respect to the military strength of the kingdom, Mr.



Mr. Windham said, that if the volunteers, the militia, and the reserve, excepting the few who had entered for general service, were deducted from the sum total, the effective force of the country would appear to be by no means very considerable. The regular army, in proportion to its numbers, he considered as efficient a military body as any troops in the world. In the militia too there were many good troops, possessing every requisite short of experience. With respect to the army of reserve, it could not at present, whatever it might in time become, be considered as an efficient military force. From this general view of the army that had been created, it appeared to him, that the means which the population, spirit, and disposition of the country afforded, had been grossly abused; for, in fact, the 5000 who had entered from the army of reserve, for general service, were to be regarded as the only real accession to the effective force of the country.

Mr. Windham strongly recommended the erection of military works. He conceived they would be peculiarly beneficial on the very exposed coast of Suffolk, south of Yarmouth; and recommended Martello towers in preference to redoubts, which might be carried by numbers, and in which the men could perhaps only remain for a fire or two. In confirmation of the superiority of Martello towers, he mentioned an instance of a ship of the line having stationed itself within a quarter of a mile of one of these fortresses, for the purpose of demolishing it: but which, having been twice set on fire, was compelled to weigh anchor without effecting its destruction. A few such towers erected along this range of coast, provided with only a single gun each, would afford ef-

fectual security, where fleets could give no immediate protection. Thirty Martello towers, at the inconsiderable expense of 1000*l.* each, would probably be sufficient for this purpose. They would at least severely gall any invading force, and effectually oppose the landing of cavalry or artillery. For the defence of the whole county of Norfolk, he stated, that only sixteen pieces of cannon, and one regiment of militia, had been provided. The town of Yarmouth, however, was the defence of the road of Yarmouth, and consequently of the great road to the north of England. This he regarded as no very favourable specimen of a judicious system of defence; since it thus appeared, notwithstanding their 4 or 500,000 men, ministers had left the kingdom in many places in a state of great insecurity. The sea-fencibles he considered as so many good hands of which the navy had been deprived.

Reverting to the subject of the army, he reprobated the excessive bounties paid to volunteers from the army of reserve, and the vicious habits contracted in spending those bounties. Without meaning that every man balloted should be liable to serve, he disapproved of the system of substitution. Exemptions from service should be purchased by a fine payable to government, and the recruiting service would thus be open to government alone, without the disadvantage of competition. An additional facility to recruiting might also be afforded by changing the term of service for life, to a limited period of time. If the present system of recruiting were continued, if in a period of 8 or 9 months only seven thousand men had been obtained, the regular army could by  
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no means be kept up. The perennial recruiting of the regular army, for which the population of the empire afforded ample means, he regarded as indispensable, in order to maintain the requisite military establishment; but this he asserted could not be accomplished at any reasonable rate, if substitutes were allowed. From the whole of what he had stated, he concluded, that the present ministers could not properly be intrusted with the administration of public affairs.

Mr. secretary Yorke replied to Mr. Windham, but without entering very fully into a detailed explanation of the general system of defence. Lord Castlereagh having explained, very circumstantially, both the outline and the minute parts of this system, it may be proper to defer, to an analysis of his comprehensive speech, an account of those measures, which may be considered as furnishing an answer to Mr. Windham's animadversions.

Mr. Pitt followed Mr. secretary Yorke, and undertook, in a very spirited and argumentative manner, a defence of the efficiency of the volunteer establishment. One great object of Mr. Pitt's speech was to demonstrate the capability of efficient improvement, of which the volunteer corps were susceptible, and he took occasion, at the same time, to suggest those means which appeared to him calculated to produce this effect. Waving the consideration of a variety of topics, which had been introduced into the discussion, respecting the conduct of his majesty's ministers, he proposed to confine himself strictly to the subject then before the committee: the number and the formation of the different descriptions of military force which

had been provided for the defence of the empire, and which were stated in the estimates submitted to the committee. He defended the propriety of establishing a large volunteer force, and affirmed that the opinion of parliament, repeatedly and distinctly expressed, fully justified our having recourse to a great national force, independently of the regular army and the militia, in order effectually to provide for the public defence. He looked to the army as the great rallying point to which the volunteers must have recourse, by whose example they must be regulated, by whose experience they must be guided. But these corps, he conceived, might be improved and matured to such a degree of perfection, as would enable government to employ a large proportion of the regular force abroad, either in defending our distant possessions, in attacking the vulnerable points of the enemy, or, if fortunately for mankind the prospect should once open, in assisting to effect the deliverance of Europe. Of the amount of the volunteer force he saw no reason to complain. In their distribution, however, he could have wished that the number had been greater in the more exposed parts of the maritime coast. For he was decidedly of opinion, that a smaller number of men who could oppose the enemy immediately on their landing, and almost before they could ascend the beach, would be much more serviceable than a much larger number after the enemy had obtained a footing in the country.

Mr. Pitt stated, that the object he had more immediately in view, was to render this force, the existence of which was absolutely necessary, not merely a nominal force, but



but an efficient and permanent army. He was apprehensive that the estimates contained no adequate provision for giving them a greater degree of discipline, system, and improvement. For this object, he was desirous, that all volunteer companies should be brought to act in battalions, and, whenever it could be done, in brigades. He also proposed to give to every battalion the assistance of a field officer and an adjutant; such officers still retaining their rank and pay in the army. The expense of this measure, he acknowledged, would be great; but the difference between those battalions which had the assistance of field officers who had seen service, and those which had not received this advantage, was more than adequate to the increase of expense. With respect to the number of days which the corps should be exercised, he was of opinion, that about fifty days would be sufficient for the next year, and forty for each succeeding year. Mr. Pitt estimated the expense arising from the assistance of field officers and adjutants at about 160,000*l.* and that of the allowance to such volunteers as may, from their circumstances, be obliged to accept of pay, at between 3 and 400,000*l.*; making, probably, in the whole, about 500,000*l.* If for that sum we could maintain a force of nearly 400,000 men in gradual and efficient improvement, he affirmed that it would be the cheapest part of the whole expenditure.

If the house should agree with him in opinion, that the appointment of field officers and adjutants should be adopted, still the object he had in view could not be attained merely by the instruction of those officers, without some regulations to ensure punctual attendance, which

would keep up the numbers of the volunteers, and give them the habits and steadiness of soldiers. Looking, as we ought to look, to a protracted contest, we ought to provide the means of maintaining it for a length of time. We ought never to forget with whom we are contending. We should never calculate upon any given period to prepare for the reception of the enemy. If it were apprehended that the danger was withdrawn, the spirit of the volunteers might languish and moulder for a time, though it certainly would not be extinguished. It should be the great object of government to prevent that spirit from subsiding, lest the country be called upon to meet the sudden, but long meditated attack of the enemy. Perhaps something like the compulsory act of the last session might be adopted, during the war, in order to keep up the numbers and the punctual attendance of the volunteers, and to preserve that subordination which is essential to progressive improvement. On the subject of the sea fencibles, Mr. Pitt observed, he should agree with his right honourable friend (Mr. Windham), that if they were composed of a class of men liable to be impressed into his majesty's sea-service, it would not only be an useless but an improper institution. But the main object for which they were employed was to serve on board gun-boats, for which they were peculiarly qualified. In this point of view, he looked upon them as one of the most valuable parts of our force; and this description of service brought into activity a body of men, who, being chiefly pilots and fishermen, could neither be employed in the navy nor be permanently taken from their families. Declining to enter  
into



into any wider field of discussion, Mr. Pitt concluded by stating that, at the proper time, he should propose the resolutions to which he had alluded.

Lord Castlereagh was desirous, before he stated what had been accomplished for the general defence since the separation of parliament, to rescue the military system from two objections advanced against it by Mr. Windham; the injury which the recruiting service had sustained from the measure of the army of reserve, and the high bounties which resulted from it; and the locking up, by volunteer exemptions, of a large proportion of the population of the country, from services of greater importance. With respect to the first objection, his lordship observed, that out of 35,000 men already raised for the army of reserve, 7,500 had entered for general service. This measure, therefore, which had been described as so fatal to the recruiting service, had, in the short space of two months, produced nearly as many men for general service as had been obtained in the preceding year by the ordinary mode of recruiting; at a period too when neither the militia nor the army of reserve were in progress. To the second objection his lordship replied, that there was nothing to prevent a man serving in a volunteer corps from entering into the militia, or the regular army; and it was an ascertained fact, that any description of military duty ripened and prepared the feelings of men for general service. The facility, therefore, of procuring substitutes for those upon whom the ballot fell, was, by this very circumstance, materially increased. His lordship then proceeded to state the extent of the military force in the

united kingdom. This force, he observed, was naturally divided into troops on permanent pay, and those liable to service in the event of invasion. Of the first description, there were in Great Britain, and in the islands of Guernsey and Jersey, 130,000 men; and in Ireland 50,000 men: making in the whole 180,000 rank and file. The effective rank and file of the militia in Great Britain and Ireland amounted to 84,000 men; the regular force to 96,000; of which 27,000 were for limited service, and 69,000, at this moment, a force disposable for general service. The next grand feature of our military strength consisted in the volunteer force, of which 340,000 men, accepted and arrayed, were at present in Great Britain; and in Ireland it amounted to 70,000; making a total of 410,000 rank and file in the united kingdom, to which were to be added 25,000 sea-fencibles. The total amount of the whole military force was therefore as follows:

Militia in Great Britain and Ireland	} 84,000
Regular force for general service	} 69,000
Regular force for limit- ed service	} 27,000
Volunteer force in Great Britain	} 340,000
Volunteer force in Ire- land	} 70,000
Sea-fencibles	25,000

Total rank and file 615,000

If to this number officers of every description be added, the whole amount of the military force in Great Britain and Ireland, exclusive of various auxiliary means of defence, would not be less than 700,000 men. The more regular part.



part of this army might be considered as unconditionally disposable for active service ; since the other descriptions of force might be employed to relieve it from those detached services, which, in general, occasioned so serious a deduction from the fighting men of an army. He conceived that the efficiency of the volunteers would qualify them, if necessary, not only to co-operate, in their just proportion, with the regular army, but to act in the line immediately opposed to the enemy. Of the force mentioned above, his lordship, perceiving no reason to conceal from the committee the true situation of Ireland, stated, that 120,000 men were at present provided for the defence of that country, the whole of which was armed ; and means were resorted to for arming without delay a still greater proportion of volunteers. The whole force, therefore, in Great Britain, amounted to 495,000 men, of which number 120,000 volunteers still remained to be armed with muskets : but in order that a considerable number might be provisionally armed, nearly 80,000 pikes had been already issued from the ordnance.

Without entering into a minute detail of the several classes of ships, of which the navy was at present composed, his lordship supposed it would be deemed sufficient to state to the committee, that the number of ships of war amounted to 469 ; and that in aid of the regular navy, and for the purpose of defending the coast, an armed flotilla, consisting of 800 craft of all descriptions, was nearly completed. It was also the intention of government to augment this species of defensive force. Among the voluntary exertions to increase the naval defence of the country, lord Castle-

reagh felt it impossible not to distinguish the patriotic offers of the East India company, and of the corporation of the Trinity-house. Twenty armed ships had been furnished by the former, for the public service, and the latter had manned ten frigates for the defence of the Thames ; which, with the other ample means already provided for this object, might be considered as rendering that important part of our frontier altogether impenetrable.

In noticing the exertions of the ordnance department, in the execution of the present armament, his lordship stated that, since the commencement of hostilities, there had been issued 312,000 muskets, 16,000 pistols, and 77,000 pikes. Such an amount of arms, however, had been reserved, as, in the event of a campaign, might be sufficient to supply the waste on service of so extensive an army, and measures had been taken completely to arm, at no distant period, the whole of the volunteers. The field train also, in Great Britain alone, was increased from 346 to 460 pieces of ordnance, completely appointed and brigaded under experienced officers. The horses attached to the same had been increased from 3300 to 5900, and the drivers from 1400 to 3000. The quantity of moveable ammunition with each gun had been nearly doubled. The made-up ammunition for small arms, both distributed and in store, had been increased in a still greater proportion. The general provision of stores, in all the other branches, was equally abundant. For the service of Ireland, his lordship stated, that corresponding exertions had been made. He fully concurred with Mr. Pitt in opinion, that the  
apparent



apparent abandonment of invasion, or even the failure of any attempt on our coast, should never induce us to relax in our vigilance and our exertions. True wisdom left us no alternative, but to place the security of these realms on such a basis of internal strength, as should for ever lay the question of invasion at rest.

Mr. Fox said, that he very sincerely applauded the zeal and patriotism of the volunteers, but he could never persuade himself to believe, that they were susceptible of any thing like the efficiency of a regular force. He asked whether it would be prudent to place the safety of the country under the protection of a body of men, who were neither subject to martial law, nor inured to military discipline? If the rumour of invasion (which he conceived was not so likely to be attempted, and, if attempted, not so practicable as was generally imagined,) should subside, the whole of the regular army ought by no means to be employed on foreign expeditions, and the safety of the empire intrusted to the volunteers. For, if invasion, under such circumstances, were attempted, there would indeed be serious ground for apprehension and alarm. Mr. Fox entered into a variety of details, to show that the machinery of the volunteer system was every way defective; and that, whatever degree of improvement they might attain, they could never be qualified to act with the regular force of the country. He supported most of the arguments advanced by Mr. Windham; and, while he admitted that the volunteers might be employed with advantage to harass and annoy the enemy, he deprecated, with the right honourable gentleman, their introduction into the line. Repeating his

sentiments with respect to the expediency of establishing a responsible military council, to which parliament and the people might look for the whole conduct of the army department; he expressed the greatest personal respect for his royal highness the commander in chief, but was persuaded that he would by no means be pleased with the flattery, that he was himself equal to the arduous duties of this department. The responsibility should be clear and positive, and his high birth presented an obstacle to the responsibility attached to that situation. There was a delicacy, he remarked, in questioning the measures of a personage of his illustrious rank, and men were thus deterred from the duty of examination.

Mr. Fox asserted, that all the military arrangements, for the last summer, had been unsteady, vacillating, and capricious. The staff which was appointed gave considerable surprise to military men. In the appointment of generals to the command of districts, officers of the greatest experience, gallantry, and distinction, had been omitted. It was conceived that lord Cornwallis was not so old as to be overlooked, nor earl Moira so destitute of zeal, energy, and experience, as to be left unemployed. A general promotion, however, altered these arrangements. Lord Hutchinson, who had been employed at first, was put off the staff; and lord Moira most properly appointed to the chief command in Scotland. In justification of these fluctuating measures, it was said, that it was the king's prerogative to change his generals; but it should be remembered, that ministers were responsible for the capricious exercise of this prerogative. The country has a right to the employment



ment of the best talents and experience the army can supply; and the character of officers constitutes an essential part of the public strength. Mr. Fox alluded to the circumstances which occasioned the resignation of general Fox. He vindicated the conduct of his relation, and imputed much blame to ministers for their proceedings relative to the melancholy affair in Ireland of the 23d of July. On the situation of the heir apparent of the crown, he felt it his duty to say a few words. In the course of the last session, his royal highness had made a patriotic offer of his services to government\*. He expressed his astonishment that nothing had since been done to sooth his mind, or to carry his liberal and honourable offer into effect. He might be told, that this too depended entirely upon the prerogative of the crown. This he did not question; but the public opinion, he asserted, was, on a subject of so much importance, entitled to respect; and the more, since it was a subject peculiarly grateful to the feelings of the prince of Wales, whose active services, in our present situation, would constitute a material part of the public defence.

The chancellor of the exchequer rose after Mr. Fox, and, in reply to the want of confidence in the volunteers, which the honourable gentleman had expressed, stated the opinion of lord Moira, commander in chief in Scotland, and of lord Cathcart, the present commander in chief in Ireland. These great military authorities were so highly satisfied with the steadiness and discipline of the volunteers of Edinburgh, and Dublin, that they gave

them an unconditional assurance that they would conduct them with confidence against the enemy. With respect to the project of a responsible military council, he said, that many respectable persons who wished for such an establishment, when it was first proposed, had now almost generally changed their sentiments. A council of this description, he asserted, would produce distraction and imbecility. On the subject of the prince of Wales's offer of service, the chancellor of the exchequer observed, that it had formerly been declined, and without even becoming a topic of animadversion! But he dismissed the subject with the assurance, that nothing short of the order of the house, or the command of his majesty, should induce him to enter into any further explanation.

Mr. Yorke endeavoured to explain the cause of general Fox's resignation, and at the same time vindicated the conduct of the Irish government from the imputation of blame. It was understood, he said, that, after the unfortunate occurrences of the 23d of July, a coolness had arisen between the lord lieutenant and the commander in chief. He was not aware how it arose, but he supposed it might have originated in such loose and unauthorized conversation at the Castle, as is always likely to happen on similar occasions. It was impossible for the king's service to go on, without cordiality and confidence between the lord lieutenant and the commander of the forces in Ireland. It was, therefore, necessary that one of them should be withdrawn; and as it was deemed expedient that the lord lieutenant

\* See the Royal Correspondence in the preceding Volume of the New Annual Register.  
should



should remain: the resignation of the commander of the forces became unavoidable.

On the 12th of December Mr. Hobhouse appeared at the bar, with the report of the committee on the army estimates. Colonel Craufurd, on that occasion, made an exceedingly elaborate speech; and entered very circumstantially into all the minute details relative to the extensive and complicated system of military arrangements. In order to place the national defence upon a great, solid, and permanent basis, he conceived it to be an object of the highest importance, that a military council should be established. This measure had been resisted by his majesty's ministers, chiefly on the ground that it would imply a want of confidence in the abilities of the commander in chief. He entertained the highest opinion of the talents and exertions of his royal highness; but, in the present situation of affairs, he had no hesitation in declaring, that he did not believe him to be capable, without further assistance, of doing ample justice to the country, in the administration of the various branches of the military department. He did not believe his royal highness to be equal to so great a task, because it far exceeded the powers of any one individual. The establishment of such a council, of which the commander in chief would naturally be president, and to which the master and lieutenant-general of the ordnance might, with others, be appointed members, would have the great advantage of uniting the different branches of the military department, which are now independent of each other.

He enforced the necessity of  
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placing the country in a posture of defensive security, even in time of peace, by the erection of military works, and the adoption of measures calculated to facilitate the rapid increase of the military strength of the kingdom. Without entering into any discussion concerning the merits of the treaty of Amiens, such regulations, he said, were plainly suggested by the augmentation of offensive means which the French government had derived from the stipulations of that treaty. Sovereign of the Netherlands, and exercising a preponderant influence in Holland, France had acquired very increased means of offence, in case of a renewal of war. It undoubtedly then behoved us to strengthen, in proportion, our means of defence, and, consequently, to adopt a new and more enlarged military system than had ever been deemed necessary at any former period. Bonaparte's project of invasion was in contemplation when the peace of Amiens was negotiated; since, then, ministers must have foreseen both the probability of a rupture, and the precise nature of the war that would ensue, they should have preconcerted the measures which might eventually become necessary to meet such an attack. If it was foreseen, that, in the event of a rupture, a great armament of the people would be resorted to, the laws relating to this object should have been prepared at leisure, that they might be submitted in their least imperfect state to the approbation of parliament. The volunteer system he considered to be extremely defective; and the exemptions the most exceptionable part of it. He asserted that it interfered with the recruiting of the  
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army of reserve, and of the militia; that it gave to certain persons in the volunteer corps a power of deciding who should be subject to be balloted, according as they chose either to accept, or to reject, the offers of those who wished to become members of their corps; and that it gave a dubious character to the whole volunteer institution; inasmuch as it was now impossible to distinguish those who entered from pure zeal and patriotism, from such as were actuated only by a desire of escaping the operation of the other bills.

Reverting to the subject of fortifications, colonel Craufurd said, he would venture to assert, that without them every defensive system must be imperfect. To execute them upon an extensive scale would undoubtedly be a work of time. But in no instance had such a system been commenced. In Ireland, where the necessity of fortresses had been admitted, not a single spot had been marked out by government for the purpose. With respect to England, he observed, that whatever difference of opinion might prevail with regard to the extent to which the system of fortifications should be carried, the propriety of fortifying a great military dépôt and place of arms, was, if we are really exposed to invasion, a subject upon which no difference of opinion could exist. He meant that it should at least be so fortified that it could not be taken without a regular siege. Thinking it possible that the enemy might succeed in the disembarkation of a considerable force in this country, he observed that many difficulties would oppose the landing of the requisite ammunition and military stores. If, therefore,

our military stores were secured against a *coup-de-main*, the enemy, unable to possess himself of them, would find the difficulties of invasion infinitely increased, in consequence of being compelled to form a magazine of his own, and to preserve with it an indispensable communication.

He regretted that recruiting from the militia was not resorted to, as it was a measure which had been, during the last war, adopted with so much success; and he was anxious that the militias of Great Britain and Ireland should be made interchangeable. This measure appeared to him to be one of the advantages which he expected would result from the union. Colonel Craufurd also very strongly recommended an extensive organization of the unarmed peasantry into corps of pioneers. He thought it impossible too highly to estimate the benefit which might be derived from their assistance: for the face of this country, being covered with inclosures, greatly impeded the action of those two descriptions of force, cavalry and artillery, in which we should be so decidedly superior to the enemy.

A variety of observations were made by other members who succeeded colonel Craufurd in the debate; but as they related principally either to the defects, or to the improvement and officering, of the volunteers, it is of less importance to notice them at present, as the volunteer institution, in so many instances, was, in the course of the session, the topic of parliamentary discussion. It is, however, proper to remark, that, in the course of the discussion, Mr. Erskine replied with considerable force to the animadversions of Mr.

Windham



Windham upon the character and constitution of the volunteer associations. With respect to that right hon. gentleman's charge against the volunteers, that they formed an armed democracy, he wished to know how such an imputation could apply to an union of all classes in the community, and, from whom less political danger was likely to arise, than from corps which were composed of the first rank in the country, and commanded by officers who had received their commissions from the crown? Admitting that a sufficient number of field officers might be spared from the line to perfect the discipline of the volunteers, he declared that, according to the constitution of the generality of volunteer corps, by whom the officers were elected, it would be impossible to introduce such an officer, without the approbation of the corps; and the proposing such an officer, to control the greater part of their original officers, would, he was apprehensive, create much discontent among the privates, and perhaps still more among the officers.

At the conclusion of the discussion, the resolutions of the committee were severally put and agreed to.

The only subject of any kind of importance which was submitted to the consideration of parliament, before the adjournment, was a motion by Mr. Yorke, for the house to resolve itself into a committee on the bill, for the introduction of which permission had already been given, to explain and amend the acts of 42 and 43 Geo. III., so far as they related to the exemptions to be enjoyed by the volunteers. Mr. Yorke confined

himself to a mere statement of the provisions of the bill. They were intended to enable the commandants of corps to make returns at any time after the passing of the act, and to legalize such as had been made since the 21st of Sept., each of which was to exempt the individual from the ballot for the militia, as well as for the army of reserve;—and to enable these commanding officers to make special returns in certain cases. As it had been impossible for government to issue the quantity of arms required by the volunteers, the second clause was to legalize such special returns, where the members had attended, without them, the full number of days, for the purpose of being trained. The bill had also in view to give uniformity to the existing regulations respecting exemptions. Mr. Yorke therefore proposed that a title to exemption, both from the militia and from the army of reserve, should be acquired by an attendance of twenty-five days.

The introduction of the bill gave rise to much irrelevant discussion;—but the following are the chief arguments against the adoption of the measure. It was urged, that as all the volunteers were engaged upon the condition, expressed or implied, for which their services had been accepted, the faith of parliament required that in these conditions no arbitrary alteration should be made. The number of days required to give a title of exemption from the militia were altered by this bill, and consequently this amounted to a breach of faith towards the volunteer, where a specific engagement for a smaller number of days already existed. The necessity of sus-

pending all exemptions was insisted upon, in order that recruiting for the militia and the army of reserve should not be obstructed by thus locking up, in the volunteer system, those who would otherwise be liable to be balloted for a more extensive service. Under the present circumstances, those upon whom the ballot fell for the army of reserve, found it much more difficult and expensive to procure a substitute for personal service, which was represented to be equivalent to a fine of fifty guineas. It was also asserted, that the bill, in a very small or in no degree obviated the difficulties in question.

On the other hand, it was contended, that no breach of faith was committed by the introduction of a new condition, if the volunteers had the option, either to submit to it, or to retire. Nor were the ex-

emptions injurious to the recruiting service, since it appeared that the regular army had obtained, within the short space of seven months, no less than 15,000 recruits. It was stated, that although in the metropolis the enormous sum of fifty guineas might have been given for a substitute, in the country the price did not exceed 20 or 25 guineas. And notwithstanding the stress which had been laid upon the insufficiency of the bill to remove the obscurities and difficulties which had arisen, it was confidently asserted, that the measure before the house fully obviated them, by settling the important point relative to the exemptions.

On the 20th of December, upon the motion of the chancellor of the exchequer, the house adjourned to the 1st of February.



## C H A P. II.

*The Object of the Motion for the Rejection of the Middlesex Petition.—Debate on this Subject.—Debates on the Bill to consolidate the Volunteer Acts.—Observations on the Volunteer System.—His Majesty's Indisposition—and Recovery.*

**B**EFORE we proceed to give an analysis of the discussion which arose on the subject of the Middlesex petition, it may be proper to state the political views of those who supported, or opposed, the motion for its rejection. If an election petition should not be presented before a certain period of the session has elapsed, its admission, conformably to one of the standing orders of the house, may be refused. In this case, the sitting member retains his seat in parliament, until the illegality of his return shall, at a future time, be reported by a committee of the house. The time for receiving the Middlesex election petition having very nearly expired, its rejection, upon the ground of informality with respect to the allegations which it contained, would have secured to sir Francis Burdett a seat in the house. As another petition could not be presented, at that period of the session, without a suspension, in favour of the petitioners, of one of the standing resolutions of the house, or the introduction of a bill for their relief, it was of the utmost importance to Mr. Mainwaring that the petition should be received; especially as, at the time, it was presumed that the illegality of sir Francis Burdett's return would

thereby be eventually established. It was, therefore, with reference to these objects that the motion was supported and resisted. As the discussion was confined solely to the abstract merits of the question, in which the parties most interested in the issue of the debate were not even once alluded to, it has been imagined that this preliminary statement might assist its immediate comprehension. For, to those who have not had leisure to study the spirit of this important discussion, it might otherwise have appeared destitute of interest. Seldom, however, has any subject been treated more argumentatively in parliament; and its importance may be duly estimated from its involving the very material point of a literal, or equitable, construction of the laws of the realm.

This subject was brought forward on the 1st of February, the day on which parliament first met after the adjournment. Mr. Fox then gave notice, that he should next day make a motion for rejecting the Middlesex petition. Agreeably to this notice, he on that day rose in order to call the attention of the house to the petition of certain persons, styling themselves freeholders of Middlesex, complaining of the return for that county.



He stated that the point to be considered by the house was so clear, that he did not conceive it possible that it could give rise to any difference of opinion. If the general principle were admitted, that acts of parliament were to be interpreted, as nearly as possible, in strict conformity to the precise letter, such a mode of interpretation became especially proper, where the act itself was framed for the express purpose of correcting any vague ideas of the intentions of the legislature. The origin of the Grenville act was a virtual admission that the house were bad judges of law, so far as it concerned the mode in which the fairness of elections was to be decided. But, lest any circumstances should occur which might endanger a recurrence to the decision of the house, the meaning of this act was put in a still clearer point of view by the 28th of his majesty. All preliminary decisions were therein declared to be beyond the province of the house; and it was moreover bound to receive petitions under certain specified circumstances, and to reject others in which particular allegations were not distinctly laid down. This act contained a specific clause, in which it was distinctly declared, that the house is not to submit to the consideration of a committee, a petition, in the body of which it is not stated, on behalf of those who sign it, that they had a right, at the time of the election, to vote as unexceptionable freeholders. In the petition in question, no such right was claimed. It was not even claimed indirectly; so that no motive was supplied for the consideration, whether or not the petition could be received consistently with the law of parliament. He

did not mean to deny that the petition might be signed by individuals who were freeholders, and had a right to vote. He only asserted that this was not stated, conformably to the 28th of his majesty, in the body of the petition. It was also to be understood, that there were many persons freeholders now, who were not entitled to vote at the time of the election. Mr. Fox said that, upon examination, it might appear that the right of the petitioners to vote was undoubted. There might even be a great appearance of equity in the case; but still the law must be enforced; for, if cases of equity were to supersede statutes, the beneficial effects of which were universally admitted, legislative provisions would be a mere nullity. He illustrated this argument by the rejection of the petition, which he had himself presented, on the subject of the conduct of the high bailiff of Westminster, in the contested election of 1784. The equity of the petition was generally admitted; but it was rejected on the ground, that the allegations which it contained were not such as the Grenville act had specified to be necessary. Mr. Fox observed, that as the law now stands, the subject is reduced to the simplest principles. The house is neither to deliberate nor to decide. The matter of the petition they are to leave wholly to the committee. They are to admit or to reject it, not because the admission or the rejection is or is not founded in equity, but because the provisions of the act are peremptorily mandatory, and, therefore, are not, under any circumstances, to be disobeyed. If it be asserted that petitions similar to the present have been admitted, and afterwards submitted to a com-



committee, such precedents would not in the least invalidate his argument. For, if the act points out a particular mode of proceeding, no precedent in direct opposition to its provisions can be advanced in justification of any subsequent irregularity. In short, Mr. Fox contended, that the house could not argue the question of the competency of any petitioners complaining of an undue election. If the petition be signed merely by copyholders, who have no right of voting at the election, it must be entertained by the house, provided it be drawn up in strict conformity to the provisions of the act. On the contrary, the petition must be rejected if it does not contain the allegations required by the law, even in the case of its being signed by persons of whose right to vote no doubt can possibly arise. The house, he said, had a simple task to execute; they have solely to determine whether or not the petition complies with the terms of the act.

The chancellor of the exchequer contended, that it was not in the contemplation of the legislature, at the time the act was framed, that the petitioners should expressly state their right of voting in the body of the petition. All that was meant by the clause was, that the general designation of freeholders should be observed. He mentioned many instances of petitions having been drawn up in similar terms, which had been submitted to the consideration of a committee. With such a body of precedents in their possession, he trusted that the house would not consent to entertain the honourable member's proposition. The petitioners, he asserted, had *prima facie* a right to be considered as electors from

their common law right of freeholders. With respect to the validity of their claims, it would be for the committee to decide. The petition itself, in which the common sense meaning of the act was complied with, and its mandatory injunctions obeyed, ought not to be rejected, from the mere circumstance of the petitioners having omitted to state, in a precise form of words, that, at the last election, their right existed in full force. In receiving the petition, the house would be guided by practice; in rejecting it, they would act with rigour and injustice.

Mr. Francis considered the question, relating to the reference of the petition to a committee, as a question of positive law, which could be determined by no other principle; and, as the legislature had foreseen and provided for the case, there was no appeal from the rigour of the act of parliament to the equity of the house. Mr. T. Grenville pursued a middle course; which appeared to be dictated by a conviction, that no inconvenience, hardship, or injustice, could result to any individual, by allowing the petition to be proceeded upon in the ordinary way; while it could not be denied, that a serious injury would be sustained by the petitioners, if the present motion were acceded to, since it would deprive them of the investigation of the subject of their petition. He endeavoured to justify the admission of the petition, upon an interpretation of the very clause of the 28th of his present majesty, which had been considered as the legal authority for its rejection. Before the passing of the 10th of the king, he believed it would be found, notwithstanding the discretionary power of the house at that



to have been nearly the general rule, to receive petitions from those only who claimed the right of voting at the elections to which the petitions related. The object of the act of the 10th was to limit the authority of the house upon election cases; and the course prescribed by that act was pursued, until the 28th of his majesty was passed, with a view to restore to the house some part of the discretionary power of which it had deprived itself by the former act. It appeared, therefore, to him, that the admission of the petition, on the formality of which so much had been insisted, would not be inconsistent with the practice, to which, after an experience of eighteen years, the house, by the act of the 28th, had thought proper to recur. These observations he made in illustration of the equity of the case. In opposition to the arguments advanced with respect to the mandatory injunctions of the clause, he asserted, that the practice of the house, since that clause was enacted, had been decidedly against a literal construction. Where any doubt existed, with regard to the construction of the letter of the law, or the practice upon that law, he conceived it should be removed in favour of the petitioners; especially when, according to the general opinion, the petition was not liable to any substantial objections.

Mr. Jekyll succeeded, and expressed his surprise at the inferences which Mr. T. Grenville had drawn from facts which admitted of quite different conclusions. He asserted that no doubt could be entertained on the construction of the act; for nothing could be more clear and mandatory in terms than the words of the clause in question.

Mr. Tierney observed, that it

was of importance to notice the course which this proceeding had taken. No objection, he said, had been started against the petition when it was presented. If the informality of the petition had been then pointed out, it might have been rejected without exposing the petitioners to any kind of hardship. The formality of the proceedings of the house might have been preserved, and substantial justice done to the petitioners by giving them an opportunity to prepare another petition, in which the deficiencies of the present might have been supplied. The consequence of this silence was, that if the house adopted the motion, the petitioners would be entirely deprived of every investigation of their complaint. Mr. Tierney admitted, that, if the act of parliament had specified a precise form of words to be used in such a petition, and this form had not been inserted, the argument against its admission would have been conclusive. But the act of parliament contained no such provision; and the honourable gentleman (Mr. Fox) had only insisted that the petitioners must express themselves in such a manner as to shew that they had, or claimed to have, a right to vote at the election, of the return of which they complained. Now the petitioners called themselves "freeholders of the county;" the obvious inference therefore was, that, in this capacity, they claimed the right of voting at that election. The only doubt that remained was, whether or not they were persons who had since become freeholders? But that was a subject foreign to the consideration of the house, and belonged entirely to the investigation of the committee. If the petition was informal, he contended, that it

was



was the fault of the house that the parties could not be heard upon it. The petitioners, by stating themselves freeholders of Middlesex, had given to their petition the common form to which the house had been accustomed. If any difficulty arose in admitting the petition under the authority of the act of parliament, it was the duty of the house to have informed the petitioners of their error, while it was in their power to correct the informality.

Mr. serjeant Best observed that the house was now sitting in its judicial and not in its legislative character, and therefore, although a supreme court of judicature, it was as much bound by the law of the land as the meanest court in the kingdom. He objected to the principle of equitable construction; especially in a case in which the house had to determine upon a question relating to the extent of its own power. Precedents, he asserted, could be of no force against the intentions of the legislature, if the act of parliament admitted of a clear construction; for this would be to oppose the judicial authority of that house against an act of parliament, and would be tantamount to an admission that one branch of the legislature had the power to annul the solemn act of the whole. If the house had no jurisdiction to entertain the petition, it would be in vain to submit it to a committee. A committee was but an emanation of the house, and therefore could not have a delegated authority superior to that which the house possessed; consequently the decision of such a committee could not be binding. With respect to the hardship which the parties might experience from the rejection

of their petition, it appeared to him, that they might have redress, either by passing of an act of parliament for their relief, or, as there was no act of parliament to limit the time of presenting an election petition, by suspending, in their favour, the existing regulation of the house to that effect.

The attorney general conceived, that where a considerable degree of doubt arose upon the form of an election petition, it would be proper for the house to send it to a committee, rather than decide for themselves. Petitions similar to the present, he maintained, had been frequently received, and, indeed, the practice of the house, from the year 1788 to the present time, afforded what might be termed an interpretation of the law upon the subject. By receiving such petitions, they may be said to have pronounced judgment upon this statute. In such cases, all that could be stated to the house was mere matter of form; they could not inquire into the merits of the petition; they could only inquire whether the petitioners had regularly stated and claimed their right to vote. In his opinion, the petition contained an allegation to that effect, and the spirit of the act had therefore been complied with. In addition to the hardship which the petitioners would experience from refusing an investigation of their claims, the rejection must extend to all petitions of a similar nature, of which there were perhaps twenty remaining. These petitions could not be received, if that from the freeholders of Middlesex were rejected. The case of the Carmarthen election he conceived to be strictly applicable to the present, for an objection similar to the present was then taken. It was, however,

over-



over-ruled by the committee, and the decision of that committee had never been the subject of question.

Several members having proceeded to make in favour of and against the motion a variety of observations, the sense of which has been already given in the preceding analysis, Mr. Fox rose, and, availing himself of the privilege of a reply, expressed his regret at the indifference with which the question had been treated. The question before the house was, whether a positive act of parliament should be obeyed? He drew a conclusion from the enactment of the 28th of his majesty, very different from that which had been inferred by a right honourable gentleman (Mr. T. Grenville); and contended that it was by no means passed with a view to restore to the house the exercise of a partial discretionary power. The intention of the legislature, as far as it could be collected from the act itself, was directly the reverse; for it had very distinctly divided the jurisdictions of the house and of the committee. The house was to decide upon what might be termed the pleadings of the case; the committee were to determine the truth of the allegations. With respect to the argument against the lateness of the objection, it was entitled to no weight, when employed to resist a compliance with the provisions of an act of parliament. The introduction of a bill, or the suspension of one of the standing orders of the house, he considered to be far less objectionable than the misconstruction of a clear and positive act of the legislature. It had been urged, that the act did not point out any specific form of words; this he did not pretend to deny; but the substance of what should

be stated in an election petition was therein distinctly explained. Mr. Fox would by no means admit that the word freeholder necessarily implied a right of voting; for many freeholders were prevented from voting, by legal disqualifications arising from the smallness of their freeholds, from places in the excise or customs, and from a variety of other causes. He acknowledged that it might be just to decide according to the equity of the case, if the question related to the construction of an old and obscure statute, and not to an act the meaning of which was clear and distinct. The hardship of the case, he said, was an evil inseparable from all human legislation, which could only proceed upon a general system, and could not be calculated to meet every individual case. *Ignorantia legis non excusat* was a general maxim in law, the harshness of which could not be disputed. It was a maxim, however, in the law of every civilised country; and, indeed, without it, no law could subsist. Every argument upon the hardship of the case was, therefore, destitute of weight. But if any rational mode could be suggested for giving relief to the petitioners, it would not meet with his opposition. The question was then put, and lost by a majority of 72.

Previously to the adjournment of parliament, his majesty's ministers had intimated an intention of revising the whole volunteer system, during the recess. In consequence of this revision, Mr. secretary Yorke, on the 8th of February, moved "that leave be given to bring in a bill to explain, amend, and consolidate, the provisions contained in the several acts relative to the yeomanry and volunteer corps throughout the united kingdom."



dom." This motion he prefaced with a speech of considerable length, in which he took rather an extensive view of the original nature and purpose of the volunteer institution; its history, and the actual circumstances of the system, in point of law and in fact; secondly, the defects and inconveniences imputed to the volunteer establishment; and, lastly, the remedies for those inconveniences and defects. As to the first point, he conceived it almost unnecessary to state, that the present situation of this country, in its general relation to the continent, and to France in particular, required that we should have a much larger military force than was ever deemed requisite in any period of our history. The great and powerful navy of the united kingdom was not alone adequate to the defence of our coast, which included an extent of about 2500 miles; nor was the defence of Great Britain and Ireland to be confided solely to a regular army. Although a regular army was certainly the most efficient instrument of defence, yet there were various constitutional and political principles, which rendered it necessary not to place our whole reliance on the regular force of the country. The militia of the united kingdom, amounting to about 90,000 men, required, in his opinion, rather a diminution than an augmentation of its numbers. Under such circumstances, it became necessary to have recourse to the services of the great mass of the people capable of bearing arms. This had been accomplished upon the principle of enrolling and training a very large body of men, with the least possible delay and expense. The volunteer system, he stated, was by no means a new institution in this

country. It was introduced, but to no material extent, during the administration of lord Shelburne in the year 1782. It was renewed in 1794, when the campaign was unsuccessful to the allies, and Holland was about to be lost. Since that time, the volunteer system, upon an enlarged scale, had formed a part of our defence. In the last war, about 150,000 men were enrolled as volunteers; and in the present, the number exceeded 400,000.

With regard to the situation of the volunteers in point of law, it appears, by a late decision in the court of king's bench, that the volunteers, when not called forth upon actual service, have a right to withdraw from their respective corps. The great difference, then, between the present volunteer system and that of the last war, amounts to this; that when an attack is actually made, or an invasion attempted, all the volunteers are liable to be called out according to their respective terms of service. The exemption from the ballot for the militia, acquired by a regular attendance for a specific number of days, was less onerous to others than it had been represented. For no member of a volunteer corps was exempted from the ballot; and he was only exempted from actual service in the militia, so long as he continued to be a volunteer. With regard to the army of reserve, they were certainly placed on a different footing; for the attendance required by the act totally exempted them from the ballot for that force.

The defects and inconveniences attached to the system, Mr. secretary Yorke considered as arising in a great measure from the inactive state of the volunteers; these defects, he conceived, would scarcely exist,



if they were called out to actual service. Besides, as the system was, in its nature, entirely voluntary, it could not, without manifest absurdity, be viewed as established on the same footing as the regulars or the militia. The establishment of committees, he acknowledged, ought to be suppressed, wherever they presumed to interfere with military command and discipline; but the objection to them was less forcible, where they were instituted merely to regulate the peculiar affairs of corps that defrayed their own expenses. But the pay to be granted on actual service would effectually remedy any inconvenience of this description. As to the election of officers, he begged the house to consider, that there was a material difference to be observed with respect to the election of officers on the first association of such corps, and the supplying of the vacancies which might afterwards arise. The act itself allowed no officers to be elected; they were required to be commissioned by his majesty, being first recommended by the lord-lieutenants of counties. There was nothing in law or practice, on which any corps could found a claim to elect their own officers, or which could give to such a claim any sort of validity. Such claims he held to be dangerous and inadmissible: and if any corps should insist on such a right, he should conceive it his duty to advise his majesty to decline their offer of service. A deviation from this rule might perhaps be admitted in favour of a few corps, which, either by express permission, or long established usage, had exercised this privilege during the last war. For the inconvenience arising from non-attendance, it would be difficult to provide any other remedy,

than that of exposing the individual, who does not attend the number of days required by the act, to the ballot for the militia or the army of reserve.

Most of these evils, many of which were perhaps inherent in the system, Mr. secretary Yorke conceived might be remedied by the power vested in his majesty, both by his prerogative and by statute law. For his majesty possessed the power of dismissing any member or officer of a volunteer association, or of disbanding the whole corps. He could also make any rules or regulations which might appear to him to be proper. He was, therefore, convinced that, in order to provide a remedy for most of the inconveniences to which he had alluded, it would be unnecessary to have recourse to the interposition of parliament, since the powers which his majesty could exercise were, probably, amply sufficient for this purpose. The interposition of parliament was necessary upon the present occasion, only to consolidate the different acts which had been passed on the volunteer institution, with a view to render their provisions more clear and intelligible, and consequently of more easy execution; and for the purpose of regulating the important point of the exemptions. The exemption from the militia, he observed, was acquired by an attendance of only five days in the year, and the returns were annual. That from the army of reserve required a regular attendance of twenty-four days, and the returns were made three times in a year. He thought, however, it would be preferable to place the exemptions on exactly the same footing, and to adopt the attendance requisite to avoid the ballot for the army of reserve. It was



was also proposed to introduce some regulations, for the purpose of enabling the lord-lieutenants to compel those counties, which had not produced their proportionate number of volunteers, to furnish a greater number of men for the militia, and the army of reserve. Expressing his confidence that the zeal and spirit of the volunteers would suffer no abatement, but, on the contrary, would become more ardent and exalted with the approach of augmented danger, he concluded an able and comprehensive speech by the motion which he had proposed to introduce.

Mr. Sheridan and lord Castlereagh succeeded. They confined their observations entirely to the subject of the election of officers. The former contended, that no danger could arise from leaving to the volunteers themselves the right of recommending their own officers to the approbation of his majesty, instead of transferring this right to the lord-lieutenants. Because no express covenant was entered into between a volunteer corps and government, he did not by any means conceive that the former was, therefore, not to exercise the right of recommending their own officers. No such inference could be fairly drawn from a distinction between the right which a volunteer corps might have at its original formation, and after it had been actually established. If any attempt of this nature were made, in express defiance of existing engagements, he should regard it as a breach of faith towards a gallant body of men, who were entitled to the most respectful attention. If ministers really intended to take from the volunteers the right of recommending their officers, he hoped that it would not be assigned

to the colonels commandants of corps, with whom, for a variety of reasons, he was anxious that it should not rest. Lord Castlereagh conceived it of importance that the right should not rest with the volunteers. Before they were formed into military bodies, no sort of evil could arise from the choice of their own officers; but when once these military associations were constituted, it became a subject of extreme delicacy to expose such corps to the inconvenience of a popular election. There were, however, some exceptions, where good faith required that the custom of choosing the officers should remain undisturbed. It had been the invariable practice of that old-established corps, the artillery company; and it would therefore be improper, in such a case, to interfere with a long-established regulation. The principle itself was of consequence, although it might admit of occasional relaxation; and no where could a discretionary power for this purpose be so well deposited as in the hands of his majesty, advised as he was by his ministers, who were responsible for the advice they gave.

Mr. Whitbread entered extensively into the discussion, and urged a very considerable number of objections against the volunteer system. Beginning with the question relative to the appointment of officers, he stated that the volunteers had hitherto all enjoyed the right, if not of electing, at least of recommending, their officers. He wished to know whether this power was given to the volunteers by law, or conferred on them by the connivance of the crown? If by law, it belonged to them generally; if by connivance, no mischief had resulted from the practice. Why, then, he asked, should the volunteers be



deprived of a privilege upon which they placed so great a value, and without which, he apprehended, they would not only diminish in numbers, but decline in efficiency? He proceeded so far as to assert, that if this principle were enforced, it would prove fatal to the whole system. He blamed ministers for engaging in the war before they had ascertained whether continental assistance could be obtained. It was this impolitic conduct which had rendered it necessary to have recourse to the system of volunteer service; a system which appeared to him to be defective both in point of economy and efficiency. The volunteers formed the grand mass of the army of England; but it was material to inquire what part of this mass of 350,000 men was deserving of reliance on their efficiency. He believed that upon a great proportion of it no dependence could be placed for effective strength. Persons of all ages and of all descriptions had been accepted by government, without reference to any sort of unfitness. In some instances, he was persuaded, that not one half of the volunteers of a whole district was composed of men equal to effective service. He disapproved of the order of government to reduce their number to that of six times the amount of the militia. It produced a serious and alarming effect by depressing the ardour of the country. He contended that ministers did not originally intend to exempt the volunteers from the army of reserve. To the honour of the corps which he commanded, every individual entered as a volunteer, although impressed with an opinion of being liable to the service of the army of reserve. But the consequence of granting exemptions was, that neither the militia

nor the army of reserve could be completed.

Mr. Whitbread expressed much surprise and satisfaction at the declaration of Mr. secretary Yorke; that if the court of king's bench had not decided that the law allowed volunteers to resign, he should himself have proposed that the law should authorise their resignation. But it appeared to him to be a subject of astonishment, that the right honourable gentleman should have entertained this opinion, and yet have exerted himself to promulgate as law that which he did not wish to continue to have the force of legal obligation. With respect to the economical part of the volunteer system, erroneous opinions, he observed, had been formed on this subject. The expense to the public was the same, whether volunteer corps were supported by subscription, or by the payment of a tax. The danger of dissolution appeared to him another objection to the system. This might arise from a variety of causes; but the greater danger was to be apprehended from a deficiency of funds for its support. This was a point of so much importance, that, if government neglected it, he was confident it would be impossible long to continue the institution. Another defect consisted in allowing, for the instruction of the corps, pay to those officers only who have been in the army. After making a few observations on an unnecessary augmentation of the militia, and recapitulating those points on which he was desirous most to insist, he concluded by recommending the whole subject to the most serious consideration of his majesty's government.

Mr. Windham and several other members made a few observations

on



on the subject before the house; but as they reserved themselves for the future discussion of the measure, it is at present unnecessary to dwell on the remarks which they offered in this stage of the proceeding. The chancellor of the exchequer replied generally to these observations. Upon the suggestion of Mr. T. Grenville to submit so important a measure in the first instance to a committee of the house, he observed that the journals furnished no precedent for such a course of proceeding. During the last war, many propositions had been made to parliament for the defence of the realm, not one of which had originated in a committee of the whole house. As much difference of opinion seemed to prevail with respect to the election of officers, it would necessarily become a subject of a discussion, which would probably lead to the adoption of regulations calculated to give entire and eventual satisfaction. He was prepared to admit that a violation of faith would in some degree attach to the system, should his majesty's ministers attempt to fetter that free agency, which was the life and soul of the volunteer force. If, therefore, the judgment of the court of king's bench had accorded with the opinion of the attorney general; yet, as a contrary impression prevailed amongst the volunteers, he should have advised parliament to reject the opinion of the first law officer of the crown, and to annul the decision of the judges; that the principle of resignation, which composed the very essence of the volunteer institution, might not be violated. Notwithstanding the reservation of this privilege, he did not conceive it possible that any individual would resign, except on

grounds which admitted of no alternative. If such individuals exist, they should be consigned to infamy, their names should be execrated, and themselves stigmatized as traitors to the hallowed cause of their country. With respect to the actual state of the military arrangements of the country, he wished to know, whether, in the short space of eight months, there had ever been so large a force of regulars and militia, and in such a state of discipline, as at present? With every deference to the merits of such a force, he thought it unfair to make their superiority the ground of a depreciation of the services of the volunteers, whose exertions, however, had been depreciated only in that house, and whose zeal and patriotism formed the proudest monument of virtuous public spirit, that ever distinguished any period of the history of this or of any other country.

In the course of this discussion, the attorney general defended the opinion which he had given against the right of resignation. There was, he observed, an engagement on the part of the volunteer to come forward in case of invasion. It therefore appeared strange to him, that an obligation thus absolute and peremptory should make no provision for the person being forthcoming, upon whom the obligation was to fall.

The question being put, leave was given to bring in the bill; and Mr. secretary Yorke, the chancellor of the exchequer, lord Castlereagh, the secretary at war, and the attorney and solicitor generals, were appointed a committee to prepare and bring in the same.

Upon the second reading of the bill, on the 27th of February, Mr. T. Grenville expressed much dissatisfaction



satisfaction that, after the consideration which ministers had promised to bestow on the volunteer system, during the recess, only two objects were to be accomplished by the measure under discussion ;—the assimilation of exemptions, and the legal enactment of the right of resignation. He appealed to the house, whether a measure of so much consequence as the efficient improvement of the volunteer establishment, could possibly be accomplished by the present bill. Having formerly moved for copies of the circular letters from the secretary of state to the lord-lieutenants, relative to the regulation of volunteer corps, he proceeded critically and minutely to examine them, with a view to point out what he considered to be defective and deficient. From lord Hobart's first letter, he said that no exemption from the ballot appeared to be granted, except to a certain description of volunteers. He was sure, from the disinterestedness that every where prevailed, the volunteers expected no exemptions. It was, therefore, unnecessary to grant them, since they must have the effect of injuring the other branches of the public defence. He imputed blame to ministers for the sudden rejection of offers of voluntary service, upon finding that the exemptions interfered with the ballot. The principle of indemnification for losses which might be sustained in the event of an invasion, seemed to him to be unfair, since those only were to be indemnified whose names should appear in the roll of persons employed in aid of the public service. He alluded to the unnecessary delays which had interfered with the erection of beacons ; required explanation of the omission of ministers to provide a requisite

supply of arms ; and dilated, with considerable severity of animadversion, upon many other subjects immediately relating to the provisions of the bill, and to the general defence of the united kingdom.

Lord Ossulston succeeded. After commenting at some length upon the opinion given by his majesty's law officers against the right of resignation, and dwelling upon the consequences to which such an opinion had naturally given rise, his lordship proceeded to take a general view of the volunteer system. He considered it to be free from a variety of defects which had been imputed to it, but regarded it as no way entitled to the unqualified approbation which it had frequently received. He conceived it an original and radical defect in the system, that its character was not sufficiently determined. It was neither exactly what it should be, nor was so constituted as to admit of easy and certain improvement. His lordship approved of the bill before the house, in as far as it tended to preserve inviolate the faith of government with the volunteers. The proposed alteration, with respect to the exemptions, appeared to him to be material ; for, if the name of the volunteer when drawn was to be set aside for the purpose of filling up vacancies, his exemption was nothing more than leave of absence ; which became liable to termination at the pleasure of the king, or the commanding officer. Upon the election of officers, he partly agreed with Mr. Sheridan, that the word recommendation was the preferable term ; for the word election involved an idea of liberty which it would be improper to sanction in any thing which regards the government of a military body. The common sense of the question

of



of election was, that the recommendation of the commanding officer should be submitted to his majesty through the medium of the lord lieutenant. With the power of the crown to reject exceptionable persons, and the right of the volunteer to resign, if he thought his privileges invaded, his lordship did not see that any danger could arise to the state, or any hardship to the individual.

Lord Ossulston was followed by Mr. secretary Yorke, who, after paying a slight compliment to the talents of his lordship, replied to the arguments of the right honourable member who had preceded him in the debate. He confessed that it was by no means presumed, that the present bill was to complete the volunteer system; time and experience were necessary to remove its defects. But if the two important objects, the exemptions and the right of resignation, were definitively established, he contended, that two very serious objections to the volunteer institution would be removed. The election of officers, he said, might be considered in two points of view; as it related to the question of right and of discretion. He asserted that no right existed in the volunteers to elect their officers; nor did such a right necessarily arise out of the nature of the engagement. Even upon the supposition that they were permitted to recommend the approved person to the commanding officer, and the latter recommended this nominee to the secretary of state, the right, under these circumstances, would scarcely have a perceptible existence. Moreover, this pretended right had been granted to no corps whatever. True it was, that, upon the first formation of the volunteer corps, the recommenda-

tions were very generally accepted; but this acquiescence by no means implied a connivance at subsequent nominations. Mr. secretary Yorke defended the proceedings of government, with respect to the erection of beacons; the circulation of the opinion which the law officers of the crown had delivered on the right of resignation; and the supply of arms which had been issued for general service. The arms which had been delivered up to that day, amounted to 365,426 muskets, 18,000 brace of pistols, and 100,000 pikes. These facts, when considered comparatively with the issues of former periods, would show how unfounded was the blame imputed to his majesty's ministers in this important department of their duty. With regard to the whole volunteer institution, Mr. secretary Yorke observed, that we should never forget that the system was only in its commencement, and ought, in its progress, to be, as much as possible, voluntary:—measures of coercion might lead to its destruction.

Mr. Pitt rose.—Although the volunteer system then formed the principal subject of deliberation, yet the army, the militia, and all the other branches of the public force, he conceived, pressed upon the attention of the house, and equally required to be examined. Impressed with a sense of the danger to which the country was exposed, he was convinced of the necessity of communicating to the volunteers every practicable instruction, in order to assimilate them to a regular army. They formed the great basis of our strength, the important instrument with which we must resist that gigantic power which disturbed the world, and had desolated a large



portion of Europe; and which would lay a foundation, if not resolutely and vigorously opposed, of future and incalculable misery. Such resistance, he trusted, it would be the glory of this country effectually to accomplish. He did not think it practicable, by any other and better means, to procure from the population of the country a force sufficiently large to meet the magnitude of the dangers with which we are menaced. If the volunteer plan were abandoned, compulsory means, however obnoxious, must be resorted to, or the security of the country would be precarious. At all events, whatever might be the imperfections of the system, he felt that he could not be contradicted in the assertion, that none other could now be looked to as a substitute. The institution cannot be abolished. The danger is too near and imminent to admit of a total change. Without inquiring into the general conduct of ministers towards the volunteers, he conceived it proper to observe, that they should have been more attentive to the regulation of the corps. They should have communicated, through the lord lieutenants of counties, more precise instructions, with respect to the best method of training the volunteers, procuring regular attendance at drills, and enforcing a due attention to military discipline.

No minor difficulties, no mistaken or narrow notions of economy, should impede such an important object as the improvement of the volunteer force in military discipline, as far as the nature of the institution, the peculiar character of its members, and the proximity of our dangers, would admit. This alone would enable us to contend against our powerful and inveterate enemy with such effect, as not only

to accomplish his final discomfiture, but to convince him and his infatuated adherents, that any attempt to invade and subjugate England can only originate in the wildest ambition, and must terminate in their ruin and disgrace.

Mr. Pitt said, he felt the most perfect conviction that much remained to be done, for which the bill before the house made no provision. It was with regret that he perceived the volunteer system was still exceedingly deficient as a military institution. It appeared to him extremely inadequate to its object, and the proper means for promoting discipline had not been adopted. The means which he deemed most material, were, the opportunity of regular instructions, the securing of attendance at drill, and the enforcement of silence and steadiness when at drill. The number of days appointed for attending drill, he considered insufficient even to acquire a knowledge of the simplest part of military instruction. In order to promote their efficiency, he proposed that volunteer corps should be encouraged to go on permanent duty, as had been the case last summer in particular districts on the coast; always taking care to assemble the corps in the place convenient to their general residence. For this purpose, he proposed that a small bounty of seven shillings per week, independently of one shilling per day, should be given to each volunteer who would consent to march on such permanent duty. This plan he was persuaded would do more towards promoting discipline and military habits, than drilling at different and detached periods. Attendance at drill, he conceived, might be enforced by proper regulations; imposing fines on defaulters, and rendering



rendering inattention at parades liable to arrest and detention, until tried before a magistrate, who should have the power of commuting any fine for a short imprisonment of two or three days. Such regulations, he thought, were called for by absolute necessity. As to the right of electing officers, he hoped that, upon vacancies, commanding officers would judiciously consult the sentiments of the corps, but not take their individual suffrages in any thing like the form of a popular election. He contended that the volunteer establishment was not injurious to the recruiting service; but, on the contrary, might, under proper modifications, be made to contribute to the progressive augmentation of the regular force. For this purpose, he should propose, that the militia should be gradually reduced from its present establishment to its old standard; and that, according as vacancies arise in that body, a ballot should take place for an equal number, not to fill up these vacancies, but to go to the regular augmentation of a military body formed somewhat upon the principle of the army of reserve, and calculated to afford supplies for the recruiting of the regular army. He recommended the introduction of a plan to limit the bounties for substitutes to a sum inferior to the bounty given to the regular recruit; and he thought it would be proper to allot a certain number of regiments to be recruited in certain counties, in proportion to the population of such counties. He also expressed himself in favour of the erection of fortifications, and dwelt on the propriety of improving our naval defence, which he represented to be very defective; and in this representation he disclaimed all influence of any personal prejudice.

This was not a time for the operation of party spirit. Every mind should be engaged, every heart should be devoted to the defence of the state. It was not enough that our preparations were great; they ought to be complete.

Mr. Windham, in opposition to the argument that the volunteer system was necessary, because, from the urgency of danger, no measure of equal advantage could be devised, observed, that we were not called on merely to provide for an immediate exigency, but to consider what species of force would be adequate to our permanent defence. He agreed with Mr. Pitt in thinking that terror was not a likely mode of procuring a continuance of voluntary service, and approved of the option given to volunteers to withdraw, as being the best means to encourage a continuance of their engagements. But he was apprehensive that many would resign from the unpalatable conditions annexed to this option. He entertained an opinion decidedly in favour of an armed peasantry. They would not require that proficiency and skill, without which the volunteers, by mingling with the regulars, would impede and confuse, rather than serve any useful purpose. He was not desirous that the volunteers should ever become so completely effective, as to give to this country the character of an armed nation; nor, however paradoxical it might appear, should he then deem it more secure. France and Geneva were armed nations, and that circumstance was one of the first causes of the destruction of their liberties.

Mr. Castlereagh supported his opinion in favour of the effective service which might be expected from disciplined levies, though newly raised, by an allusion to the vic-



tory obtained with a force of this description by general Dumourier at Jemappe. With respect to the loyalty, integrity, and patriotism of the volunteers, not the slightest doubt could be entertained. Their connection with the crown, and with the laws of their country, should remove every apprehension respecting their principles. The solitary instance of the irregular proceedings of the volunteers at Chester could by no means furnish an argument against the propriety of their general conduct. Instances of insubordination sometimes occurred amongst the best disciplined troops in the world. Adverting to the state of the navy, which appeared unsatisfactory to Mr. Pitt, his lordship enumerated the most prominent details of our maritime force. In the first year of the war, he stated, that we had 91 ships of the line, 129 frigates, and 191 armed vessels of inferior force manned and fit for service. In the last war, we had not the same number of ships of the line, until we were considerably advanced in the third year; our frigates and other vessels did not equal the present number until the fourth year of that war. We have also a numerous flotilla of vessels, not regularly engaged in his majesty's service, but ready to be employed when necessary. The East-India company had furnished 600 vessels of this class, and the dock-yards 370; 200 also were stationed on the coast of Ireland. We have now 77,012 seamen, and 11,990 marines, on actual duty. In the last war we had not an equal number of seamen till the year 1795, and of marines until the year 1796.

Mr. Pitt shortly objected to the principle of these comparative statements. There appeared to him to

be no fair ground of comparison between the first years of a war, when the previous peace establishment had been only 18,000 men, and that in which it had been 50,000; where they had passed to war from a state of profound peace, and where hostilities were resorted to after a considerable apprehension of war.

Mr. Whitbread spoke at some length against several of the prominent measures of ministers with respect to the volunteer institution. Mr. secretary Yorke said a few words in explanation, and Mr. Tierney stated the circumstances of irregularity which had arisen in the Southwark corps. At two o'clock, Mr. Fox rose. At that late hour, he expressed an intention of adverting only to a few points. With respect to our naval force, he observed, that the question was not what was our naval strength considered with reference to former wars, but what were the means, and the necessities of service, by which our exertions were now to be regulated. Precisely the same mode of defence was adopted by the admiralty in the American war, when for two years our navy had been inferior to that of France. If it were true, according to the statement of ministers, that, ever since the peace, the French government had never ceased from insult and aggression, our state of preparation should be adequate to what the result of such a situation required. Mr. Fox proceeded to comment on the attorney general's opinion with regard to the right of resignation; and made a variety of remarks on what appeared to him to be inconsistent in the proceedings and declarations of the ministers on that subject. He expressed surprise that, after the volunteer establishment had been formed

above



above seven months, it should now be necessary to make new regulations, notwithstanding the system had been resorted to on the ground of immediate danger. It would be necessary, he conceived, to resort to other measures in order to give permanency to the institution. It might be proper to dispense with some of the perfection which more frequent attendance would bestow, lest the volunteers should be so harassed as to be induced to abandon the service altogether. The right of election, he thought, might have been left to the good sense of the people. But the conduct of ministers in menacing those who should not accommodate themselves to the wishes of government, was calculated to lay a foundation for much dissatisfaction.

The chancellor of the exchequer, Mr. Gray, and captain Markham spoke shortly upon the subject; when the question for the second reading of the bill was put and carried.

On the 29th of February the bill was read a third time. Upon this occasion, Mr. Francis expressed his disapprobation of the bill, on the ground of inefficiency; and laid considerable stress upon the magnitude of the danger to which he conceived the country was exposed. He was anxious to impress this subject on the house, as he was apprehensive, however frequently the critical state of the country was alluded to, we were not sufficiently sensible of the very alarming situation of affairs.

Colonel Craufurd succeeded.—The present bill appeared to him to be totally inadequate to its object. The regulations which it proposed were no way calculated to call forth the energies of the nation, and to give them a proper direction. He contended that the security of the country was by no

means provided for, even if the existing force were somewhat greater than during the last war. For, at no period of the late war, nor, in fact, at any period of the history of England and France, had we so powerful an enemy to contend with as threatens us at present. No part of our force, therefore, should be deficient. Without intending to say that there was any general deficiency in that great and powerful force, the navy of England, he believed a sufficient supply had not been provided of vessels of a smaller description, which, probably, would be more efficient than a formidable fleet, in opposing that description of force which the enemy were likely to bring against us. The parts of our coast most liable to attack, he asserted, were left in a state of comparative insecurity. In order to render even the regular force more efficient, he recommended that a feeling of sympathy should be excited, with regard to great and glorious achievements. For this purpose, the old regiments which had distinguished themselves, should have been filled up, and the strength of our officers should be duly estimated; and instead of annexing to any particular regiment or battalion such a profusion of staff and other officers, they should be dispersed so as to render them of more effective service to the state. The number of officers which we had to a regiment, was deemed by foreigners to be a sufficient establishment for a body of 12 or 1400 men.

He entirely disapproved of the whole constitution of the volunteer system, and gave a decided preference to an armed peasantry. Respecting the reference which had been made to the battle of Jemappe, in proof of the efficiency of a volunteer force, he asserted, that the



soldiers alluded to had been engaged from the beginning of the war, and had compelled the greatest commander, and the most formidable armament which Germany could bring against them, to retire. What an armed peasantry could accomplish was substantiated by the achievements of the people of La Vendée. Such a force might render the most essential service. They might attack the enemy as opportunities arose; if defeated, they might separate and re-assemble. Their training should be simple; their weapon either a pike, or a musket. The principal thing necessary for them was to handle their arms with expertness. They should be taught the easiest movements; those which might be learned in a few days. One great object would be to move with expedition, in order to attack the enemy's lines, and harass their progress. The mode of training now in use was first adopted by the king of Prussia. His soldiers had to act on great plains; with us, the field of action was different. We must come in contact with the enemy with whom we were to be engaged. Hedges, ditches, and the various improvements which the country had undergone, would render the regular manœuvres ineffectual. If the volunteers expected the enemy would form a solid compact body like themselves, they would be deceived. The enemy would appear to be every where one moment, and the next dispersed. He thought, therefore, that the advocates for military perfection in the volunteer system had conceived an erroneous opinion of such efficiency; for, in his opinion, the simple mode of tactics was preferable. He emphatically insisted on the propriety of arming with pikes the mass of the people who

could not otherwise be furnished with arms. He forcibly objected to volunteer exemptions, the establishment of committees, and the armed deliberations of the corps; and again pointed out the indispensable necessity of fortifications. Whatever might be the inefficiency of the measure before the house, he placed the fullest confidence in the spirit of the country, which, in the moment of trial, would surmount any danger to which it might be exposed. England, he was convinced, would show herself worthy of her antient name; and Britons would now, as they had ever done, resolve to defend their honour, or to lose their lives.

General Maitland made a personal reply to colonel Craufurd. After enumerating a variety of topics, upon which he had conceived that the honourable officer would have dilated with much satisfaction, he proceeded to deprecate such speeches as he had just heard, upon the principle that they were calculated to give the strongest encouragement to the enemy. The effect represented to have been produced by the exemptions, he said, was decidedly contradicted by the fact. He confessed himself at a loss to understand what was precisely meant by an armed peasantry. After two or three campaigns, and after many disasters, the armed peasantry might perhaps be converted into pretty good soldiers; but they could by no means form so efficient a force as had been described. They had been tried in America; a country better adapted for them than any other in the world, and under circumstances peculiarly favourable to their mode of warfare. The Americans, however, afterwards found it necessary to have recourse to a regular army. He agreed with colonel Craufurd, that



that the mode in which the army, the militia, and the volunteers, would be called upon to act in this country, would be different from the species of warfare elsewhere adopted. But, in his opinion, our system of training had more tactic in it than was necessary in action. If men, however, were taught more than was necessary, they were not, therefore, incapacitated from performing what necessity required. Whatever services smock-frock soldiers (as he termed an armed peasantry) were capable of achieving, he gave a most decided preference to the volunteers, whom he considered as sufficiently instructed for action.

Admiral Berkeley shortly adverted to what he conceived to be deficient in our naval defence. Captain Markham replied in vindication of the measures which had been adopted. Colonel Eyre expressed himself in favour of the bill now submitted to the house: sir W. Young and Mr. Fuller stated their objections to it.

Mr. Fox afterwards rose, and defended the suggestions of colonel Craufurd, in reply to general Maitland's observations. It seemed, he observed, to be the drift of his honourable friend's remarks, that no officer of less rank than a lieutenant-general should presume to state his opinion in that house, upon any military topic connected with the defence of the country. Upon a former occasion, when his honourable friend was only a major, he commented with severity on generals Meadows, Musgrave, and others, and exposed himself to animadversions, against which he defended him. Upon the same principle, therefore, he should now undertake the defence of colonel Craufurd. His speech, he contended, was full of

valuable information, and conveyed in a manner so conspicuous as to be more intelligible than military tactics in general, to men unacquainted with military affairs. He supported his opinion in favour of an armed peasantry; for the volunteers, he maintained, were not competent to the duties of a regular army, and were less fit for any other description of service than an armed peasantry. By the volunteer system, we had about 400,000 men in arms; by resorting to an armed peasantry, we might have more than two millions; more effective, requiring less drilling, easier prepared for the objects to which it would be proper to direct them, and much less expensive. It should be recollected that the great defence of a country consists of an armed people. An aid might thus be provided for every village, and every town, more effective than the volunteers. The country might thus be put in such a state of defence, that, even after a victory over the regular army, the enemy would not dare to send out foraging detachments, without exposing them to be shot from every hedge, from every cottage, and from every enclosure, and by men not dressed so as to be easily perceivable, not wearing those coloured garments which would put the enemy on their guard. America, he asserted, was victorious over her opponents, not because she had a large regular army, but because she was an armed country; and the result of that popular armament was, that two of our best generals, at the head of some of our best troops, were compelled to surrender.

Precisely that kind of force which so conquered in America, which emancipated Holland, which



triumphed in Switzerland, which performed such prodigies of valour in La Vendée, and in Ireland, was the species of armament he would recommend to be resorted to in this country. Instead of teaching the volunteers the stiff and intricate manœuvres of Prussian discipline, it would be better to instruct them only in what is essential. They should not be assimilated to a regular army, but to an armed peasantry. Nothing, he said, could be more erroneous than the opinion of the secretary of state, that the colour of the volunteer clothing would be advantageous, in the event of invasion. Such a connection between them and our regular army, must injure the latter; and, in case of their defeat, the enemy, mistaking them for soldiers, would be the more stimulated by encouragement. Instead of such troops, it was Mr. Fox's wish that we should have an armed people; that the enemy might be annoyed in every direction, without being warned by hostile appearances. If this plan be abandoned, the fears of an invading enemy would be diminished; for, should he conceive that he has none but red-coated foes to contend with, his confidence would naturally be strengthened. With regard to the present bill, he asserted, that in reality it contained nothing in the shape of a remedy for the defects in the volunteer institution. The system which it professed to support, could not, in his opinion, be of long duration; for it was not of a durable nature. The dread of invasion which produced it, would not long avail; and as soon as the danger disappeared, or was not attended to (which was likely to be the case, should it long continue to be merely the subject of conversa-

tion), the spirit of the volunteers would, from the nature of the human mind, in all probability relax. These considerations confirmed his opinion of the superior character of an armed peasantry.

Mr. Pitt rose.—He observed that the volunteer system was founded to meet the immediate danger with which the country was threatened. Having provided for that great object, we ought not to hesitate an instant in adopting the most effectual measures for giving permanency to our system of defence. The spontaneous zeal of the country had hitherto superseded, in a great degree, the necessity of legislative measures, and had counteracted no small share of error on the part of the executive government. The volunteer establishment could not, however, be expected to continue, for any great length of time, in its present extent. It therefore became a question of importance, whether there were any means of giving to that system a degree of permanency which did not necessarily belong to it? In case the volunteers should fall short of the number requisite for maintaining the security of the country, his majesty possessed the means of providing for this object, by calling upon the different classes, even to the extent, if necessary, of the whole population of the country. In doing this, the legislature had laid the foundation of that system which might be so improved as to establish a great and permanent system of defence, which would place the country in a state of security in all future contests. Indeed it was now understood, that if in any place the volunteers fell short of the number which was deemed necessary, the government were deter-



determined to call out the classes under the defence act; and he had no doubt, that if ever the disappearance of immediate danger should relax the spirit of the volunteers, there were means to be found in that system to keep the numbers entire. The next, and indeed the only practical, question which the house had to determine was, whether they ought to go on with the present bill, which in reality contained little that was either new or important? But if ministers were convinced of the necessity of continuing the volunteer institution, they could have no objection to receive any addition, alteration, or amendment, which would render that force efficient for the present, and permanent for the future. Although this bill did not, either in its title, its preamble, or any of its clauses, contain any thing on that subject, yet he saw no reason, if the propriety of such provisions were admitted, why they should not be introduced. The rejection of the present bill, therefore, would only create unnecessary delay.

After adverting to the necessity of augmenting the number of volunteers in the maritime counties, and particularly in Kent, a county which had sixty miles of coast opposite to France, and within a few hours sail of the great naval depôt of the enemy, he proceeded to state his opinion on the subject of an armed peasantry. With respect to the war in La Vendée and in America, which had been alluded to in order to establish the superiority of an armed peasantry over a volunteer force, he acknowledged, that, in La Vendée, they did succeed in preventing the French soldiers from making themselves masters of their country; but they could

not prevent a most dreadful and devastating war from being carried on in the heart of their country for several years. It would not surely be contended, he said, that we were to make such sacrifices. The object of the enemy would be totally different; it would not be to stop in order to devastate the country, but to push forward with all imaginable speed to the capital. The question, therefore, was, whether an armed peasantry could be relied upon to oppose effectual resistance to such an enemy? In America, it was not by irregular troops that his majesty's forces were baffled and repulsed. Time enabled the Americans to mature their irregular into a regular force; and they were taught by the invaders the lesson of successful resistance.

Their success depended as much on the nature of the country, as upon any other circumstance; a large, wild, thinly inhabited country, not having, as we have, a great central point, the loss of which, though it would not endanger the ultimate safety of the country, would be a most serious, and, for a long time, an irreparable blow. The case of the two countries was, therefore, extremely different, and no argument could be drawn from the mode of warfare practised in the one, to show that it ought to be practised in the other. Another observation that applied against an armed peasantry to the exclusion of a volunteer force was, that they could only operate with effect in their own county, and it would be almost impossible to bring them to a distant county to meet the enemy.

After a few observations from Mr. Windham, the question was put and carried. The house having



ing resolved itself into a committee on the bill, the preamble and one of the clauses were read pro forma, and progress was reported. The bill was so far entered into, in order that the discussion of its provisions might regularly take place the following day in the committee.

Having exhibited a detailed account of the most material arguments on both sides of the question, we feel it unnecessary to enter into the desultory and minute discussion which arose upon the numerous clauses of the bill. Indeed, in every stage of its progress through the house, it was exposed to considerable animadversion.— Upon one occasion the recommitment of the bill was moved, but a respectable majority of the house decided against the motion. Mr. Pitt entered very fully into the spirit of the measure, and evinced a patriotic anxiety to render the bill as perfect as its original constitution would admit. Most of the new clauses, however, which he proposed were rejected; and the chief success of his exertions was limited to a few amendments of some of the provisions of the bill. The principal clauses which Mr. secretary Yorke submitted to the committee, related to the mode in which volunteers who had either resigned, or were dismissed, became subject to the ballot. Exemptions were to be on the same footing; namely, to be acquired by 24 days service. Adjutants and quarter-masters, it was proposed, should receive the benefit of half-pay, as in the militia. One of the clauses was to limit and determine the power of the commanding officer, to discharge persons guilty of improper conduct. In case any dispute should arise, in consequence of a commanding officer

refusing a discharge, after due notice of an intention to resign, an appeal was to be granted to lord lieutenants or deputy lieutenants, who were to possess the power of deciding in a summary way. Another clause determined the right of resignation to exist only when the volunteers were in a disembodied state, previously to invasion, and not on permanent pay. After the 1st of April, it was agreed, that no volunteer should resign, without a previous notice of fourteen days of his intention to withdraw. Other clauses regulated the allowances to be granted to volunteers going on permanent duty, and the recovery of fines and penalties.

Upon the third reading of the bill, on the 22d of March, colonel Craufurd and Mr. Windham spoke against it at considerable length. The former recapitulated most of the arguments which he had advanced in several previous stages of the measure. This recapitulation was defended by Mr. Windham, upon the principle that colonel Craufurd's arguments had never been satisfactorily answered. Mr. Windham, conceiving this to be the last opportunity of stating his opinion upon the bill, was desirous to avail himself of it, in order, in the most solemn manner, to enter his protest against a measure which, he asserted, would, if persisted in, lead to absolute ruin. This sentence, however harsh, he could not hesitate to pronounce, as the full conviction of his mind. The house he observed, had never yet taken a distinct view of the question. The point to be considered was, not so much what had been done towards the defence of the empire, as what had not been done. The bill accomplished nothing that was entitled to praise.



If any man should say that its rejection would go to dissolve the volunteers, he was prepared to tell him, that no such consequence could arise. Though the system be done away, the men would still remain; they would not be annihilated. They would indeed lose some forms, and their fine clothes, but the heart and spirit would still be sound. Like the atoms, which at the last day will be collected and embodied again, the volunteers would be forthcoming still, although their committees, the right honourable secretary's correspondence, and the crude measure under discussion, should be heard of no more.

Although the allusion to the peasantry of La Vendée had been denied as applicable to the case of an armed peasantry of this country, he was of opinion, that the peasantry, constituted as those of La Vendée, would be more effectual than the volunteers. It was true that the Vendéan peasantry had been defeated, but principally because they had fought as regulars. They were almost uniformly successful in annoying the enemy, until they embodied themselves in a regular army, and marched to Granville, in the hope of receiving succours from this country. Such an example would serve to show how our volunteers, or rather our armed peasantry, should be employed. Mr. Windham denied that there was any analogy between the volunteers of France and those of this country. The volunteers of France, who really resembled our own, namely, the national guards of Paris, and others of that description, were never, in any one instance, marched to the frontier. It never was attempted to oppose them to an enemy, as regular

troops. The volunteers who were really so opposed, were the same as our regular troops; excepting that their pay was higher, and they had the election of their officers. It was true, that they volunteered; but they were at least eighteen months under arms before they were taken to meet the enemy. Such was the case with the volunteers who fought at Jemappe.

Mr. Windham considered it a mockery to regard the volunteer system as a source of permanent defence. It was a creature of zeal and circumstances which were not likely to be permanent; and so sensible were ministers themselves of this, that they held out the lure of exemptions. They excited hope and fear, in order to keep the volunteers together. They attached a penalty to any man who should leave his corps, and gave a bounty to any man who entered into a volunteer association. It had been said, that if exemptions were abrogated, the volunteers would resign in crowds; but such a supposition was a reproach to the volunteers, the justice of which he would never admit. The scarcity of men occasioned by the clause of exemptions was so great, that not less than fifty guineas were offered for substitutes; and the burthen of the balloting was thrown upon those least able to bear it. For, as the volunteer corps were in general composed of wealthy tradesmen, the probability was, that they would admit those of their own class to their privileged bodies, and reject the labouring poor subject to the ballot. He concluded by declaring that the bill was not calculated to give satisfaction to the volunteer, or to the country.

In the house of lords, the volunteer system underwent much discussion;



cussion; but as this subject, in all its complex details, was so minutely canvassed in the house of commons, it was almost impossible to introduce into the debates any thing distinguished either for novelty or importance. It will therefore be sufficient to observe, that their lordships made several amendments. The bill was then passed, and ordered to be sent back to the commons. But as their lordships had altered the date in the clause relative to the return necessary to establish a title to exemption, a debate arose, in which it was argued that such an amendment was an interference with the privileges of the house. It was, therefore, proposed, with a view to protect the privileges of the house against any the slightest violation, that the present bill should be rejected, and a new bill, in which these objections should be obviated, passed through the house in a single day. On the other hand it was contended, that the amendment, instead of trenching on the privileges of the commons, only went to carry their intentions more fully into effect. The chancellor of the exchequer proposed to amend the date adopted by the lords. This was agreed to, and the other amendments met with the assent or dissent of the house, in conformity to the report of the select committee, to whom they had been in the first instance referred. The alterations made by the commons were agreed to by the house of lords; and on the 5th of June the bill received the royal assent.

Although few subjects have been so fully and circumstantially discussed in parliament as the volunteer system, it may, however, be fairly inferred from the general complexion of the debates, that

the merits of this establishment were either considerably under-valued, or appreciated beyond their just importance. To represent a body of men, practised in the use of arms so far as to be capable of executing with dexterity and precision almost every thing necessary in actual service, as a completely inefficient force, and calculated to make no sort of impression upon the enemy, is entirely to deny them that justice which is due to their patriotic energy and their military skill. But, on the other hand, as the industrious pursuits of commerce are in a great degree incompatible with the cultivation of military habits, it is certainly expecting too much, to suppose that the volunteers, who are principally composed of persons engaged in commercial occupations, may be rendered susceptible of the discipline and perfection of troops of the line.

We acknowledge that our opinion does not coincide with either of these representations. For to us it appears, that the volunteers cannot, in the first instance, be considered in any other light than that of an auxiliary force; which, upon the emergency of taking, and continuing in, the field, may be rapidly converted into a force fully equal, with respect to efficiency, to a well disciplined militia. It is needless to make any comment on the utility of a force of this description, especially when employed in defensive rather than offensive warfare. The enemy, in all probability, is completely aware of this; for the mere circumstance of having a large body of men in arms, though very inferior to his troops in point of military qualifications, must give a doubtful character to the project of invasion. Let him calculate on the success of his first operations, (how-



(however erroneous the calculation) still every day must present new difficulties, arising from the rapid improvement of the volunteers in every branch of knowledge, and every point of discipline, essential to efficient and regular service. It is not therefore what the volunteers are at present, that should establish the criterion upon which the merits or defects of the system should be determined; it is the degree of efficiency of which, in case they should take the field, they are susceptible, from their public spirit and their patriotic ardour, and from their present knowledge of military affairs, which can alone furnish the means of forming a just conception of the true value and importance of the volunteer establishment. It may be said, that all the mischief might be accomplished by the enemy before the volunteers could, from experience, arrive at this useful degree of efficiency. But this opinion makes no allowance for the many natural obstructions which this inclosed country presents to an invading enemy, and which might be almost indefinitely multiplied by the labours of the volunteers. We have been led to make these few observations, from a conviction that the volunteer system has been much misrepresented both in and out of parliament. It has been equally the subject of unqualified panegyric, and of unqualified disapprobation.—It merits neither.—For defensive purposes, it may be rendered very usefully efficient; but the circumstances of far the greater part of the volunteers are so little favourable to perfection in martial discipline, that it is completely in vain to expect it, unless the state of the country be materially changed, unless we sacrifice the manifold advantages of a great

commercial nation to the establishment of a military empire. For it cannot be conceived that the same individuals who are successfully engaged in the promotion of our commercial grandeur, can at the same time be employed as the instruments of a formidable and permanent military institution.

As we have continued our account of the debates on the subject of the volunteers through a considerable part of the session, we must now return to an earlier period, in order to take a view of those parliamentary events which we have hitherto had no opportunity to notice. In pursuing this course, we have imposed on ourselves the painful duty of recording an event, which cannot even now be mentioned without exciting feelings of universal regret. During the space of about fourteen days, his majesty had laboured under a dangerous and distressing affliction, and no communication on this very delicate and alarming subject had been made to the house. On the 27th February his majesty's ministers were called upon for an explicit communication. But, in reply, it was stated that such a communication would be not only inexpedient, but highly indecent, under the present circumstances of his majesty's indisposition. Upon this it was observed, that no ministers whatever possessed the right of determining when a communication of this nature should be made to parliament. It was asked, what would be the consequence of the total suspension of the executive authority, if the enemy, at such a crisis, were to effect a landing on our shores? It was, therefore, required, that the two houses of parliament should be apprised of the actual state of his majesty's health, in order to form an opinion of the steps



steps necessary to be adopted for the public interest. If the communication were of a favourable nature, it would be the duty of parliament to determine what time should elapse before resorting to extraordinary measures. But if the communication should not be satisfactory, the house, in the exercise of its constitutional privileges, would be called upon to deliberate as to the steps proper to be adopted, and to decide whether these steps should be applicable to a contingent event, or directed to an immediate evil.

To this it was answered, that the resolution of ministers had not been hastily adopted, but was the result of much consultation; it was brought forward under the fullest impression of its necessity, and the most grave conviction of the responsibility which it necessarily involved. An assurance was given, that, in the event of invasion, the business of government would encounter no sort of impediment; for, if any extraordinary occasion should arise, in which the executive power might be called upon to act, there existed no obstruction to the exercise of the royal functions. It was affirmed that his majesty's ministers had abstained from making any communication, from a sincere conviction that it would be inexpedient, and that, instead of being subservient to any useful purpose, it might only lead to discussions, at all times to be reprobated, but more especially to be avoided in the present circumstances of the empire. They did not question the right of the house ultimately to determine, whether any steps may be supposed requisite to meet any extraordinary emergency arising from the suspension of the royal functions, or

whether it might be expedient to adopt any measures beyond the common course of procedure.

These declarations were considered by several members to be unsatisfactory. It was stated, that the proceedings of ministers tended to carry the doctrine of confidence to the most extravagant excess; for, if it be admitted, as ministers had declared, "that at this time there was not any necessary suspension of such royal functions as it may be incumbent on his majesty to discharge," the statement was qualified with respect to such functions as extraordinary circumstances may render necessary. If the royal authority, in the present state of his majesty's health, was thus competent to some things, and incompetent to others, ministers, it was asserted, took in fact every thing upon themselves.

The statement respecting his majesty's health was then rendered more explicit by the declaration, that there was at that time no necessary suspension of the royal functions for any acts which may be necessary to be done. This representation was also deemed unsatisfactory, but no measure was upon that ground submitted to parliament. This awful suspense was at length happily terminated on the 9th of March, when the lord chancellor communicated to the house the important information, that, not satisfied with the reports and assurances of the medical attendants of his majesty, he had conceived it proper and necessary to have a personal interview with the sovereign, at which due discussion had taken place, with respect to the bills submitted for the royal assent; and he had no hesitation to aver, that the result of all that took place upon the occasion fully



fully justified him in announcing his majesty's assent to the bills specified in the royal commission.—This communication diffused a general joy throughout the country,

and the recovery of his majesty was hailed as a national blessing, in the midst of the many unavoidable calamities in which the empire was involved.

### C H A P. III.

*Irish Affairs—Restriction on the Issues of Cash by the Bank of Ireland—State of the Circulation and Exchange of Ireland—Irish Duties—Insurrection in Ireland—Message from His Majesty relative to the Offer of the Irish Militia to serve in Great Britain—Debates on the Address moved by Mr. Secretary Yorke—Bill to enable His Majesty to accept of the Offer of the Irish Militia—Irish Militia Augmentation Bill—Payment of the Salaries at Par of the Irish Ministers—Irish Linen Trade—Irish Budget—Charge against Mr. Justice Fox—Discussion relative to the Discharge of the Duties of the Irish Chancellor of the Exchequer—Irish Spirits Bill—Irish Loan.*

**A**LTHOUGH the restriction on the issues of cash by the bank of Ireland has generally been regarded as a measure necessarily resulting from the restriction on the bank of England, yet, when it was submitted to the house on the 13th of February, it occasioned a debate of some length, in which many important subjects connected with the situation of Ireland were introduced. Lord Archibald Hamilton observed, that in consequence of repeatedly renewing the measure of restriction, the paper currency of Ireland had increased to a most alarming extent, and the evils accompanying this increase had been magnified in a proportionate degree. Depreciation, he said, was the necessary and constant result of such a disproportionately extensive circulation of paper. At the time the restriction was first imposed by the Irish house of commons, the issue of bank notes amounted only to six hundred thousand; at this moment, their a-

mount was not less than two millions six hundred thousand. The measure of restriction, therefore, had occasioned an increase of about two millions. The proportion of gold coin to be balanced against this excessive paper-circulation, his lordship stated to be about one million. Gold coin, therefore, rose in price exactly in proportion to the depreciation of paper currency. The effect of this depreciation was felt very strongly in the rates of exchange. Even between Dublin and Belfast, a distance of about 100 miles, the difference in the exchange amounted to ten per cent. Betwixt London and Dublin the exchange formerly fluctuated from eight or nine to sixteen per cent. to the disadvantage of Ireland. The loss was now much more considerable; it had been as high as nineteen, and even twenty per cent. He acknowledged that payments in cash could not be resumed without some degree of danger; but this would naturally be



be increased in proportion to the continuance of the restriction.

Mr. Corry rose to reply.—He vindicated the conduct of the bank of Ireland from the charge of having extended the issues of their paper with improvident liberality. Supposing it to be true that there was a great profusion of paper currency in Ireland, the fault, he maintained, was not imputable to the bank directors. They had no control over the issues of notes by any of the private banks. It was by the possession of this control that the bank of England was effectually enabled to restrain the circulation of notes beyond what appeared expedient. He stated several circumstances to justify the conduct of the directors of the Irish bank. In the year when the restriction first took place, the bank received an addition of capital to the amount of half a million. Previously to the restrictions, specie had disappeared from year to year, and private bankers had been prohibited from issuing notes under five guineas value. The consequence was, that a new issue of small notes became necessary, in order to fill up the deficiencies occasioned by this prohibition. Additional issues of notes were further rendered expedient from the accumulation of taxes, and from a variety of local causes. The principle upon which the restriction was to be continued, appeared to him to be extremely simple. Its continuance was absolutely essential as long as the restriction continued in this country.

Lord Henry Petty, on this occasion, delivered his first speech in parliament. He observed that the issues of paper by the bank of Ireland had been five times greater since the restriction than before this measure was adopted. The

issues of the bank of England, on the contrary, had increased, in proportion to the capital, only in the ratio of one-fifth beyond their extent before the act was passed. So extraordinary a circumstance demanded, in his opinion, the fullest inquiry. His lordship proceeded to remark, that the depreciation of paper in Ireland was constantly increasing, and, as long as it existed, could not fail to be productive of the most serious consequences. The balance of trade must remain unfavourable to Ireland, as long as this depreciation continued, and merchants would be obliged to resort to the foreign market instead of the home manufacture. The present depreciation was not to be attributed to any circumstances relating to the commerce of the country for the last year; for the exports of Ireland had considerably exceeded the imports; but even if this were true, it was an evil inseparable from the continuance of the restriction. Since this measure was passed, the bank had increased its dividends one and a half per cent.; and he had been assured that this year they intended to give an additional bonus of five per cent. Under these circumstances, the bank had not only no motive to wish for the removal of the restriction, but found it their interest to extend the circulation of their paper currency. The measure which appeared to him best calculated to prevent the growth of this evil was to compel the directors to curtail their issues of paper money, and thus force the private bankers to adopt a similar practice. At present the bank of Ireland had no control over the private bankers, of whom there were two in Dublin who issued paper to as great an amount as the whole of the paper cir-



circulation of the bank. His lordship concluded by again pressing the subject generally on the attention of ministers.

Mr. Forster acknowledged the necessity of continuing the bill, and proceeded to mention a few circumstances relative to the state of Ireland, which he conceived were not generally known to the house. In the northern counties, all business was carried on by means of gold. There was not in all Ireland one real shilling, and even the brass was not of the first quality. The purchasers of linen were forced to obtain gold to enable them to complete their purchases, and for this purpose they were obliged to give a considerable premium. On an average, the premium amounted to two shillings and four-pence on each guinea. It was evident, therefore, that the linen manufactory was, in the first instance, subject to a drawback of no less than ten per cent. This was a pressure which the trade, in his opinion, could by no means support. Although he did not expect that any act of the legislature could immediately remove existing evils, he thought much benefit might arise from full and serious inquiry. No one measure would be sufficient to correct these evils; they must be met by a general system, formed by all the temperance, the foresight, and the wisdom of parliament.

Mr. Henry Thornton recommended an immediate investigation of the state of the Irish paper currency. The paper of the bank of Ireland, he stated, was at an actual depreciation of ten per cent. But this evil seemed to him to arise out of the very constitution of that establishment; the directors having no power to control the issues of paper by private bank-

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ers. The notes of the bank of England were exchangeable for the notes of any other bank; hence a check was placed on the circulation of country bank notes. But the Irish bank was constituted on a different principle; and the private bankers having no motive of mutual accommodation, there was nothing to induce them to keep their issues of paper within particular limits. A remedy might be in some degree provided for this evil, by making Irish and English bank notes interchangeable; but this arrangement, he confessed, would involve many difficulties.

Lord Castlereagh conceived, that the mode in which the trade of a particular part of Ireland was conducted, sufficiently accounted, to a certain extent, for the depreciation on which so much stress had been laid. Gold was there the only medium of circulation, and much difficulty arose in procuring the necessary supply. Gold coin rose above its intrinsic value, and paper experienced of course a corresponding depression. Both circumstances arose from similar causes; and it was unfair to argue that a casual depreciation on the one hand, or an increase on the other, established a just presumption against the credit of the bank of Ireland. When gold could not be found, trade must suffer a temporary stagnation and embarrassment. He denied that competition in the foreign market was much affected by the high price of gold. The purchaser of linens, in making his bargains, and ascertaining his prices, calculated on the expense with which the purchase of gold was attended, and made a correspondent arrangement of his conditions of sale. On the payments of rents, and similar positive stipulations,

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tions, the depreciation of paper must make a considerable difference; but on prospective engagements this influence would scarcely be perceived.

Mr. Forster thought it right to call the attention of lord Castlereagh to a fact of great commercial importance. The linen manufacturers in the north of Ireland, finding that the purchase of gold was attended with a loss of ten per cent., came to the general resolution of charging ten per cent. additional upon the article in which they dealt. If foreigners could obtain guineas without that loss, they would be able to undersell the people of Ireland in their staple manufacture.

On the third reading of the bill, on the 10th of February, sir John Newport observed, that the balance of exchange against Ireland was not to be attributed solely to the restriction on the Irish bank. In the years 1795 and 1796, the exchange was very high against Ireland, although no restriction was then imposed on payments in specie. He ascribed the unfavourable state of the exchange to the effects produced by the absentee rents drawn from Ireland, and the loans for that country which had been negotiated in England. The absentee rents he estimated at little less than three millions. With respect to the north of Ireland, he stated, that trade was carried on almost entirely with specie. The people had a confidence in each other, which unhappily did not exist in the other provinces.—Scarcity of specie, he said, arose, in a great measure, from the practice of hoarding, which, to a certain degree, prevailed among the lower classes of the people in Ireland: the moment it was obtained,

it was buried; and without any communication whatever to any part of their families. In this manner immense quantities were lost. From this practice there arose a very material scarcity of specie, long before the restriction on the Irish bank.

In the house of lords this subject underwent some discussion, in which much stress was laid on many of the circumstances, which we have already explained, relative to the depreciation of the paper currency of Ireland, and the unfavourable state of the exchange of that country. The great object of those who entered most into the debate, was to bring the circulation and the exchange of Ireland under the consideration of a committee of inquiry.—The bill, however, passed without a division.

As it did not appear, in the course of this debate, that government were inclined to investigate the state of the circulation and exchange of Ireland, Mr. Forster, on the 2d of March, moved, that a committee be appointed to inquire into the state of Ireland; with respect to its circulating paper and specie, and the exchange between that country and Great Britain. He began by observing, that the rate of exchange was ten per cent. against Ireland, and that it was in the year 1800, when the trade of that country experienced many very serious disadvantages, the great rise in the exchange commenced. For twenty years previously, the balance, estimated by the official returns of imports and exports, had been generally a million annually, seldom under five hundred thousand, in favour of Ireland. During the last four years, the balance against her has, on an average, been above one million



million annually. In viewing the state of remittances unconnected with trade, it would appear that Ireland must send out one million three hundred thousand annually, to pay the charge and interest of the public debt she has contracted during the last six years in England; she must also remit to absentees about two millions. The public loan of two millions, borrowed in England, was the only remittance to counterbalance the demand of three millions and a half. Putting all consideration of balance of trade out of the question, there appeared a certain clear drain of nearly one million three hundred thousand in remittance alone; for answering which no increased export of produce exists. Such a situation of so large a portion of the empire required, in his opinion, every investigation, and every remedy, which the legislature could supply.

All writers, Mr. Forster remarked, agree that the true criterion for judging of the relative situation of two countries, in respect to exchange, would be found in the estimation of the price of bullion in each; as the exchange would be found to vary with its relative value. A premium of ten per cent. was given for gold in Ireland. Several causes might be assigned for such a rise; but they would all be found to originate in one great source—the restriction on the Irish bank. At the time the restriction was imposed on the bank of England, Scotland, and every part of Great Britain, had two common circulating mediums—gold, and bank of England paper. Ireland and England had but one common to them—gold. The restriction consequently placed Ireland under singular difficulties—it took from

her the only circulating medium which she had in common with this country. The restriction in Great Britain, when it took the specie, left the paper, which nearly answered every purpose of circulation; but when the specie was locked up by the restriction in Ireland, there remained no circulating medium for the commercial intercourse of the two kingdoms. Mr. Forster expressed himself in favour of an equalization of the currency of the two countries. He looked forward, however, with pain, to the gloomy prospect afforded by the state of the money affairs of Ireland. With a drain of one million three hundred thousand for interest of debt in England, likely to increase, by the extreme inadequacy of her revenues, rendering large loans necessary to supply her quota of expence, it appeared to him, that, even when the war shall cease, it will be necessary to impose new taxes on Ireland, to meet these exhausting demands.

Mr. Corry entertained no doubt that a very considerable degree of management was employed, in order to create these violent fluctuations of exchange; for they were most assuredly attended with great advantages to many individuals. With regard to what had been said on the subject of remittances, he observed, that one species of remittance had not been noticed. The loan remitted from this country to Ireland, certainly affected the immediate balance; but the fact was, that the expenditure in Ireland was greater than its contribution to the joint expenditure of the united kingdom. Very considerable sums were consequently remitted to that country, from which it necessarily derived



very material assistance. In stating the balance of trade against Ireland, only the official value of the exports had been taken. It was, however, an established fact, that the official value was very considerably below the real value. If the real value of the exports were ascertained, he conceived that the balance of trade would even appear to be in favour of Ireland.— But, in every respect, he was decidedly convinced that Ireland was by no means in that desperate situation in which it had been represented. He was not disposed to resist the motion, but, on the contrary, acknowledged that it would give him the most lively satisfaction if it produced any beneficial effect.

Sir John Newport conceived that the low rate of exchange, so unfavourable to Ireland, though attributable, in a great degree, to the opinion which prevailed of the insecurity of that country, would be found to arise also from many other causes. The remedy for these evils, he asserted, was not within the power of legislative authority. For the course of exchange in every country must necessarily depend on its trade; it must depend on the comparative state of its exports and imports; which, so far as was consistent with the fair exercise of trade, was by no means an immediate object of legislation.— He denied that it was possible for the legislature to remove many of the original causes of this evil. They were to be found in the absentee rents, the alarm of invasion, the prejudice which existed in the north of Ireland against a paper circulation, &c. When the people of Ireland came to have the same confidence in their money transactions, and in the stability of their circulating medium, as Scotland and the north of

England possessed, the circumstances so very unfavourable to the exchange of that country would, in a great measure, be diminished.

Sir John Newport having, in the course of his speech, observed, that if the rate of exchange between England and Hamburgh, or any other country, was not a proper subject of legislative interference, the case was analogous with respect to Ireland; Mr. Fox, amidst a variety of observations on the general question, took occasion to controvert this assertion. He remarked, that in 1772, when the exchange between this country and Hamburgh was unfavourable to England, and our coin was so debased that it was received at an inferior value at Hamburgh, the legislature thought proper to interfere, and to give the coin of this country a nominal value equal to that of Hamburgh; which, so far from being attended with disadvantage, produced a beneficial effect.

The motion of Mr. Forster was agreed to, and a committee appointed.

On the 3d of March, Mr. Corry moved for leave to bring in a bill to regulate the Irish duties, framed upon the report of the committee to which they had been referred. The bill was intended to contain a schedule of duties, founded upon a principle calculated to promote the convenience of merchants; and in order to facilitate the collection of the revenue, the schedule was divided into eight heads. The 1st related in general to foreign imports; the 2d, to the import of American articles, pursuant to the American treaty; the 3d, to export duties upon all native articles of Ireland; the 4th, to the tonnage duty; the 5th, to the bounties on exports and imports; the 6th contained



tained the inland excise; the 7th, the drawbacks of excise; and the 8th, the countervailing duties, pursuant to the act of union, and the acts passed since that event. The object of this schedule, he observed, was a consolidation of the subsisting duties, and not an increase of revenue. The duties were also simplified by a reduction to one of two denominations. On some articles, there had been duties *ad valorem* by one act, and rated duties by another; in which case the merchant was obliged to make a double entry. To prevent this trouble, the duty was brought to one denomination; either an *ad valorem* duty, or a rated duty. All fractions of a penny were changed to the nearest integer; namely, if the duty was  $1\frac{1}{4}$ d. it was reduced to 1d.; if it was  $1\frac{3}{4}$ d. it was raised to 2d. Mr. Corry afterwards proceeded to explain the various alterations that had been made in the schedule with respect to the existing duties on exports and imports. It was his intention to propose, that all those duties which had hitherto been continued by annual acts, should in future be made permanent; in order to provide, as in Great Britain, in favour of the public creditor, permanent means for paying a permanent annual charge of interest. But he suspended this intention, in order to give the Irish merchants, who, it appeared, generally approved of the schedule, an opportunity of confirming, after a temporary experience, the approbation which they had expressed in its favour.

The chief objections made to the schedule were, the continuance of the duty on the export of linens, and the depriving his majesty of a considerable portion of hereditary revenue, without any intimation to the house of his having acceded to

the measure. Mr. Corry replied to the former objection, that it would be inconsistent with every principle of justice, while British linens were subject to an export duty, to permit Irish linens to be exported free of duty. It was also to be remembered, that while in England the raw materials for the linen manufacture, with the exception of flax only, were liable to import duties; in Ireland, all articles whatever, applicable to the linen manufacture, were importable duty free. This circumstance gave the linen manufacture in Ireland a decided preference over the British linen manufacture.

The other objection was less easily surmounted. As the ultimate object of the bill under discussion was to give permanency to those duties which had hitherto been annual, it had the appearance of trenching upon the hereditary revenues of the crown. For, when the civil list was granted in Ireland in the 33d of the king, his majesty, in consequence of this arrangement, gave up certain receipts of his revenue. But, as such an agreement between the crown and the public could not be permanent, the duties thus temporarily relinquished by the crown could not be disposed of permanently by the present bill.—Such an enactment, therefore, would be tantamount to a perpetual appropriation of the hereditary revenues of the crown, and would abolish his majesty's inherent claim to a permanent improveable revenue, giving for it in exchange a fixed unimproveable sum, without any consent or intimation on the part of the crown. But, in reply to this, it appears that the bill was formed on the model of other bills, which had passed from year to year in Ireland, since the establishment



of the civil list. The bill, therefore, was only intended to render permanent a system which had been annually adopted in Ireland. It was not in the least disputed, that the right of the crown would revive, when the period of the agreement concluded between the crown and the public was terminated. It seems that tea and tobacco were the only articles in the schedule of duties, by which the hereditary revenues of the crown were in the least affected. But the objection was at once removed by the personal application of Mr. Addington to his majesty, who gave his immediate consent to the adoption of the measure. The bill therefore passed without any further opposition.

We proceed now to the discussion of the insurrection in Ireland; a subject which has often been alluded to incidentally, and upon which much difference of opinion has arisen, partly from the nature of the events connected with it, and partly from some personal considerations which entered into the discussion. On the 7th March, sir John Wrottesley, in pursuance of a previous notice, moved for a committee of the whole house, to inquire into the conduct of the government of Ireland, relative to the insurrection of the 23d of July, and the previous conduct of that government, so far as it related to the said insurrection. The hon. baronet felt no hesitation in saying, that a beneficial effect must result from the proposed inquiry. If, on the one hand, it should appear that the government of Ireland had been active and vigilant; that they had taken every means of obtaining correct information; that they had possessed the ability to discriminate what was true from what was exaggerated; if the lord

lieutenant should appear to have been at his post, prepared, in concert with the commander of the forces, to give the necessary orders, anxiously watching over the lives of his majesty's subjects intrusted to his care, and placed under his immediate protection; no man would presume to say that a beneficial effect would not thus be produced, by removing those doubts which are generally entertained of the conduct of the Irish government. The confidence of the people of Ireland in that house would necessarily be increased. That generous and grateful people, since their constitution had been changed, looked up to us for protection, justice, and a redress of grievances. If, on the other hand, it should appear, that government had disregarded all information, despised all advice, were so ignorant of the real state of the country as to be incapable of discrimination; that during their administration they had not arranged a system of police, with which they maintained a constant communication; if it should appear, that, though frequently warned, they were not aware of the extent of the preparations, nor inclined to give credit to them; no man would deny that a beneficial effect might result from an immediate application to the throne, to dismiss those under whose eye an insurrection had been matured; by whose negligence a great and illustrious character had been dragged from the arms of his daughter, and murdered in her presence; and who, if proper precautions had been taken, might still have been contributing to the happiness of his family, and the service of his country.

The hon. baronet then proceeded to state the particulars of the insur-



insurrection. As early as the December preceding, Mr. Emmett returned from the continent, and joined a conspiracy already formed. The time, therefore, of its duration was about 8 months. Nothing material transpired, till his majesty's message of the 8th of March was known. This seemed to give new vigour to the conspirators. In the same month, several depôts were established in the metropolis of Ireland, under the immediate eye of government. But their warlike preparations were continued, without any interruption from government, till the 16th of July, when the depôt in Patrick-street exploded.

The depôt was then visited by a peace officer. Upon this, Emmett changed his residence, and during the following week he appears to have made every effort to accelerate his preparations. At nine o'clock on Saturday night he sallied forth, avowedly for the purpose of attacking the castle.

Men from all parts of the country had been observed resorting to Dublin, and a large body were actually armed and arrayed near the depôt in Dirty-lane, before they were at all discovered by the peace officers; nor had government any information of this depôt, which contained 8,000 pikes and 34,000 ball cartridges, besides other military stores.

Sir John Wrottesley next stated the manner in which information had been received and acted upon by the government. At three o'clock, on the 23d of July, the commander of the forces is said to have been informed of the intentions of the insurgents; and shortly after the lord lieutenant proceeded to the Phoenix Lodge, in order to avoid giving any alarm. Some precau-

tions were recommended relative to the bank, and the ordnance stores, and a meeting of the principal officers of the garrison was also determined upon: but this meeting, to prevent alarm, was not to take place till after dark, nor were the guards to be reinforced till the same period. Although information had been given to the superintending magistrate, he slept out of Dublin that night. In the absence of the lord lieutenant, and a right hon. gentleman who was attending his duty in parliament, the first public officer was Mr. Marsden, the under-secretary, who, during such an important moment, would necessarily have correspondence with other public officers. But such was the want of accurate information, on the part of government, that, two hours before this rebellion broke out, their secretary could neither wholly credit nor reject the report which he had received. The precautions taken for the personal security of the lord lieutenant, appeared to him to show the insignificant opinion originally entertained of this rebellion, and form a history of the minds of government during nine very important hours. At three o'clock, the lord lieutenant conceived himself sufficiently guarded by a sergeant and 12 men. Between eight and nine, he was surprised it should be thought necessary for him to be guarded by an officer and 30 men. But before eleven, he sent orders to sir Charles Asgil, by sir Edward Littlehales, for a further reinforcement of a captain and 50 dragoons, and a field officer with 100 infantry. The only consistent part which government seemed to him to have held, was a determination to avoid giving alarm.—



But under the peculiar circumstances of the moment, the propriety of that determination appeared to him to be questionable.—Disclaiming any personal intention of an attempt to exonerate the commander in chief, he conceived, if all was done that was agreed upon at three o'clock, always under a positive order to avoid giving alarm, that the military were exculpated from any the slightest share of blame. Should the house acquiesce in his motion for inquiry, he pledged himself to produce to them a scene of weakness and indecision far beyond any conception, however unfavourable, which had been formed of the insufficiency of the measures adopted by the government of Ireland.

Lord Castlereagh questioned the expediency and policy of inquiry, and conceived that a very strong presumption of misconduct should be first established in order to justify it. His lordship did not mean that the allegation should be conclusive; but if there was not a satisfactory case made out, the house could not in justice proceed to an investigation that would be attended with so many inconveniences both to the public service and to individuals. The government of Ireland, he contended, had acted neither with want of vigour, nor from want of information, so far as was possible. It had been alleged, that the secret had been intrusted to many, previously to the explosion; but he was authorised to say, that the secret had not been communicated to more than eight persons. Was there any wonder, then, that government should have had very imperfect information? It is rather surprising that government should have obtained the information

which they received. They had notice from Belfast on the 21st, from Newry also on the same day, and on the 23d information was communicated to them from various parts. Observing the disadvantages which the insurgents, notwithstanding every precaution, had formerly experienced, from their measures being known to government previously to their being put in execution, Emmett was resolved that as few as possible should be privy to his arrangements; and had not the explosion of the depôt in Patrick-street taken place, it is probable that his attack would have been much longer delayed. Whether the conspiracy was considered, with a view to the power which it possessed in the capital, or the degree of assistance and co-operation which it could look for from the country, it would appear, upon the fullest examination, that the precautions which were adopted to meet it, were quite adequate to the necessity of the case. The leaders of the disaffected in the county of Kildare arrived in Dublin on the 21st of July. In order to be satisfied how far the plan in agitation was practicable, they required of Emmett a full explanation. Instead of satisfying their request, he took them to the depôt; which appeared to them so insufficiently supplied, that, from their report on returning to Kildare, not one of their circle, which did not altogether comprehend 150, could be persuaded to proceed to Dublin to join in the enterprise of the 23d of July, with the exception of a few individuals. The consequence was, that when the effort was made on that day, instead of 8,000, only 300 sallied out; and even that number, before the conspirators reached



reached the Market-house in Thomas-street, dwindled to 20, who were all leaders, or general officers, and who, upon their defeat, fled to Wicklow.

With respect to the means adopted for the suppression of the rebellion, his lordship stated, that the commander-in-chief, immediately on his return from the Phoenix Park to the Royal Hospital, wrote to the officers commanding the artillery depôts, that a disturbance was expected; and directed that measures should be taken accordingly. Those officers commanded the only points where any serious impression could be made, or any material consequences could be apprehended, if they should fall into the hands of the rebels. At the national bank a strong guard was always stationed. The commander in chief extended his preparations as far as the least necessity appeared, or the most deliberate judgment could devise. He denied that Dublin was exposed to danger; for only two parties of the 21st regiment of infantry, under the command of lieutenant Brady and another officer, succeeded in putting down the rebellion, before the alarm was generally given.—Lord Castlereagh entered into a detailed explanation of the measures taken for the immediate suppression of the conspiracy, and stated generally, that the precautions and arrangements made by the commander in chief, were, as far as any judgment could be formed from the result, much greater than, in any rational view of the subject, the circumstances of the case could be supposed to require. The noble lord observed, that unfavourable impressions had been so sedulously promoted, with respect to the conduct of the Irish government, that

he had conceived it to be his duty to make an ample statement of the facts of the case. He trusted that the house would feel, that the conduct of the government in Ireland, both at the time of the rebellion, and since that event, was that of a wise, prudent, and vigorous administration.

Mr. Canning succeeded. He laid considerable stress on the propriety of instituting an inquiry, and observed, that if it was to be refused on the ground that the valuable time of parliament was not to be taken up with this subject; if this was to be the specimen of attention, this the sample of diligence, this the scale of vigilance by which the anxiety of parliament for the welfare of Ireland was to be measured, he must protest against this apathy in the house towards the interests of Ireland. If the lord lieutenant had incurred the suspicion of parliament, he saw no reason why he should not be recalled, and brought before that parliament to make his defence, and another appointed to the office he now holds. He imputed to the Irish government a criminal deficiency of vigilance, with respect to the clandestine proceedings of the insurgents, and a want of energy and activity, with regard to the adoption of precautionary measures, after the explosion in Patrick-street. This event happened on the 16th of July, and the insurrection took place on the 23d. A week elapsed, and nothing was done. No precaution was taken; notwithstanding this abundant reason for precaution. Not until the insurrection took place, did government think of measures of precaution. If ministers saw no danger after the 16th, there must be an extreme blindness; if, seeing it, they neglected to provide

against



against it, there was an extreme and a culpable remissness. In reply to lord Castlereagh's statement, that there were only between 3 and 4000 pikes in the depôt in Thomas-street, exclusive of those which had been distributed, Mr. Canning read an extract from the speech of his majesty's attorney general in Ireland, which had been published in the form of a pamphlet. It stated, that the rebels had on this occasion 36,400 ball cartridges, scaling ladders, rebel uniforms, colours, 8000 copies of a proclamation of the provisional government, &c.; and that with regard to pikes, the mob having been supplied from the depôt with arms; &c. there then remained the trifling number of between 6 and 7000. If that learned gentleman did speak the truth, his noble friend had been deceived in the amount of the arms of the rebels, and consequently in the amount of the danger to which Ireland was exposed on the 23d of July.

Mr. Canning quoted from the same pamphlet another part of the speech of the attorney-general of Ireland, for the purpose of showing that the insurrection of the 23d of July was the consequence of a long preconcerted conspiracy; it was a plan instigated by treason, by persons uniting together by one common bond of crimes, and insurrection was the consequence of their united efforts. The insinuation of the lord chancellor of Ireland, that all the catholics were implicated in this rebellion, excited in him the highest indignation.—Such antiquated and exploded doctrine he never expected, in the nineteenth century, from a man of great talents and of extensive learning; from an individual who filled the office of a great legislator, and the

highest as a legal magistrate.—Whether he was the intended vehicle for the publication of the sentiments of government, was more than he could determine. It had all the effect of design, and he could not help looking upon the publishing of such sentiments as conveying to the public the sense of government. Where such a spirit presided, where such a spirit ruled, where such opinions were cherished, the government, he was convinced, could neither be conciliating, nor could hold forth any prospect of comfort, much less of happiness, to the Irish people.

Mr. Archdall and Mr. Dawson resisted the motion. Lord Temple and general Tarleton supported it. Mr. secretary Yorke entered at some length on the general defence of the Irish government; dilated upon many of the topics introduced into debate by lord Castlereagh, and, at the same time that he disclaimed every intention of imputing the slightest blame to the commander in chief, vindicated the administration of his noble relation the earl of Hardwicke.

Mr. Fox then rose.—He also defended the conduct of his hon. relation, general Fox, and proceeded to attach a very serious degree of blame to the administration in Ireland. He was confident that the utmost anxiety to avoid alarm prevailed in lord Hardwicke's mind, and that he totally disbelieved the intelligence that had been communicated to him of an impending disturbance. It appeared to him, that the Irish government were surprised, and that they were the more inexcusable if they received information and did not act upon it. With regard to the explosion of the 16th, he observed, that nothing was said



or written to general Fox, who had been absent on a military tour, to judge what importance was annexed to it. The information of Mr. Clarke on Thursday, which was afterwards repeated on Friday, should have been communicated to general Fox. But nothing was done that indicated that government attached importance to the information they had received, or expected the commander in chief to adopt any arrangements in consequence of it. If the lord lieutenant did believe that a rising was to take place, why did he leave the Castle and go to the Phoenix Park? Surely, if there was danger, his presence at the seat of government would have given confidence to the loyal, and have inspired vigour into the operations of the civil and military power. But the state of Dublin, on the 23d of July, presents a most lamentable picture of a city deserted by all the efficient members of its government; and if danger was apprehended, never was conduct so unaccountable. The lord lieutenant quits the Castle, and retires to his villa! The commander in chief goes to Kilmainham! The lord mayor of Dublin has no information, and goes to his villa! The superintending magistrate, alderman Alexander, tells his constables to be in readiness, and goes out of town, to his villa! What is to be inferred from this, but that nobody believed that any riot or rebellion would take place?

Ministers, Mr. Fox observed, had represented the insurrection as a contemptible riot. If this were true, why, he asked, upon such a ground did they call for the suspension of the habeas corpus, and the introduction of martial law? If, on the other hand, it was, as lord Redesdale had represented,

not eight persons of the ring-leaders, nor eighty rebels in all, but that insurgents came from all parts of Ireland to co-operate in a long meditated plan of insurrection; were not ministers culpable in being ignorant of the state of the country? With respect to lord Redesdale's letters, Mr. Fox considered them not merely indiscreet, but infinitely mischievous, if the author of them continued to fill his present station. Lord Castlereagh having said that the absence of lord Hardwicke was a complete bar to inquiry, Mr. Fox protested against such doctrine, and affirmed that parliament ought to exert its control over the executive power, both in its near and in its distant operations. If this were not the case, what an argument it supplied against the union altogether! For this parliament is unfit to legislate for a country, the executive administration of which it cannot control. Mr. Fox, after a variety of other observations, concluded with saying, that there was sufficient *prima facie* evidence of neglect in the Irish government to justify the inquiry; that the contradictory assertions of ministers made it more necessary; and he hoped that the house, in such circumstances, would feel that the question involved the credit of the whole government.

Mr. Fox was followed by several members; among whom were Mr. Dallas, the attorney-general, Dr. Lawrence, Mr. Windham, and the chancellor of the exchequer. They entered less into the general question than those who preceded them, and the observations which they made are scarcely of sufficient importance to justify any addition to the account we have given of this discussion. Sir John Wrottesley spoke.



spoke in reply, and vindicated the motives which induced him to come forward on the present occasion. The house becoming clamorous for the question, at four o'clock in the morning a division took place; upon which the numbers appeared, for the inquiry 82, against it 178: majority 96.

On the 26th of March, the chancellor of the exchequer presented a message from his majesty, stating, that "his majesty thought proper to acquaint the house of commons, that the officers, non-commissioned officers, and privates, of several regiments of Irish militia, had made a voluntary tender of their services, to be employed in any part of Great Britain, during the war; that his majesty had received with great satisfaction this striking proof of affection and attachment to his person and government, and of their patriotic zeal for the general interest of the united kingdom; and conceiving that being enabled to avail himself of this patriotic offer might be attended with great advantage, his majesty recommended it to his faithful commons to adopt such regulations as might enable him to accept of the offers of such parts of the Irish militia as might be voluntarily disposed to serve in Great Britain, for such time and to such extent as to the wisdom of parliament might seem expedient."

An address agreeable to the terms of his majesty's message was moved by Mr. secretary Yorke on the 28th of March. As it was in the contemplation of his majesty's ministers to introduce some measures calculated to place the military force of the country on a more extensive establishment, Mr. Yorke was desirous to avail himself of that opportunity of explaining ge-

nerally the nature of the improvements to be introduced. With this view, he compared the actual amount of our present military establishment with that of two preceding periods; namely, the state of the army in October 1801, when the preliminaries were signed, and in April 1803. At the present moment, the force of the country amounted to 252,841 men, composed of regular cavalry, of regiments of the line, and of militia. The artillery amounted to about 14,000. The whole military establishment, therefore, was only 14,000 less than in October 1801. It was also to be observed, that our military force now included 25,000 fencibles; a description of force which was not then in existence. He also stated that our military force in March 1804 was more than 60,000 above what it was in March 1803. In Great Britain and Ireland, our regular infantry was not less than 90,000; whereas in 1801 it was not above 50,000. In the course of fourteen months, computing from December 1802 to February 1804, there was a total of 192,169 men, raised for the various species of the public service.

For every purpose of defence, Mr. secretary Yorke conceived that our force was perhaps even more than adequate. But, in the present contest, we had to look forward to more distant and more extensive objects. The powers of the continent, now bent under the iron yoke of France, now levelled to the dust under the detested sceptre of a most odious despotism, might be enabled to resist the general oppression. What could be more important, he asked, than for Britain to have the means of acting offensively in a contest, in which  
the



the liberties of all nations were so materially involved? It was therefore expedient to consider, in what way a disposable force for offensive purposes was to be procured. The plans for procuring this augmentation were in progress, and others would be produced as soon as circumstances were sufficiently favourable. It had been determined that an augmentation of the cavalry to the amount of 3,500 should take place. The guards were also to be augmented to the amount of 2000, to be incorporated with the several battalions. Eight new regiments of infantry, consisting each of 1000 men, were to be raised, and ten battalions to be formed and to be attached to old regiments, which, with some other inferior augmentations, would make up a force of 25,000 men. It was also proposed, that foreign corps should be encouraged. From all the troops to be raised, and the corps to be employed as levies for America and the West Indies, the whole additional force would not be short of 40,000 men.

The next question for consideration was, by what mode this great augmentation to our regular force could be most easily and most conveniently obtained. As it was of the first importance that ministers should effectually provide for the national defence, the militia and the army of reserve first engaged their attention, and to their completion the whole efforts of government were directed. At this moment, the militia of England was within five thousand of being filled up; last year the whole of it was to be levied and enrolled. The militia of Ireland was then in the same state; whereas now, less than 500 men would be sufficient to complete all the quotas of the dif-

ferent counties. With regard to the army of reserve acts, he observed, that though, as applicable to a great immediate object, they had been found to be highly important, it could not be considered at all inconsistent to suspend them for a certain period, after the object which they were intended to accomplish was, in a great measure, effected. The object formerly in view was to procure the greatest number of recruits for our regular army, in the shortest possible time. He had no hesitation in declaring, that in no way could this have been procured so rapidly, as by the bill which had been the ground of so much animadversion. He was anxious for the removal of all competition from the recruiting for the regular army, and the abolition of those high bounties, the pernicious effects of which had been so extensively experienced. From the equalization of the bounties, he expected that the recruiting service would derive the most important advantage. The bounty for the infantry, he conceived, should not exceed ten guineas; and to this, of course, would be added a certain allowance of levy-money, for the encouragement of the officers employed. With respect to the collateral means of encouragement necessary to complete the augmentation of our military force, it was intended in the first instance, that 10,000 of the Irish militia should be brought over to this country. By the introduction of this additional force, a similar number of our regular troops would be left disposable for purposes of general service. But while so large a body of force was to be introduced into this country, the military establishment of Ireland was not to be neglected.—With a view to replace this force,



it was his intention to move for leave to bring in a bill for the purpose of augmenting the numbers of the Irish militia to what they were during the latter part of the late war. The original number of the Irish militia was 18,000; but, by augmenting the companies from 70 to 100 each, the number was increased to 28,000. It was proposed that the same plan should now be adopted. By this means the defence of Ireland would not suffer by the withdrawing of the proportion of militia to be brought over to this country. Adverting to the state of the volunteer force in Great Britain, he stated, that it amounted to 27,000 cavalry completely provided; 4000 artillery fully prepared for service, and about 250,000 infantry armed with muskets. Pikes also were in readiness to be issued, if any crisis should arise, to an unlimited amount. After speaking of the volunteer force in terms of the highest exultation, he concluded by moving the address.

Mr. Pitt said that he had never differed from the right hon. gentleman in one proposition contained in his speech; namely, that, as far as numbers went, there was no subject of blame to be any where attached. How far, in the raising of such numbers, merit was to be allowed to his majesty's government; how much they had done to procure the proper means to improve such numbers, and render them efficient by discipline; how far ministers had proceeded to give to the country the benefit it might have received from such numbers, were questions not necessarily connected with the discussion. He would just observe, in passing, that the militia, in his opinion, should not be made use of in a way that

may impede the progress of the regular army, or any other disciplined force. Unless he should see occasion to change his sentiments, he should, at a future time, state his opinion more at large on this subject, and should suggest the expediency of filling up the vacancies that might occur, in a mode different from what had hitherto been practised. He wished to see some measure adopted, to relieve the country from the great weight and pressure of those high and enormous bounties which have been too long given for men in the militia and the army of reserve, and which, in addition to this evil, have another of considerable magnitude attached to it—that of temptation to desertion. Without pretending to say how far it may or may not be advantageous to the country to adopt, for a while, a suspension of the army of reserve, he was strongly of opinion, that the successful augmentation of the army, and the keeping of it up effectually in time of war, must be done by some measure that would have the effect of diminishing the bounties; and that cannot be accomplished until the present competition in the services be abolished. Some regulations with regard to substitutes, and the confining of bounties within a moderate compass, would be found more effectual than any other mode. Mr. Pitt observed, that men were more ready to enter into a species of service limited in extent and duration, like the army of reserve, than into general service, without any limitation of time or place. This was experienced, during the last war, in the militia. It had also been found, in this war, that men had been ready to enter into the army of reserve, independently of the bounty,

on



on account of the service being limited in point of time. When men came together, and acquired military habits, they imbibed inclinations from each other, and were tempted, by a natural spirit of emulation and courage among their comrades, to extend their services, by entering into the regular army. He therefore conceived, that as a matter of permanent policy, as well as for a temporary purpose, or for an immediate effort, it would be found prudent, instead of giving up the system of the army of reserve, to retain something of its principle.

Mr. Windham objected to the accepting of the offer of the Irish militia, because a body of men assembled for efficient military purposes would be thereby induced to go beyond the terms of their original service. He did not mean to say that no condition of things could do away this objection; on the contrary, he acknowledged that there might be a condition of things which would suspend all objections of whatever kind. He only meant to observe, that such a condition did not exist at the present moment.—The accepting of such an offer of service was, in his opinion, a departure from good faith. If it was not a breach of good faith, it was at least a sort of misprision of good faith; for although the leading part of such a service as this may be voluntary, and the offer spontaneous, yet, as to the remainder, it may be absolutely compulsory. If a part of a large military body make an offer of voluntary service, how was the remainder to refuse it?—To ask a favour of a military body of men, (for he conceived this to be a favour) was not wholly without its danger. He asked, whether the accepting of such a service was not a species of sus-

pension of discipline? Besides, it did not appear to him, that Ireland was less in danger than Great Britain. For, if a part of the disposable force was thus set at liberty in this country, precisely to the same extent would it be necessary to augment the military force in Ireland. The increasing of the militia force in Ireland was also objectionable, because, as it was not raised, as in this country, by ballot, it must necessarily operate to the prejudice of increasing the regular army. He agreed with Mr. Yorke in the propriety of reducing the enormous bounties, which could only be accomplished by removing the competition which produced them; and he was equally satisfied with respect to the expediency of government taking the whole of the recruiting system into their own hands. He dissented, however, from the latter part of the address, which would tie down the house to a system, the principle of which he did not approve, and for the consideration of which the house had not had sufficient time. He should therefore move, by way of amendment to the address, to leave out all the latter part of it, for the purpose of inserting the words “and that we shall take the same into our most serious consideration.”

In order to remove the apprehension, that some of the Irish militia might propose to come to this country, while others might be unwilling, lord Castlereagh assured the house, that, to his knowledge, every man in the Irish militia was ready to join in the offer which had been made on this occasion.

After several other members had spoken shortly on the subject, Mr. Yorke said a few words in explanation; when the address was carried,



ried, as originally proposed, without a division.

The address was necessarily succeeded by the introduction of a bill to enable his majesty to accept of the voluntary offer of the Irish militia. Mr. secretary Yorke also brought in a bill for augmenting the militia of Ireland. These subjects were so blended in the discussions which arose, that a short statement of the debate on the former of these bills will be sufficient to explain the nature of the objections to which they were exposed.

When Mr. Yorke moved the order of the day, for the committal of the Irish militia voluntary offer bill, Mr. William Elliot opposed the measure upon the ground of its being neither expedient nor necessary. He asserted, that it would place the men out of the circumstances of service for which they had entered, and introduce among them a system of deliberation subversive of discipline. Another objection was, that the offers, though perhaps spontaneous in some instances, were not so in all; and many individuals would thus be induced to join in the offer, by apprehensions from their comrades. Although by bringing over eight or ten thousand of the Irish militia to this country, the same number of the disposable force would be set free, he contended, that it was no less desirable to augment the disposable force of Ireland. He remembered that one of the objections against the union had been, that it would increase the number of absentees from Ireland; and he was convinced it would be neither politic nor just, to bring over so great a proportion of the magistrates and gentlemen of Ireland, as composed the officers of

such a number of militia regiments, without sending an equal number of our own to that country. The honourable gentleman was sure, that every militia officer, who was an enemy to innovation in the constitution of that force, would oppose a measure, the probable effect of which would induce the English militia to make offers in return. If the measure were to be adopted at all, a reciprocal interchange of services should be established for the militia of both countries.

Mr. secretary Yorke replied.—It would readily be admitted, he said, that it was expedient to augment, as much as possible, the disposable force, for the purpose, if an opportunity should arise, of directing offensive operations against the enemy. The acceptance, therefore, of the voluntary offers of the Irish militia was but a part of the plan for augmenting the disposable force of this country, as by bringing over 10,000 of that force an equal number of the regular troops would be set free. His majesty's government, however, had no intention of weakening the force in Ireland; for it was in contemplation to send over an equal number of the army of reserve, as well as to augment in the same proportion the militia of that country. He did not apprehend any danger from the deliberation of a military body on the subject of a voluntary offer of service; for there were many occasions when it was usual to consult the sentiments of the troops; such as the particular mode of stopping their pay, and also upon services of extraordinary peril.—With respect to the inquiry, whether it was the intention of government merely to accept the services of the Irish militia, or to make the service



service of the militia of both countries reciprocal, he observed, that they had no idea of extending the services of the English militia to Ireland. Only two or three regiments had offered. If a necessity should unfortunately arise, from the existence of rebellion in that country, he should have no hesitation to add, that he should feel it his duty to give to such offers every possible encouragement.

Colonel Hutchinson said, that it was from an idea that the interests of all ranks of the community would be benefited by the measure, that he was determined to vote for its adoption. He conceived that the gentlemen commanding the Irish militia regiments would learn many important lessons by this extension of their services. As they were principally land-owners, they necessarily maintained a most important and interesting relation with the lower orders in Ireland. He entertained a hope that they would feel it their duty to compare the situation of the tenantry of England with that of the tenantry of Ireland; to view their relative degrees of comfort and happiness; and, on their return to their own country, to employ themselves in introducing the improvements which such a review would naturally suggest. It appeared to him that the present was a moment of the greatest interest for the security of both countries; and when it was considered how great was the armed force of England, Ireland was not to be deprived of a large proportion of well disciplined troops, without receiving an equivalent for this diminution of the existing means of defence. The return then which he asked was, that a certain proportion of the militia corps of this country should

be sent to Ireland, in the room of those regiments of Irish militia which had volunteered an extension of their services to this country.

Lord Castlereagh stated, with respect to the supposed disadvantages that might arise from bringing away the men of property and magistrates in the Irish militia, that such observations were applicable only in the case of each regiment being kept in its own district. But as the Irish militia had always served in counties distant from their own, he saw no difference between their serving in England and in a remote part of Ireland. As to the objection that the raising of an additional militia force would cripple the recruiting service,—experience, his lordship said, had proved the fallacy of the remark. In reply to the argument that fencibles should be raised in their place, he conceived it would be sufficient to reflect, that the men would be raised more speedily, and with less expense, if they were to be incorporated with militia regiments already highly disciplined.

On the 11th of April the same subject was debated, when colonel Craufurd expressed his objection to any increase of the militia force, because, if their services were required out of a certain district of the empire, they must be accepted as a favour, instead of being commanded as a duty. He coincided in the necessity of raising a great body of troops from the mass of the people of Ireland, but not as a militia force. For though no man was less disposed than himself to question the loyalty of the Irish militia, which they had so gallantly proved, both against foreign and domestic enemies, yet he thought it was exposing that loyalty



alty too much to temptation, if they were to be called to oppose in the field their brothers, relations, and friends. This must unhappily be the case in all civil wars. It was a species of test to which he was unwilling to expose them. He did not think the militia an eligible branch of the public force. Troops of the line, or fencibles, appeared to him to be far preferable. From the authority of many Irish gentlemen of much information, he felt himself entitled to assert, that fencibles might be as easily raised as militia; especially if they received the same advantages of provision for their wives and children, as the militia here enjoyed. Such advantages he conceived to be as fairly due to fencibles, and troops of the line, as to that branch of the public force whose services were less general. It might be said, that if fencible regiments were raised, it would be difficult to officer them; but he would suggest an immediate resource in the sixteen battalions of the army of reserve, where the services of the officers were at present wasted, but which would be rendered immediately efficient in fencible corps attached as second battalions to regiments of the line.

Upon the bill in question, a number of members delivered their opinion; but much more extraneous matter was introduced into this discussion than is usually the case. Instead, therefore, of presenting an analysis of the many desultory speeches which were made in the course of the debate, we shall proceed to state the objections to the bill, which, on the 19th of April, were advanced by the earl of Caernarvon in the house of lords. It appears that the noble earl had very maturely considered the sub-

ject; for his objections were forcible, and delivered in an able speech, in which he took a comprehensive view of the immediate subject of discussion.

The noble earl remarked, that the subject before the house had been discussed under singular impressions, which marked that no sound ideas of a militia were entertained. He had always considered the militia as a body perfectly distinct from the army, and had resisted their assimilation to the army. The militia was calculated for a garrison of home defence, drawing into useful occupation those persons who would not enter the military line as a profession, but were willing to perform a limited service, absolutely necessary to be performed by some persons. They were destined to furnish a protection in time of peace against the emergencies of sudden war; and, to the extent of their numbers, might be of essential service, during a period of hostility, in case of invasion. By their land qualification they do not want, and by their formation they are cut off from all military promotion. They necessarily, therefore, form a corps not so obviously influenced by personal views, nor looking up to the executive government for advancement. Their independence, local attachment, and property, supply them with patriotism and personal influence, which cannot but be of more constitutional security in the defence of the country, to a certain extent, than any army composed of individuals professionally engaged.—The name of militia does not make the corps so called in each country similar to each other, or objects of reciprocal interchange, if it were possible that each could serve with equal



equal advantages in either country. What is militia, in its true meaning, in one country, is an army in the other. Local attachments from similar customs and manners cannot be exchanged; the constitutional advantages, therefore, must be greatly diminished; and each corps so removed from intercourse with their friends and families, will partake more of the feelings of a standing army than they would in their own country. It is no answer to this objection, that it goes against the removal of the English militia from county to county. It in some measure does; and if invasion of an island did not involve the whole in one state of warfare, the less they were removed from local affections and intercourse, and the less this kind of force was taught to forget that they were defending their homes and their families, the more strictly their original constitution would be respected. The principle on which a militia is formed is not, nor can, nor ought to be adapted to the extended service of an army. The noble earl had no difficulty in saying, that we were all individually pledged in honour, as well as interest, to support, to the utmost of our power, the safety and constitutional freedom of the united empire. But that was not the question on the present discussion. The question was, whether we should accept the generous offers of the Irish militia? for generous they certainly were as far as related to the offers. He did not think they were consistent with the constitution of either country; and it was on the ground of the system being detrimental to both countries, that he objected to their acceptance.

He next proceeded to state his objection to the measure, as far as

it respected Ireland. As an Irish militia belongs locally to Ireland, the land-owners of that country, by a pecuniary charge affecting them exclusively, and not affecting the public purse, have paid the price of a home defence confined to Ireland. It was, therefore, a breach of faith of the highest class to remove, without their consent, their home defence, levied at their own expense. It appeared to him to manifest a voluntary abdication of justice, to consider the consent of the man hired for that defence to be equivalent to the consent of him who purchased the defence so hired. The man hired to serve only in Ireland, certainly ought not to have his service extended without his consent; but surely his consent to withdraw his services from those who hired him, cannot justify this breach of contract to his employers, sanctioned by parliament. The injustice does not stop here; for an equal number of Irish militia are to be raised to replace those brought over to this country; and then the persons who had raised the former force must be at further expense to obtain the defence for which they had before paid. This additional injustice must follow, if they are to pay the levy-money in the way in which the present Irish militia is raised; but if the expense of the augmentation of the Irish militia is to come out of the public purse, then we in England pay towards the Irish militia, and they do not pay towards ours. Thus there would be a discordant and heterogeneous composition of militia, which would tend to confound its original principles, and ultimately to establish a prerogative army.—A further objection occurred to him. He not only disapproved of any reciprocity of



service of the English and Irish militia, as unconstitutional and disadvantageous to both countries, but he conceived that at this time, when a heavier storm seemed to obscure the hemisphere of Ireland, it was not fit to remove from thence troops the most interested in its defence. The additional 10,000 militia to be raised in that country, in order to replace the 10,000 to be brought over here, was a proof that Ireland could not spare the troops now offering their service.—For these reasons, the noble earl said he should give his vote against the admission of the offered militia, without meaning to depreciate the generosity of the offer.

The bills to enable his majesty to accept the services of the Irish militia, and to raise 10,000 additional militia in Ireland, passed through both houses, after producing in each much parliamentary discussion.

The payment of the salaries at par of the ministers of Ireland, who occasionally resided in this country, excited the animadversion of several members of parliament. It was alleged that it was in violation of the 30th of the king, which regulated the payment of the salaries of all the servants of the crown, in the civil departments of the state. As it was admitted that the half-pay officers of Ireland were not paid at par, although they were necessarily occasional residents in this country, it was questioned upon what ground the civil officers of government claimed this advantage. By the practice of paying officers of the Irish government at par, if they should happen to make a temporary residence in this country, they had an advantage of ten per cent. on the course of exchange. It was asserted, therefore, that, without imputing any improper

motives, it looked unfavourably, that the commissioners of the revenue should benefit themselves by an order which they made contrary to law, and should themselves claim, by their own order, a benefit which they did not allow to others, who, if the measure was right, had more substantial claims to prefer. It was then proposed, in order to express a parliamentary disapprobation of this practice, to pass the following resolutions:

1. Resolved, that it appears to this house, that payments have been made in London of salaries charged on the Irish establishment, out of money to be remitted to the Irish treasury, thereby preventing the profits of the exchange thereof from being of credit to the public, as is done in other cases.

2. Resolved, that they have been made without sufficient authority.

3. Resolved, that such practice is unwarrantable, and ought to be discontinued.

On the other hand, it was acknowledged, that if there had been an actual increase of salary to these officers, by the mode of payment which had been adopted in this case, it would certainly be improper; for it was beyond the competency of the Irish treasury to increase the salaries of these officers, the amount of which was specified by law. But in the case before the house, the officers of government whose salaries were thus paid, had been taken from their natural sphere of action, and brought, for special purposes, to exercise their functions in this country. The question therefore was, whether an officer coming from Ireland to England to do his duty, shall be paid in England without the disadvantage of the exchange?—It was put to the house, whether it would be fair to call



call on such an officer to perform his duty with a diminution of salary; for that would be the case were he to be subject to loss by exchange.— This mode of payment was compared with that which was uniformly adopted in paying our troops abroad. The course of exchange was often such as to make it a matter of some expense to transmit the pay of officers and men; yet they received their whole pay, as if there was no such expense, and the public were always called upon to defray it. It appeared, consequently, but just, that the commissioners of the treasury of Ireland should consider of the propriety of relieving these officers from the operation of a tax, which would, unless they were relieved, attach upon them when they came to perform their duty in this country, and which would not attach on them if they performed it in Ireland. It was admitted, that the principle on which this mode of payment was adopted ought to be general, and therefore the half-pay officers of Ireland who were in this country, ought to be paid at par as well as the civil officers of the Irish government. But there was a distinction between the two services. The half-pay officers of Ireland had their option whether they would come here, or remain in Ireland: but the civil officers came here from compulsion.

It was, however, contended, that if 90% of British currency was equal to 100% of Irish currency, the officer who received 100% of the former instead of 100% of the latter obtained an addition to his income. If this payment at par was considered in the light of a release from a tax, this release was represented to be as effectual an augmentation of salary as any other that could be conceived. It was also deemed improper, while the country gentle-

men of Ireland were, by their attendance on their parliamentary duties, subject to all the disadvantages of unequal exchange, &c. that the officers of government should be indemnified, and receive a remuneration for coming to England.— Although it had been stated, that the lords of the treasury in this country were in the habit of exercising a similar discretion with regard to our military officers serving on foreign stations, it was hoped that this was not done without the consent of parliament, and without submitting such allowance to the consideration of the house, in the army extraordinaries. With respect to the assertion that half-pay officers on the Irish establishment were not employed in any public department in this country, the contrary was affirmed to be the fact; for in several instances they were employed as inspecting officers, &c. without the remuneration which the civil officers received. If any remuneration were deemed necessary to the civil officers of the Irish government, in consequence of the inadequacy of their salaries, a proposition on the subject should be submitted to the house; and no doubt the fullest readiness would be discovered to extend their salaries as far as any reasonable man could desire. It was also asserted, that the payments in question had been made, not only without the authority but without the knowledge of parliament. If the thing be proper, it was said that it ought to be done in a regular parliamentary way. For, whenever the general principle of reimbursing individuals came to be considered, it would be necessary to provide for other infinitely more pressing cases. An instance was adduced of a case which frequently occurred. An English regiment was disbanded in Ireland. The officers,



all English, were compelled by their circumstances and connections to reside in England on their Irish half-pay. Out of that pittance, they must lose ten per cent. on the remittance from Ireland. Was all indemnification, it was asked, to be refused to such persons, while the principal officers of government were permitted to reimburse themselves out of the public purse?—Again, it was argued, that whatever money was subtracted from the treasury was so much taken from the public; and that the house therefore had a right to inquire into it. For, if the profits derivable from the rate of exchange were not returned to the treasury of Ireland, the public must necessarily be deprived of those profits.

In favour of the payment of Irish officers at par, it was alleged that, when employed in this country, they did not, as was supposed, receive 100*l.* British in lieu of 100*l.* Irish; they only received 92*l.* British, which was equivalent to 100*l.* Irish. The only difference was, whether that sum was paid in England or in Ireland. It was to be remembered, that these officers were created, and their salaries fixed, long before the union, and consequently before it could be in contemplation that the services of the persons employed in them would be necessary in this country. Although it had been assumed, that the Irish officers received the benefit of this arrangement for the whole of their salaries, this was by no means the case; for they were allowed to draw only for a certain proportion of their salary according to the term of their residence in this country. It seemed admitted that the officers ought to have some additional allowance made them for coming over to this country; but they in reality received

no allowance. Only the inferior officers received their travelling expenses. It was also to be considered, that they were obliged to come from a country that was cheap, and to keep a separate establishment in one that was dear.—All they required was, that 10 per cent. should not be deducted from their salaries, since they were forced to come here by the orders of their superiors. A man who received 100*l.* a year in Ireland, had no occasion to inquire what would be its value in London. He would have nothing to do with the rate of exchange, because he would not want to bring it over to England. But if government change that man's situation, if they bring him over to England, where he performs the same duties, he certainly becomes entitled to the same salary. If he is compelled to sustain the loss by exchange, then he has not the same salary; for he experiences a loss of 10 per cent. It had been contended, that taking off a burthen was equivalent to an increase of salary: but in this instance, it was not taking off a burthen; it was only placing the officer in the same situation, with regard to the amount of his salary, as he would have been in if he had remained at home.—In short, the case was stated to be simply this: The Irish treasury had funds in England; they owed to a public officer who had been ordered here on public business 100*l.* Irish, being 92*l.* British.—Ought they then to pay the money here, or send it over to Ireland, that it might be remitted back to the officer, who in this case, instead of 92*l.* would receive only 82*l.*? It was urged, that this was literally the whole question, upon which it seemed to be impossible to entertain a doubt.

The original motion was lost by a majority of 38.



In the month of June, a motion of considerable importance to the linen trade of Ireland was made by Mr. Forster. The object of the motion was to bring in a bill, for which leave was given, to exempt all the linens of the united kingdom from the  $1\frac{1}{2}$  and 4 per cent. export duties. From Mr. Forster's statement it appeared, that the linen trade of Ireland had for some time past been in a state of decay, which would be increased in a ruinous degree, if the export duties were to be carried into operation. The average export of two years, ending in 1796, was 46,000,000 of yards per annum; that for two years, ending in 1802, reduced it to 39,000,000; and that of the last year to 36,500,000. The export trade, therefore, had decreased nearly one fourth in seven years.—The export trade from Ireland to America and Portugal had decreased a full eighth within the last two years; and the export trade to this country was also materially on the decline. Under such circumstances, the present appeared to be a most improper period for laying such an impost upon the export of a commodity, which had hitherto required the influence of a bounty to encourage its exportation, and which bounty it would be absurd to continue, if it was to be counteracted by a duty which would effectually prevent it from meeting the manufacture of other nations at foreign markets. Within the last three years the export of Irish linens to England had considerably declined. The number of yards imported into this country stood thus; in 1801, 18,000,000; in 1802, 16,000,000; in 1803, 10,000,000: a new impost, therefore, would still more considerably decrease it. The bill, it was ob-

served, was not intended to establish any thing like a rivalry at foreign markets with British manufacture, but to give mutual and equal advantages to both countries. It was, consequently, proposed equally to free from this tax the linens of Great Britain and Ireland.

When the Irish budget was brought forward, Mr. Forster explained the distressed situation of the finances of Ireland, and expressed his fears that there was little prospect of their improvement, without great and vigorous exertion. Stating the progressive increase of the debt of Ireland, he said, that in 1793 it amounted to 2,400,000*l.*; in 1800, 25,600,000*l.*; and 43,000,000*l.* in January 1794. Since this last period, about  $9\frac{3}{4}$  millions had been added, making its amount near 53,000,000*l.*; a debt more than doubled in less than five years, with the enormous and unexampled increase of near ten millions in the course of the present year alone. While England encouraged the system of adding as little as possible to her permanent debt, Ireland pursued a fatal policy, which would accelerate the period of her becoming subject to all taxes imposed in Great Britain, without increasing, but on the contrary diminishing, her means to bear them. For, whenever the separate debts of the two countries should bear the proportion of 17 to 2, it would be competent to parliament to enact equal taxes for the empire. Ireland's rapid accumulation of debt would soon complete that proportion, and England's wise policy, in declining to make her annual increase of debt as usual, was at the same time accelerating it. Besides, England borrowed what she wanted within herself; but Ireland was forced to



resort to England for the greater part of her loans, the interest of which became a constant annual drain from her;—an absentee never to be reclaimed.

Proceeding to state the situation of the Irish revenue, he said, that in the year before the union, ending March 1800, the whole ordinary revenues produced into the exchequer 2,800,000*l.*; and in the last year their net produce into the treasury was 2,789,000*l.*, with all the interest and charges of a debt of 43,000,000*l.* That debt is now near 53,000,000*l.*, with an annual charge for it exceeding 2,500,000*l.*; so that, if the revenues could be relied on for the same produce this year as the last, there would not remain 300,000*l.* towards her quota of contribution, which is stated at 4,700,000*l.* In a situation so alarming, with such an increase of debt, deficient and falling revenues, a large and highly unfavourable state of exchange, and manufactures rather declining, Mr. Forster appealed to the house, to their spirit and their patriotism, whether the manly and vigorous determination should not be adopted, to look boldly at the situation, to face the difficulties with a resolution to surmount them, and to raise a revenue at once by additional taxes to the probable expenses of the peace establishment. These taxes must be great, but so laid on as not to distress manufacture, or press painfully on the feelings or comforts of the middling and lower orders of the people; and with them every possible encouragement should be given to every trade, every manufacture, and every species of industry, which could enrich the country. Much resource lay in a better collection of the revenue, which, on the net produce of customs and

excise, cost last year above 13 per cent. and about 10½ in 1800: the incidental expenses of it, exclusive of salaries, gratuities, and even pensions, were 106,000*l.* in 1800, and 179,000*l.* in the last year, when the revenue produced less, and when of course the incidents ought not to have increased 73,000*l.* The balances in the collectors' hands were suffered to rise from 566,000*l.* in Jan. 1803, to 664,000*l.* in 1804. For the relief of the Irish treasury, he proposed to effect a large and productive increase of revenue, a complete reform in the collection of the revenue, and the introduction of economy into the public expenditure. With respect to the collection of the revenue, he intended to propose the appointment of commissioners by act of parliament, with powers to inquire upon oath into the mode of receiving, collecting, issuing, and accounting for the public revenue, and the fees and emoluments of the offices through which it passes, and to report any abuses or defects.

The leading articles, upon which taxes were to be imposed, had been selected among those which in Great Britain paid considerably higher duties than in Ireland. All of these, however, it was not his intention to raise to the British rate, but to advance towards the establishment of equal taxation. It would consequently arrive less suddenly, and therefore be less severely felt. The principal articles upon which he proposed to lay additional duties were, foreign wines, malt, teas, tobacco, home-made spirits, sugars, stamps, &c. As the assimilating the currency of the two countries was desirable in many points of view, destroying a distinction which occurred continually, tending to put an end to calcu-



calculations of exchange, and steadying the money-intercourse by allowing the exchange to be converted into days of date, as between Edinburgh and London, he proposed that all the Irish duties should be made payable in British currency. As a tax, it would operate like a per centage of eight and one-third on the duties, and would produce about 291,666*l.*, after excepting all those articles which pay already in British currency. He calculated the produce of all these taxes at 853,000*l.* a year. By revenue regulations, and principally in distillery, he expected an increased produce of about 400,000*l.* The whole of the estimate, therefore, amounted to 1,250,000*l.*, which, at any other time, and under any other circumstances, would far exceed any justifiable extent; but it was now of the first importance to make a great and spirited effort, and to prevent, as far as possible, the ruinous drain of loans. Before he sat down, he adverted to the necessity of settling the joint accounts between the countries. None had been settled, either at or since the union. The task did not seem to him peculiarly difficult, and so far as he could contribute assistance, he would spare neither labour nor time.

It was on the 20th of June that Mr. Forster made this statement of the finances of Ireland, and proposed the means of augmenting the revenue. Mr. Corry replied at some length, conceiving that the conduct of the government of Ireland, of which he had been himself a part, was represented in an unfavourable light. But he reserved himself for a subsequent occasion, when, upon moving for some papers relative to the revenue of Ireland, he entered into a great variety of

detail, in order to defend the Irish government, and to point out the mis-statements which, in his opinion, had been made on this subject. Mr. Corry observed, with respect to the balances in the hands of the collectors of the revenue, that, from Mr. Forster's statement, a general opinion was formed in the house, that the sum of 600,000*l.* was actual cash in the hands of the collectors, and that government were guilty either of neglect, or of something worse, for not withdrawing these sums from their hands. These balances in the Irish account had been contrasted with balances stated in the British account, which did not exceed 37,000*l.*; and by this means it was supposed that it was a cash balance in the hands of the collectors. But these accounts were of a nature totally different. The Irish account related not only to cash received, but to outstanding duties; the English account related only to cash collected and remaining in the hands of the collectors. This practice had constantly prevailed in Ireland, in order to make the collector charge himself with the whole of the revenue in the first instance, which it became his duty to collect, and afterwards to send up returns, according as he collected it, of the cash actually received by him. In the abstract of the account—ant general it would appear, that, under the head of balances there were two columns; one showing the balance of cash in the hands of the collectors, the other the balance in charge against the collectors. This paper stated the amount of cash in the hands of the collectors to be, on excise and customs, 161,000*l.*, and on stamps 26,000*l.*; making together 187,000*l.* But in the other column the balance in charge against



against the collector appeared to be 660,000*l.*, in which sum all arrears were included. In the account prepared by the clerk of the revenue, and delivered in at the treasury on the 5th January 1804, it appeared, that, of the 187,000*l.* in cash in the collectors' hands, there were sums either drawn for or remitted to the receiver general, by which that balance was reduced to 40,000*l.*; or, if certain other sums stated in that paper were to be deducted, to the small amount of 27,000*l.* Mr. Corry referred to a paper on the table of the house, which contained a statement of the new and permanent duties of excise alone, outstanding in Great Britain. These arrears amounted to no less than 6,000,000*l.* He appealed then to the candour of the house, whether it was correct to compare the arrears outstanding in Ireland, with the cash balances in the hands of the collectors in Great Britain, instead of comparing arrears with arrears, and cash balances with cash balances in the two countries. The cash balances in the hands of the collectors in Ireland would, he was persuaded, be found not to exceed 50,000*l.* With respect to the advantages which Ireland had derived from the union, Mr. Corry observed, that during the last year, the expenditure within Ireland had exceeded the contribution of that country by one million. In the current year, according to the estimates which had been made, the expenditure there would exceed the contribution by two millions. The great expenditure for Ireland was in military expenses; and if the situation of that country, as an outpost of the British islands, demanded a large proportion of the army to be stationed there for the general defence, it was but just that a pro-

portion of the common charges should be expended there as well as in other parts of the British dominions. It was by no means his wish to enter at large into the state of Ireland; his object was to do away the impression which had been made on the house, with respect to the extremely unfavourable state of the financial resources of Ireland.

In the course of the session, the marquis of Abercorn presented a petition against Mr. justice Fox, one of his majesty's judges in the court of common pleas in Ireland. The petition charged him with several acts of oppression, degradation, and injustice, in the exercise of his judicial functions, against Mr. Hart, a gentleman of considerable property in the neighbourhood of Londonderry, and in the county of Donnegal, for which county he was one of the grand jury. Other petitions to the same effect were subsequently submitted; and it was agreed that copies of the petitions from the parties complaining should be transmitted to the judge, and that their lordships should fix a day for deciding what mode of proceeding was the most regular and proper. No decision, however, took place during the meeting of parliament; but, on the 5th of July, the marquis of Abercorn presented certain regular articles of complaint against Mr. justice Fox, which he accompanied with a few observations, embracing those articles of charge which he proposed to exhibit. The articles of complaint referred to the charge of procuring addresses, imposing of fines, certain matters stated in the petition of Mr. Hart, and what respected the learned judge's conduct relative to the noble marquis himself.

Towards the end of the session  
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a very singular discussion arose, relative to the exercise of the duties of the Irish chancellor of exchequer. In consequence of a variety of new ministerial arrangements, Mr. Corry vacated the situation of chancellor of the exchequer of Ireland, and some difficulties appear to have interfered with the appointment of his successor. Mr. Forster was universally expected to fill that office; but some delay had arisen with respect to his official nomination. In the mean time, he discharged the duties of the chancellor of the exchequer, but in the capacity of a private member of parliament. In this capacity he brought forward the budget, and proposed a variety of measures immediately relating to Irish affairs. Mr. Francis, however, conceived it his duty to question the title or authority by which he performed the functions of chancellor of the exchequer of Ireland. For, as the house does not permit a written document of any kind, particularly in matters of account, to be laid on the table, unless it be properly an official account, officially authenticated, he contended, that official statements made in parliament, in any department of government, ought to be authenticated by the proper officer, in order that some person should be rendered responsible. If the house were wilfully or ignorantly misinformed, and betrayed into any material error, upon whom, he asked, was the censure of parliament to be attached? It might be urged, that the information given to the house was not official. Without attaching any dishonourable suspicion to the present transaction, he considered it a dangerous precedent, and liable to abuse. For the pur-

pose of securing the independence of the house of commons, the law had provided that members of parliament accepting certain places of profit under government shall vacate their seats, and be sent back to their constituents, who may reelect or reject them. But if it be once admitted, that one man may hold the office, while another performs the duty, it might happen that the intention of the law may be defeated by the collusion of the parties. It was also contended by others, that such a line of conduct was contrary to the usage, practice, and principle of the law of parliament; and it was represented, that there were, in fact, two Irish chancellors of the exchequer, which left it doubtful to which parliament was to look for information.

In justification of the proceeding, it was argued, that it was not inconsistent with the character of a private member of that house, to interfere in public official concerns. If this were not the case, the privileges of the house would be abridged in a manner that would operate against the spirit of the constitution. The part which Mr. Forster had acted, it was said, did not necessarily imply an official capacity. Had he acted, in any instance, out of the house as chancellor of the exchequer, there might be some ground for animadversion.

The last parliamentary discussion relative to measures connected with Irish affairs, took place on the 13th of July, upon the second reading of the Irish spirits bill. It was represented, that the suspension of the bounty on spirits for exportation was an infringement of the third section of the sixth article of the union. For many respectable distillers in Ire-



land had extended their capital and erected new works, depending on the faith of parliament, that they should be entitled to receive the same advantages which had been ordered by a regulation of the late Irish parliament, and which had been continued by different acts of the imperial parliament of the united kingdom. The privilege which the bill was designed to suspend, the Irish distillers had enjoyed for three years; and it could not but be considered a very severe hardship upon those who had laid out large sums of money on the faith of the act of union itself, as it had been construed ever since, to take all these advantages from them at such a short notice. This would be the more felt, because, in the course of the preceding year, a sort of parliamentary decision had taken place in their favour. The English distillers petitioned against the superior advantages granted to the Irish distillers, and their petition was rejected, on the ground of the act of union. After such a decision, they might fairly expend money in speculations which would be at once destroyed.

In reply to these objections, it was stated, that the union was founded upon a principle of equality. It would therefore be contrary to that spirit, to allow Irish spirits to come into England with a bounty of from 8% to 16% per cent. as an advantage over British spirits. That internal regulation was adopted, merely to give the large distillers an advantage over the small ones. It had done so, and might still continue to produce this effect in the Irish home market. But certainly it was never intended to give the Irish distiller an advantage over the British in a British market; for, at the time the

regulation passed, Ireland was not allowed to export spirits to this country. The object of the bill, therefore, was to remove this monstrous inequality from the English distillers, and the mode in which this was to be effected was to suspend the bounty on Irish spirits warehoused for exportation. The spirits for home consumption would still continue to receive it. It was also observed, that the Irish distillers should recollect they were not at liberty, previous to the union, to export or to warehouse their spirits. These were advantages they had since obtained. But it was never in contemplation, at the union, to grant them any such exclusive privilege. To deprive them of it, was but an act of justice due to the English distillers.

The bill was read a second time, and ordered to be committed.

Before we conclude this chapter, into which we have introduced an account of every parliamentary measure of the least importance, relative to Ireland, it may be proper to supply the omission of a subject connected with the revenue of that country, which ought to have been noticed earlier in our statement of Irish affairs. In the month of April, Mr. Corry informed the house, that, although a great part of the supplies for Ireland had been already voted, the permanent charges on the consolidated fund of Ireland, and the votes of supply, had considerably exceeded the ways and means for answering them. It had, therefore, been thought advisable to propose to raise a part of the ways and means by a loan in Ireland, to the amount of 1,250,000%. On the 20th of April, the loan was contracted for in Dublin: for every 100% 112% 7s. 3d. stock was



was granted. The money to be raised, therefore, being 1,250,090*l.*, the stock created would be 1,404,000*l.* The interest to be paid for each 100*l.* received was 5*l.* 12*s.* 4*d.*, which, with the sinking fund of 12 per cent., would make the whole annual charge 84,271*l.* On the day of the bidding, the 5 per cent. stock in Ireland was at 90, and the loan was taken

at 89. The terms, he hoped, would prove satisfactory; and the more, since, on the day the loan was made in Ireland at 89, the Irish 5 per cents in London were only 80½; which certainly was a most astonishing difference, and clearly proved, that the loan was concluded on terms advantageous to the public.

#### C H A P. IV.

*Motions relative to the War in Ceylon, and in India—Debate on Mr. Pitt's Motion respecting the State of the Naval Force—Marine Society Fishery Bill—Remuneration granted to the Officers and Men for the Capture of the Enemy's Ships at Toulon—Motion for the Dates of the Dispatches sent to India, relative to the Resumption of Hostilities—Debates on Mr. Fox's Motion respecting the Defence of the Nation—Suspension of the Army of Reserve Act—Remuneration to the Holders of the Loyalty Loan—Additional Estimates for the Army, and for miscellaneous Services—Budget.*

**I**N the preceding chapter, we have endeavoured to exhibit a correct statement of the proceedings of parliament relative to Ireland. We must now return to an early period of the session, in order to notice those subjects of parliamentary discussion, which we have been obliged to pass over, with a view to give a degree of unity to our account of Irish affairs. The first subject to which our attention is directed, relates to the melancholy history of the war in Ceylon.

On the 14th of March, Mr. Creevey moved for certain papers and documents relative to the war in that island, with the intention of instituting further inquiry. From the year 1795, he observed, when we first took the island of Ceylon from the Dutch, our government appeared wisely to abstain from the

dangerous policy of interfering with the unprofitable interior of the king of Candy's dominions. Some time in 1802, a quantity of the Moka-nut purchased by British subjects was seized, in its way to our settlements, by officers of the Candian government. It was, however, agreed to be restored, or the value to be paid for it. The final difference between the English and the Candian governments was, whether the sum of 300*l.*, the value of the Moka-nut, should be paid instantly, or at the expiration of a few months. The real cause, therefore, of the war, was the difference between the prompt and protracted payment of 300*l.* In January 1804, the war began; and in a very short time, and scarcely with the loss of ten men killed in battle, we penetrated as far as Candy, which we took, and whence

we



we expelled the king. So far all was successful. But that dreadful malady, the jungle fever, which always infects the interior of Ceylon, soon destroyed numbers of our troops in Candia. Of the 51st regiment alone, above 300 perished; of the 19th, 170; besides the 200 of the same regiment who were afterwards murdered.

It might be imagined, that all these disastrous circumstances would have induced the governor of Ceylon instantly to have withdrawn the surviving troops; but a garrison was left in Candy to secure success to our intrigues; and from this impolitic interference in the affairs of Candy proceeded all the disastrous consequences which we have now to lament. We first dethroned the reigning monarch, and placed upon his throne a king of our own choice; a person so unskilfully selected, and so universally odious to the Candians, that we were compelled finally to withdraw him. He has since fallen a victim to our partiality, and his own presumption. We then changed the Candian monarchy into an aristocracy, and placed at the head of it the adigar or the first minister. During this time, the garrison of Candy were daily diminished, and enfeebled by sickness and death. The only troops remaining were the 19th regiment, reduced to 200 men, and a Malay regiment. Of the 200 of the 19th regiment, 160 were sick and perfectly disabled. At this period, the town of Candy was surrounded by more than 10,000 Candians. Cut off from all provisions, reduced by death and sickness, and the Malay regiment beginning to desert, our troops surrendered. The termination of this tragedy was dreadful. Upwards of 20 British officers, with the

200 men of the 19th regiment, were led out two by two in the streets of Candy, and there, by the orders of the very adigar in whose hands we had placed the government, were knocked on the head, and had their throats cut. The 160 sick men of the 19th were not excepted. They were all dragged from their cots and murdered. About the same period, all our fortresses in Candia were attacked, and all the garrisons compelled to evacuate them. The sick left in the fortresses were murdered.

Thus ended the invasion of Candia. It began in January; and before the end of June, our invading army was either expelled, had died, or were murdered. From the date of the destruction of our garrison in Candy, to the latest accounts which had been transmitted, which are dated in September last, the situation of the island became daily more alarming. The Candians, elated with the expulsion and destruction of the British, had in immense numbers invaded our settlements, and left us nothing but our forts. The natives, or coolies, who live under our dominion, men of the most ferocious character, were beginning to display an alarming spirit of disaffection. Such of the king's troops as remained alive were still under the influence of the diseases they had contracted in the Candian expedition. In short, such was supposed to be the danger of the colony, that in the beginning of September an expedition was fitting out at Calcutta, for its immediate assistance. If this statement were correct, Mr. Creevey said, that it must appear extraordinary that his majesty's ministers had never communicated to the house a single syllable of information respecting a war apparently



rently so rash and impolitic, so destitute of all advantage, and so evidently fatal and disastrous in its effects. Mr. Creevey also observed, that there were circumstances connected with this war, and consequences arising out of it, which imperiously demanded that an inquiry should be instituted with respect to the conduct of the governor. When we first took possession of Ceylon, it was not the least of our advantages, that we might have availed ourselves of all the experience of the preceding settlers, the Dutch. Repeatedly the Dutch had made the experiment of subduing the Candians; and they had twice, with as little loss as ourselves, seized the capital, and expelled the king. But on every occasion their army was finally destroyed by the same causes which destroyed ours. On one occasion, precisely the same calamity befel the Dutch, to which our garrison at Candy was lately exposed. The Dutch garrison were compelled to capitulate, and on their march, and within two days' journey of Columbo, were to the amount of 1100 men all murdered. These disasters convinced the Dutch, that all attempts upon the interior of Candy would only prove fatal to themselves; and accordingly, for the last twenty years of their settlement in Ceylon, such projects of conquest were never repeated. The present governor of Ceylon was in possession of these facts, before our soldiers were doomed to inevitable destruction.

After a variety of other observations, Mr. Creevey moved for several documents relating to the state of our affairs in Ceylon. But upon the suggestion of lord Castlereagh, it was moved, that an address be presented to his majesty to lay before the house copies or extracts of

such letters and papers only, as had been received from the hon. Fred. North, governor of Ceylon, relative to the causes of the hostilities which had taken place between his majesty's government and the king of Candy. His lordship objected to any motion which went to produce information as to the state of our force in Ceylon, as that would be showing the enemy the number of troops we had in the island to defend it, and might tend to invite an attack. It might be also inexpedient to disclose the state of any negotiation carrying on in the island by the governor. With respect to the statement, that the war originated in a dispute about property to the amount of only 300*l.*, he observed, that the value was of little consequence. The Candian government had long demonstrated a hostile mind towards us, and the detention of property about which the first dispute took place, was only one of the symptoms of that hostile disposition.

On the same day, the Mahratta war was brought under the consideration of parliament, by Mr. Francis, who, after moving that the 35th clause of the 24th of the king should be read, which states, that to pursue schemes of conquest and extension of dominion are measures repugnant to the wish, the honor, and policy of this nation, contended that a British governor who commences a war in India, is *primæ facie* doing that which the law prohibits; that his own act of itself puts him on his defence; that he is bound to justify on the case; and that, until he has so justified his conduct, the presumptions are against him. He asserted that all the authorities of this country have united with one voice to condemn and forbid the carrying on of war in



in India for any purpose but defence, or any ground but necessity. The practice in India, however, had been almost uniformly in opposition to the prohibition. While the directors of the India company had any power, they laid down very wise principles, and gave very proper orders on this subject. When their power over the governors was found to be insufficient, the legislature interposed; but, as it appears by the facts, with no more success than the directors. For, since the prohibitory act passed in 1783, nothing hardly had been heard of but war and conquest, with a few intervals of repose, in order to be prepared for the recommencement of hostilities. Individuals might probably derive benefit from such wars, but no advantage could result from them to the India company, or the nation—particularly in the present circumstances of the company's affairs.

Mr. Francis observed, that the Mahrattas, although not capable of meeting us in the field, or at all likely to encounter us in a pitched battle, were nevertheless able to do us much mischief. In the year 1778, the presidency of Bombay received, and gave protection to, a Mahratta fugitive, called Ragoba, and mustered all the force they could collect to escort him back to Poohnah, and to make themselves masters of that place.—The event was, that their army was surrounded, starved, and compelled to capitulate. With such bodies of horse as the Mahrattas can collect at a very short warning, from fifty to a hundred thousand in different quarters, they may pour into our provinces, overrun and lay waste the country, and then make their retreat with the same rapidity, without its being

possible for us either to meet or to overtake them. This is their mode of making war, and it has generally succeeded. They are the Tartars of India. In these circumstances, he asked, whether it was proper or not that parliament should know, why this war was undertaken, for what purposes it has been pursued, and with what success it has been attended; and finally, whether it had the sanction of the court of directors, and of his majesty's ministers? The orders given by lord Wellesley, in consequence of which hostilities began upon the Malabar coast, must have been dated some time in June, or early in July last. It was now the middle of March; so that eight months and a half must have elapsed since the orders were given; and no information on the subject had yet been received. Supposing the measures in question should appear, upon inquiry, to deserve censure, that cause of censure will be greatly aggravated by the neglect of transmitting early information.—If sufficient reasons for inquiry had been advanced, Mr. Francis expected that it would not be opposed on the ground of personal character, or of personal confidence. For, if inquiry were instituted, and crimination should follow, it must be answered, not by character, but by proof. When inquiry was moved for in that house, in the year 1791, into the causes of the first war with Tippoo Sultan, no man's reputation stood higher than that of lord Cornwallis. No opposition was then made to inquiry on the ground of his personal character, though none was more generally respected. On the contrary, his majesty's ministers met the inquiry fairly, and thought they could not defend his conduct better



ter, than by affording all the information they possessed. He therefore hoped this example would now be followed; and concluded by moving for a number of documents relating to the war in India.

Lord Castlereagh differed materially from the hon. gentleman, with respect to the propriety of an inquiry in the present state of things. For government was not even in possession of the circumstances that preceded the rupture; and, therefore, any investigation of the kind must necessarily terminate unsatisfactorily, and to the obvious prejudice of the noble lord to whom the government of India was intrusted. It had been said, his lordship observed, that the war commenced in the beginning of June, but it was not till the 6th of August that hostilities took place. The communications between the Mysore and Poonah could not be effected in less than a month, and the latest intelligence received from Madras was dated the 1st of September. There must, therefore, be many documents relating to the preliminaries, of which government could not be in possession, and which were absolutely necessary to do justice to the conduct of the noble lord. He did not object to the principle, but he was not able at present to comply with the motion. He was ready, however, his lordship said, as soon as government should be in possession of the necessary documents, not only to comply with the motion, but even to apprise Mr. Francis of the arrival of any dispatches on the subject.

Mr. Francis conceived that reasons should have been assigned by the governor-general for the issue of his orders to the troops to march, which were given two months previous to the period alluded to by

the noble lord. He was, however, willing to rely on the engagement which the noble lord had taken on himself, to apprise him of the first arrival of the necessary dispatches, and for the present withdrew his motion.

Shortly after this motion, dispatches were received from India, relative to the brilliant victories achieved by our arms. Lord Hobart, in the house of lords, and lord Castlereagh, in the house of commons, moved a vote of thanks to the marquis of Wellesley, and the officers and soldiers by whom these splendid achievements were performed. Lord Castlereagh conceived the wisdom of the original arrangements, and the skill displayed in their execution, to be much beyond the reach of panegyric. Two or three prominent features of the war he could not, however, decline to notice. Every part of the plan of attack manifested so much skill and arrangement on the part of the marquis of Wellesley, as particularly entitled him to the attention of parliament, and the gratitude of his country; but such judgment and vigilance could not excite surprise, when it was recollected that they were evinced by the same personage who gave such signal proof of the superiority of his mind, in the detection and overthrow of that inveterate enemy of the British interests in India, the late sovereign of the Mysore. After having made ample provision for the security of our Indian empire, and after having sent a considerable detachment to reinforce our troops in Ceylon, the marquis of Wellesley was able to bring into the field against Scindia and the rajah of Berar no less a force than 55,000 effective men.— In the short space of three months,



general Wellesley had conquered every thing from Scindia in the Guzerat and the Decan, while general Lake had subdued every thing in another quarter. It was also to be remembered, that the Mahrattas were a power materially different from the other native powers of India, and that in this instance they were not only disciplined, but officered, by Europeans. In the course of the war, eight places of great military strength and importance were taken by our army, and four of them by escalade. But the operations of our army were not confined to sieges. They had fought no less than four pitched battles, in two of which general Wellesley commanded, and in the others general Lake. The victory of the 23d of September was particularly honourable to the courage and skill of general Wellesley; and that of the 30th of November was not less so to general Lake. These brilliant successes had produced the complete disorganization of the whole force of Scindia, which had been trained up and organized to annoy our possessions, and to form a diversion in favour of our inveterate enemy, whose emissaries were employed to disseminate their perfidious principles among the chiefs of the Mahratta confederacy, and to communicate a knowledge of discipline to their troops. The noble lord concluded with moving the thanks of the house to the most noble Richard marquis Wellesley, governor-general of India, for the zeal, energy, and ability, with which the military resources of his government were applied in the late war with Scindia and the rajah of Berar; also that the house do attribute the result of that war, in a great degree, to the vigorous and comprehen-

sive measures adopted by the government of India, and to the system of promptitude and efficiency by which our armies were brought into the field.

Mr. Francis observed, that if the motion of the noble lord should be carried, the house would be reduced to a situation of embarrassment, with regard to its future proceedings on the subject of the war in India. The vote of thanks should, in his opinion, have been confined to the parties by whom the military operations against the Mahrattas had been so successfully conducted. But the merits of the war itself ought to have been left untouched and entire, for future deliberation. By this motion, the question is prejudged. It is impossible for parliament, with a free unbiassed mind, to examine the wisdom or the justice of a war, to the author and director of which they have returned their thanks in such exalted terms, first for the plan of the war, and then for its success. No evidence of the merit of lord Wellesley's measures was in our possession, but that his measures had succeeded. Upon that ground, in fair and honourable argument, if his measures had failed, we must have condemned him on the principle of his conduct. Mr. Francis agreed with the noble lord, that the dissolution of the French force under M. du Perron, which was attached to the service of Scindia, might be of considerable advantage. But this advantage was collateral and incidental. If he was correctly informed, he said, it was not reduced by force, but came over to us by private negotiation and agreement. Whatever acquisitions of territory we had made in the Guzerat and elsewhere, it was to be remembered, that



that the positive law of this country, founded on the best considered principles of policy and justice, and confirmed by the advice of every man in this country whose authority deserves to be regarded, forbids any further acquisition of territory in India. Upon the whole, it was his opinion, that the motion of thanks to the marquis of Wellesley ought to be deferred. If the noble lord's conduct be examined, and it should appear that the war, in which India is involved, was not voluntary on his part, but that it was founded in justice and necessity, the thanks of the house of commons would then be conferred with dignity.

The chancellor of the exchequer said that it was proposed to thank the noble marquis, not in his civil, but in his military capacity—not as governor-general of India, but as captain-general of the forces. The reference to the law which restrains us from extending our territory in India, the right honourable gentleman stated to be very incorrect. The act passed in 1794 prescribed only that we should not commence a war in India for the sake of conquest; but to maintain that, in the course of a war, we should make no conquests to secure ourselves, or facilitate a peace, was altogether an extravagant proposition.

Mr. Fox considered it a new principle to vote the approbation of the house to any but those who had been actually engaged in the exploits which it might be thought proper to distinguish by that honour. The marquis of Wellesley might have given orders to set the army in motion; but if such connexion with an army were to be admitted as a claim to parliamentary thanks, the commander in chief of this country would have

had a right to be included in any vote for achievements performed by the British army on the continent; and upon the same principle, the admiralty should have participated of the thanks voted to the lords Howe and Duncan, for their glorious victories in the course of the late war.

Mr. Wallace, on the contrary, stated, that the votes of thanks to the marquis Wellesley, on the capture of Seringapatam and the conquest of the Mysore; to lord Clive, governor of Madras, and Mr. Duncan, governor of Bombay, for their services in contributing to the achievements of the army, were proofs that the practice was not new.

The previous question, moved by Mr. Fox, was negatived, and the original motion of thanks to lord Wellesley carried. Lord Castlereagh then proceeded with the motions of thanks to lord Clive, the hon. Jonathan Duncan, governor of Bombay, general Lake, major-general St. John, the hon. general A. Wellesley, and all the officers of the army; and of approbation of the bravery displayed by the non-commissioned officers and privates. The motions were unanimously agreed to.

We have, for the present, avoided entering at any length into the subject of the war in India, because we shall have occasion to resume it, in order to exhibit a very full and circumstantial account of an event, in which the interests of the British empire are so intimately concerned.

From the occasional opposition which Mr. Pitt had made to government, it was evident that he was dissatisfied with the general measures of Mr. Addington's administration. A motion which he



made in the month of March, for an inquiry into the state of our naval force, very fully discovered that this dissatisfaction was of no ordinary extent. He proposed a series of motions for an address to his majesty, praying that he would be pleased to give orders for laying before the house a variety of documents relative to the state of our naval force in the years 1793, 1801, and 1803. He chose these three periods, in order to demonstrate that the exertions of the board of admiralty were by no means equal, when comparatively considered, to those which had been made in the first year of the late war. The second period was selected, with a view to show what extensive means were at the command of the admiralty, in consequence of a very material part of our maritime force having been preserved to keep up an extensive peace establishment. When the dangers of the country increase, Mr. Pitt conceived that it was not requiring any thing unnecessary, to see that the species of defence adopted by government, was that which was most applicable to the nature of those dangers. When the description of the enemy's preparations was considered, it might be supposed that the great object of the admiralty would have been to augment that kind of force which was most applicable to the peculiar circumstances of the empire. But it was not before the beginning of January, that any contract was entered into for building any portion of that description of force, and then only 23 gun-vessels were contracted for by the admiralty, of which five were to be completed at the end of three months, and the remainder not before the expiration of nine months. Sensible that it was infinitely de-

sirable to accelerate the actual service of every description of light force, it was his object, that an account of the orders issued by the admiralty for building these vessels should be laid before the house, specifying the terms of the contract, and the time agreed on for its completion. If this paper should be produced, he should feel it his duty, on a future day, to move that an address be presented to his majesty, that he would be graciously pleased to give orders for using greater expedition in augmenting that species of naval force best calculated for meeting and resisting any attack of the enemy, for guarding the narrow seas, and for protecting the coasts of the country.

There was another view of the subject, of which no one would attempt to deny the importance. It was the duty of every member of that house, to consider by what means our naval establishment is to be rendered adequate, not only to the great struggle which may ensue, but to give us the means of supporting our naval superiority after the great crisis has passed away. In the course of the last war, the zeal and activity of the board of admiralty had augmented the number of ships of the line to one hundred and twenty. On the conclusion of peace, the permanent establishment of the navy ought to have been an object of the deepest interest; and the propriety of supplying successive augmentations should have formed a matter of uniform attention. There were two modes by which this object might be effected: building in his majesty's dock-yards, and contracting for ships in the yards of private merchants. From the history of this country for a long series of years,



years, it appeared that building ships of the line in the merchants' yards was generally resorted to. Upwards of two-thirds of the ships of the line in his majesty's navy were constructed in the dock-yards of the merchants. The supplies from the king's dock-yards are quite inconsiderable; and of the ships built, the greater part consist of vessels of an inferior description in point of force. During the late war, no less than twenty-six sail of the line were added to the navy; but these were not composed of ships built in his majesty's yards in the course of the war, but of vessels of which some had been laid down five, nine or ten years before the war commenced. Of this number only two ships were laid down in the king's dock-yards after the war broke out, and these were not brought into service till a late period of its duration. The inference to be drawn from these facts was plain. If supplies of ships may be required during the continuance of the war, and there is no probability of procuring these supplies through the king's dock-yards, those of the private merchants must be resorted to. But, if he was not grossly misinformed, Mr. Pitt said, the board of admiralty had made no contracts to any extent for supplying the deficiencies of the navy, which may occur in the course of a very few years of the war. Having taken some pains to inquire into the matter, he could not find that since the year 1801, when the present board of admiralty came into power, more than two ships of the line had been contracted for in any of the merchants' yards. It appeared to him that a stronger ground could not be urged for inquiry into this subject. With respect to the num-

ber of seamen now employed, contrasted with the number in the first year of the last war, he observed, that the number was then augmented from the peace establishment of 16,000 to no less than 76,000. At the commencement of the present war, we set out with an establishment of 50,000 seamen, and with the prospect of a rupture from hour to hour. In consequence of the prodigious increase of our commerce, the mercantile marine of the country, the great nursery for the navy, had increased in an astonishing degree; and yet, notwithstanding all these advantages, the number of seamen had been augmented to only 86,000. Mr. Pitt concluded by a few general observations, stating that, at present, he wished the production of the papers for which he intended to move, merely as preparatory to future inquiry.

Mr. Tierney followed Mr. Pitt, and replied to him with considerable warmth. He had no difficulty, he said, in declaring, that the motion of the right honourable gentleman appeared to him to be calculated to produce an effect which every honest man must deplore; to engender discontents in the country; to shake the confidence which the people reposed in the government; and to create doubts of the sufficiency of that force which they have always regarded as the firmest pillar of national security. He was not an enemy to inquiry; but when inquiry is demanded, in the absence of all facts to justify it, he conceived that it ought to be resisted. The sort of attack made on lord St. Vincent that evening, must, he was convinced, hurt his lordship's feelings more than any direct imputation on his conduct. The noble lord



would lose every thing rather than the good opinion of his countrymen. No honours which his majesty could bestow, no emoluments which he could derive from office, could compensate for any imputation on the fair fame which he had so honourably acquired.

It was not, in his opinion, a sufficient ground for inquiry, that the right hon. gentleman chose to imagine enough had not been done for the security of the country. With respect to the naval force, he was convinced that it would be found to be much greater than was generally supposed. It amounted to no less than 1596 vessels of different descriptions. There were 19 Trinity-house vessels, 373 gun-brigs, 19 East India ships employed in the naval service, and a flotilla of 628 vessels fully equipped, and ready on the shortest notice to proceed on any destination. As to the 23 gun-brigs of which so much had been said, and the period in which they were to be completed, he conceived that the first lord of the admiralty was the best judge of the propriety of such an arrangement. For it was to be recollected, that the noble lord had only a certain number of men at his disposal. The contracts, therefore, were regulated by a calculation of the time when the vessels would be wanted, and when, consistently with the other branches of the service, they could be supplied with their complement of men.

It had been argued, that the dock-yards of his majesty were inadequate for the supply of the public service. The noble lord has shown a very laudable desire to be more anxious for the interests of the public than of the contractors; and till it is proved by professional men, that the new plan

adopted by the noble lord, of employing the artificers in the dock-yards, instead of private contractors, is improper, it is not to be taken for granted that any blame has existed. In opposition to the statement that, at the beginning of the war, the number of seamen was 50,000, Mr. Tierney observed that it was only nominally so—The number, in fact, was not above 36,000. He argued that the circumstances of the country were more favourable to a rapid increase of seamen in 1793 than in 1803; for the militia, the army of reserve, and the volunteers, all operated as obstacles to the filling up the supplies of men for the navy. Yet, in opposition to all these obstacles, the number of seamen was within less than two thousand of the one hundred thousand men voted as sufficient for our naval establishment. After a few remarks on what he conceived to be the mischievous effects of Mr. Pitt's motion, and after expressing his highest approbation of the character and conduct of the noble lord whose administration was now attacked, he concluded with moving an amendment to Mr. Pitt's motion.

Admiral Berkeley controverted Mr. Tierney's statement of the number of seamen actually employed, and represented that they would be found to be nearly 20,000 short of the number. He denied that the gun-vessels to which allusion had been made, and among which were included launches and cutters, were better than the gun-brigs, on the importance of which Mr. Pitt had laid so much stress. If a sufficient number of gun-vessels of a proper construction had been built and manned, they might have assisted the frigates and ships which  
the



the admiralty say they have in the channel, and prevented the junction of the enemy's flotillas at Boulogne. He averred that the admiralty had not even provided a sufficient number of frigates and sloops for the common duties of the channel. He noticed the rejection of the plans which had been submitted to the admiralty by himself, and by an accomplished mechanic and ship-builder, the late sir Charles Knowles. Every part of the naval system, he conceived, should be the subject of inquiry; for, if it was not immediately changed, he expected that it would be productive of the most fatal calamities.

Sir Edward Pellew succeeded, and stated to the house his opinion of the efficiency of our naval system of defence. The 373 gun-brigs he deemed as proper for the service for which they were intended as any other species of gun-boats.—Although in all weather we had kept the sea, and blocked up the ports of the enemy, and although they had no where a force able to cope with us; yet it appeared that these facts were not sufficient to satisfy the minds of some individuals, with respect to the power of our navy. From his own personal knowledge, he stated, that contract work was in general either composed of very indifferent materials, or else put together in a loose and slovenly manner; so much so, indeed, that they could not be deemed sea-worthy for any thing like the same space of time as the vessels which were built in the king's dock-yards.

Mr. Wilberforce supported the motion. We were in a situation, he said, perilous beyond all former example in our history. France, after all her conquests, was threatening us with the whole undiverted

armed force of her immense population. It was of the first importance, therefore, that we should know whether adequate preparations had been made, adequate in extent, in kind, and in promptitude, to meet the present danger. An inquiry of this description might be conducted without disclosing to the public any thing which it was improper to divulge; for the practice of the house justified the institution of secret committees. He contended that the present naval system, instead of receiving the approbation of the public, was very much condemned. He observed, that it was the established practice of the navy to build the greater part of our ships in the private yards, the king's yards being fully employed in repairing them. If the ships built in the former were bad ones, it was to be remembered that the bargains were made by public competition, and the contractors might and ought to be bound, under high penalties, to furnish proper materials and good workmanship. The hon. gentleman asked whether bad ships were not sometimes built in the king's yards; for it was in them that all the abuses were stated to prevail, which the admiralty claimed so much credit for correcting. In the seven years of peace, between 1783 and 1789, 29 sail of the line were built in the private yards, and only 8 in the king's yards. If the antient established mode of maintaining the naval strength of the country was abandoned, we ought at least to find some proportionably greater exertions in the king's yards to make up for the deficiency. As he was satisfied that the motion was made by his right honourable friend for the purpose of calling forth and maintaining our naval



strength, he should give it his warm support.

Mr. Sheridan, in a very animated and eloquent speech, defended the conduct of the admiralty, and opposed the motion for inquiry, upon the principle that no sufficient ground for it had been adduced. The motion, he contended, had no other object in view than to convey an imputation upon one of the most gallant and meritorious characters this country has ever produced. He was confident, if a stranger were to observe the whole of this proceeding, he would not hesitate to pronounce that it was suggested by factious and party motives. The naval system adopted by lord St. Vincent had been questioned, because the noble lord had excited against him a host of enemies, by originating an inquiry into the most flagrant public abuses. But no man who loves his country, and venerates public virtue, can refuse the noble lord his gratitude and his admiration. While he was assailed only by those worms which had fed and fattened upon the corruption of the navy—while he had to consider as his foes those only who had proved themselves hostile to honour and justice, and who had enriched themselves on the spoils of their country,—the noble lord would proceed in his course of glory, disdaining and declining to retaliate their attack.

The practicability of making use of gun-boats to annoy the flotillas on the French coast, Mr. Sheridan stated, was denied by every intelligent officer. But whatever might be their use in the shoals along that coast, they were incapable of being employed with any degree of advantage which may be at all compared with the utility of large shipping upon our own coast. Where-

ever the latter could be employed, the former must be comparatively useless. It was notorious, that from Pevensey to Dungeness a man of war can anchor close in shore; such is the depth of water. This, therefore, was the description of force upon which most confidence should be placed, either for attack or defence. The hon. gentleman pointed out the inferiority of the gun-boats constructed during the last war; the greater part of which were sold at a considerable loss. Gun-boats, in his opinion, would be rather injurious, on the ground of expense, and the number of men they would require, than likely to be serviceable. Mr. Sheridan seemed to infer, from the number of men employed in the king's dock-yards, from the correction of the internal arrangements of these yards, and from the classing of the workmen according to their skill, that the whole establishment of the navy might be completely maintained, without at all resorting to the private yards. For it was a well known fact, that more than 3000 ship-wrights were employed in the king's yards, and that 45 ship-wrights could build a 74 in a year. He animadverted with much point on many parts of Mr. Wilberforce's speech, and declared, that, as it had been the great endeavour of the high character upon whom it appeared to be the object of the motion before the house to fix an imputation, to correct abuses, and to produce integrity and arrangement in all the departments of the navy, he should vote against the motion; for he was convinced that it was only calculated to gratify the corrupt, to frown upon reform, and to assail the reputation of a gallant officer, whose claims to the gratitude of the country could



could only be equalled by the esteem and attachment he enjoys among all that are great and good.

Mr. Fox was ready to assent to the distinguished worth and pre-eminent services of earl St. Vincent, but felt that the best way of testifying his respect for such a character was to vote for the motion. A slur thrown on the reputation of lord St. Vincent would be a loss to the country; and to remove every suspicion of that kind, he was desirous that ample means should be afforded, that the triumph of lord St. Vincent might be the more complete, satisfactory, and glorious. The line of conduct which ministers had thought fit to pursue appeared to him objectionable; for, by granting some papers and refusing others, they in some degree countenance the suspicion of something wrong in the naval administration. They wish, by defending lord St. Vincent, to defend themselves. They wish to obtain the precedent of his great name to resist inquiry, so that every other inquiry may be suppressed. "Of his glorious achievement on the 14th of February, no man," said Mr. Fox, "can think higher than myself;—but his conflict with the abuses and corruptions of his department, though less brilliant, is not less arduous and meritorious. On the 14th of February he engaged and vanquished the enemy. But he has waged a war no less difficult—with jobs, and contracts, and frauds. He has broken their embattled line—a task no less arduous than to penetrate that of the enemy. My admiration of him is increased, to find him possess in so high a degree, that which is more rare than gallantry in the field—civil courage and decision, as well as personal courage."

With respect to the number of gun-boats in employment now and at former periods, the comparison, he observed, afforded no conclusion, unless it were shown that the exigency of the case demanded greater exertions, and a greater proportion of this species of force. Unless too it can be shown that a greater number of gun-brigs ought to be employed, the late period at which the admiralty made the contracts for such vessels proved nothing. In viewing the state of our defence, the whole system, and not any particular point, should be taken into consideration. It is impossible but that, in viewing each point separately, there must appear to be some deficiency. Some of the inferior parts must be overlooked in forming an opinion of the perfection of the whole; and if there was any part of our public defence which it would be more safe to sacrifice than another, from its being of inferior moment, he conceived it to be the gun-boats, which had been represented to be of such essential importance. Mr. Fox said he should vote for the motion on the grounds which he had stated, conscious that he should do that which private friendship and public duty equally prescribed.

The chancellor of the exchequer repeated the opinion of sir Edward Pellew, that on the coast of France, from the nature of the shore, no species of craft could prevent the enemy's boats from creeping along. In addition to the powerful testimony of that officer, he produced that of captain Day, who had been employed by the admiralty to examine and report his opinion as to the possibility of giving any effectual check to the communication of the enemy's



my's gun-boats along their own shores. That officer, in a letter to the admiralty, states, that on account of the shallowness of the French coast, and the number of batteries on shore, it was impossible for us to send any species of vessels close enough to make any material impression on the enemy; and as they had horse artillery continually moving along the shore, it was impossible even to send in boats, for the purpose of annoying their flotillas. In reply to the statement of a deficiency of 800 shipwrights in the yards, he observed, that more men were now employed than during the first year of the last war, and only 58 less than at any period of that war. It was also to be considered, that as nearly 600 persons had been discharged, who received six shillings a day for doing nothing, the number of efficient men now was greater than it had ever been. In bestowing a warm tribute of praise upon the first lord of the admiralty, he applied to his lordship what had been said of lord Chatham:—"That he had the name of an Englishman, respectable in every quarter of the globe—

—— clarum et venerabile nomen  
Gentibus et nostræ multum quod proderet urbi."

The chancellor of the exchequer having been followed by several members, captain Markham rose, and shortly adverted to the number of men in his majesty's navy. In the month of December last, when the regular returns were made to the admiralty, the number of seamen amounted to 76,054. To these 6441 had since been added; and the marines amounted to 15,679, making a total of 98,174 men. He expressed his opinion with respect to ships built in the

merchants' yards, and affirmed that those built in the king's yards were far preferable. The ships built in the latter were wholesome and sound; but those built in the merchants' yards were generally found to get what is called the dry rot, which had a tendency to produce fevers among the seamen. Captain Markham even proceeded so far as to observe, that the ships built in the merchants' yards had been the ruin of the navy.

Mr. Pitt replied with great eloquence and force to the various arguments which had been advanced against the motion. He considered the refusal of ministers to produce certain papers, upon the ground of their leading to inquiry, as tantamount to a declaration, that, if full information should be afforded, doubts must still rest upon the minds of the members of that house, which could alone be removed by serious investigation. The first prominent feature of his motion was, to ascertain whether we possessed such a naval force, under the present danger of invasion, as would be fully competent to the security of these islands. The next distinguishing feature of the motion was, to lay a foundation to keep the navy upon such an establishment, that, whatever may be its present condition, a permanent force may be in future supported, adequate to the accumulating perils to which the nation may be exposed. "Are not these," he asked, "grave and important considerations? are they not directed to provide against the greatest possible calamity, and for the security, nay, the very existence of the country? I have been told, that I have been seized with a panic to which the gallant heart of the noble lord at the head of the admiralty



admiralty is a stranger. That noble lord, I well know, is superior to all ignoble fear: but he would be wholly unfit for the station he occupies, if he were not to entertain a rational conviction of danger; if he did not know that difficulties were to be encountered, under the mighty system of hostility adopted by France. If ministers have felt none of these apprehensions; if to this alarm or panic they have been wholly superior; how are we to explain their recent conduct? For what purpose have they been engaging the time of parliament, with prolix and energetic discussions on the military force necessary to defend the sacred soil of our country from insult and violation?—Whence all this bustle and activity, this voluminous correspondence with the most eminent characters in military life?—Whence this variety of measures, which I will not say they have proposed, but to which they have acceded?—Is this too all vain delusion? or have they, with me, been degraded by a panic which they assume when military affairs are under consideration, and reject with indignation when the naval force is the subject of debate?—It has been truly said, that the naval defence of the land is our national passion, in which we indulge all the excesses of instinctive pride. With this generous propensity, let us look to the collective strength of the enemy on the opposite coast, which seems to realize the fictions of antient story. Can it be supposed, with this view before us, we can for a moment forget all the advantages of our insular situation; the glories of our maritime strength; the navy which has extended our commerce, which has established our authority, which has raised us to the rank we enjoy

amongst surrounding empires, and which has conduced to our power and aggrandizement in every quarter of the earth? Can we, in the moment of danger, fail to remember this grand source of public security? When the enemy, notwithstanding the loss of their internal trade, their external commerce, their fisheries, the very foundation of their navy, have, in the prosecution of a gigantic enterprise, created an artificial marine of prodigious extent, are we not to proportion our means to the new circumstances in which we are placed, to the new perils to which we are exposed? I trust, therefore, I shall not be accused of disgraceful fear, of idle panegyric, if I contend that our exertions ought, at this moment, to exceed all former efforts, since the dangers by which we are encompassed exceed all former peril.”

In urging the importance of the kind of minor marine which Mr. Pitt had recommended, it was by no means his intention, as had been misrepresented, to lay aside the floating castles by which this country is protected; for, should the flotilla of the enemy venture towards our coast, he had no doubt that a wide destruction and general confusion would be occasioned by the annoyance of our regular navy. But, among the vast multitude, some might escape. In recommending, therefore, this lesser navy, his object was to render certain that security which otherwise would be only probable. The larger ships would constitute our first defence; our flotilla would be destined to protect the shallows; our third expedient would be, if possible, to prevent by our army the landing of the enemy; the fourth was, should they gain a footing on English ground, to meet them in the field



of slaughter. With regard to the distinction which had been made between gun-brigs and gun-boats, he acknowledged that the preference which had been given to the former was just; and he declared that it was to this species of force to which he had particularly adverted. "But," said Mr. Pitt, "we are amused with a brilliant flash of eloquence, not lately a source of ordinary entertainment in this house; and we are told by an hon. gentleman (Mr. Sheridan) all this scheme of gun-vessels is a job. This sentiment, clothed in a wandering meteor which fixed its ray of indignation upon me, shall not so far dazzle my organs of vision as to prevent my discovering the way by which I may relieve myself from the terrors of its effulgence. It is not necessary to conclude, because a service has been converted into a job, that it is an useless service."—Respecting the objections against building in the merchants' yards, he affirmed, that as far as his experience went, they were incapable of being supported. Our mercantile marine, and the ships of the East India company, which are as perfect and complete as any applied to the purposes of navigation on any service whatever, are built in these yards. Why then, he asked, are these extensive depôts of private property and public industry to be so mercilessly decried? Mr. Pitt concluded by saying he was sorry that what he proposed might tend in some degree to implicate earl St. Vincent; but he had to repeat, that no tenderness, no consideration for that character, high and great as it deservedly was, should induce him to sacrifice his duty to the public, whose safety, in such a crisis as the present, was the first object of his heart.

Mr. Pitt's motion was lost by a majority of 71; but it was understood that some of the documents for which he had moved would be produced.

In the course of the former session, a bill was brought in by sir W. Geary, for the establishment of a marine society fishery; but, in consequence of its being introduced at a very late period, the hon. baronet thought proper to withdraw it. Towards the end of March, it was read for the second time, and rejected. Indeed the arguments advanced in favour of the bill were not likely to carry it through the house. It was represented that the objections against the measure rested solely on assertion, and that it was only in a committee that the whole subject could be thoroughly investigated. It was not intended to establish a combination, but a corporation in the fishing trade, from which it was not to be apprehended that the price of fish would be raised, although from the former such an effect might be produced. As the capital was to be limited to 50,000*l.*, the establishment would not be liable to the imputation of monopoly; and the public would be benefited by it, as it would contribute to advance the objects of the institution of the marine society.

On the other hand, it was alleged, that it was not at all probable the company, which this bill proposed to incorporate, could furnish fish for the London market as regularly, and on as moderate terms, as it was supplied by the old established fishermen, who were obliged, from their circumstances, to fish for their subsistence, and to exert their utmost skill.—The proposed company knew nothing of the business of fishing, and



and would therefore be obliged to employ agents to conduct their affairs, who were not likely to be as active as the former, not having the same motives to stimulate their industry. The measure would have a tendency to shake the old establishment of our fisheries, and to injure those poor fishermen who had always evinced such readiness to contribute to the public service. In proof of this, it was stated, that 200 fishermen were enrolled for the national defence at Harwich. The apprehension of the consequences of this bill had induced many fishermen to sell their vessels. They felt it would be wiser in them to abandon the business, although they had a very considerable number of apprentices rearing for the sea, than attempt competition with a wealthy corporation, which could give such high bounties as would render it impossible for them to keep their men in their service.— Although it was intended that the new society should be under obligation to receive the boys of the marine society as apprentices, the object of the latter would not thereby be promoted. The boys would thus be kept out of his majesty's service for a period of 7 years; for at present they go directly to sea, and in most cases in the royal navy.

Although the reasons urged in opposition to the measure were much more forcible than those in its defence; and although petitions from Harwich, Gravesend, and Feversham, were presented against the bill, it was lost only by a majority of three votes.

On the 28th of March, the house having resolved itself into a committee of supply, the chancellor of the exchequer submitted to their attention a subject which he con-

ceived was entitled to all the indulgence and liberality which they were uniformly accustomed to show to the exertions of the British navy. After the ratification of the definitive treaty of peace, lord Hood presented a memorial to his majesty, claiming a reward for the officers and seamen, on account of the French ships taken and destroyed at Toulon, together with their ordnance and stores. His majesty was pleased to refer the memorial to the privy council, a committee of whom took it into consideration. It was the opinion of that committee, that it was not expedient to grant any remuneration for the ten sail of the line and other vessels which were destroyed, because it was not the practice to grant remuneration for ships destroyed at sea; it was only where they were captured, that the captors became entitled to prize-money, head-money, &c. The committee of privy council recommended that a remuneration should be given for those ships which were brought away from Toulon, and afterwards employed in his majesty's service. It was then referred to the lords of the admiralty, and the master-general of the ordnance, to report the value of those ships, and of the ordnance and stores taken in them. The lords of the admiralty reported the value of the ships at 236,742*l.* and the value of the ordnance and stores at 28,594*l.* 14*s.* 10½*d.* On these reports being received, the committee of council recommended the granting of a remuneration to lord Hood, which was approved of by his majesty in council: and it was upon this recommendation that he submitted the proposition for remuneration to the committee. The chancellor of the exchequer alluded to the capture and



and destruction of the enemy's ships at the Helder, Aboukir, and Copenhagen, and conceived that these cases, in which remuneration was granted to the captors, were precisely analogous to that which he submitted to the committee. He concluded by moving, that a sum not exceeding 265,336*l.* be granted to his majesty, to be distributed among the officers and seamen under the command of lord Hood at the capture of Toulon, being the estimated value of the ships and vessels taken possession of upon that occasion, and of the ordnance and stores on board them.

Mr. Johnstone conceived that the subject before the committee might be reduced to a narrow compass; namely, whether or not the ships captured at Toulon were legal prizes?—The inclination of his mind was, that as they were taken possession of, not in consequence of a capture, but of a convention with the people of Toulon, they could not be legally deemed prizes to our navy. The remuneration granted to the captors of the Dutch fleet at the Helder, and to those who captured and destroyed the Danish fleet at Copenhagen, he maintained, had no analogy to the case now under consideration, inasmuch as, in the former of these instances, the prizes were such as would have been condemned in the court of admiralty, and in the latter, the ships were actually libelled before an arrangement was made by government to indemnify the captors. If, however, it should be determined to grant the sum specified in the motion, he was of opinion that the land army employed in this expedition had an equal title to prize-money with the seamen and marines. The long delay

which had arisen in preferring these claims appeared to him presumptive evidence, that the parties themselves felt they had no right to remuneration.

Sir Home Popham stated the circumstances attending the capture of the French fleet at Toulon. On the 23d of Aug. 1793, lord Hood appeared off Toulon with 14 sail of the line. Admiral St. Julien, admiral Trogoffe having been suspended, commanded the French fleet, which consisted of 17 sail of the line.—Lord Hood decided to attack the French fleet in the formidable position in which it was moored. For this purpose, he disembarked a part of the army serving in his fleet with the marines, and took possession of Fort La Malgue.—After this was achieved, he sent a flag of truce to St. Julien, and made a disposition to attack his fleet at anchor from the batteries of La Malgue, and the co-operation of the British fleet. Admiral St. Julien, accompanied with the crews of seven ships most attached to him, deserted his fleet, at the very moment the British admiral was preparing to attack him. From these facts, sir Home Popham contended that there was no convention, since there was no condition agreed upon between the commanders of the British and French fleets.

Mr. Kinnaird opposed the motion, and moved the previous question. But the original motion was carried, and the report ordered to be received the next day. The report having been brought up by Mr. Alexander, Mr. Calcraft moved, that it should be taken into consideration on a future day, in order that the subject should be more minutely considered.

Upon this occasion, the advocate-general (sir John Nicholl) rose, and stated,



stated, that he entertained a strong opinion, that, even as matter of legal right, lord Hood would have been entitled to obtain the condemnation of the ships taken at Toulon. Lord Hood appeared off that port with a British fleet: he had a right to capture, and possibly would have captured the ships in question. The inhabitants offered to surrender them conditionally. The condition was, that the ships should be held in trust for the Bourbon family, in case of its restoration, and till the end of the war. While the war continued, the ships could not properly be condemned; but when a peace was made, extinguishing the hope of restoring the house of Bourbon, by recognizing the new government, of which the inhabitants of Toulon were become subjects, the condition was at an end—the capture became absolute. Lord Hood was content to apply to the bounty of the crown, and the liberality of parliament. But his claim was understated, in being described as an application to the liberality of the house. It appeared, on the contrary, to be a claim upon its justice. The ships were captured from the enemy. All property acquired in war, in the nature of booty, belongs either to the crown itself, or to the captors as grants from the crown, and not to the public.—These ships, however, had been applied to the use of the public. The captors, therefore, sanctioned by the crown, in whom alone the property vested, should be paid by the public, who had received a valuable consideration, to which it had no legal right. The public, he affirmed, was in justice, and not merely in liberality, bound to pay for these ships.

Colonel Wood observed, that it

was with extreme reluctance he opposed a measure, which had for its object remuneration to our brave countrymen, to whom all of us are so much indebted; but he could not avoid expressing his surprise at the argument of the advocate-general, who had treated as a common capture the ships brought away from Toulon, when in fact they were a sacred pledge to the British admiral for the royal family of France. With what justice then, he asked, can the country be now called upon to purchase those ships, which were brought away from Toulon, from those who, neither by the laws of war nor of honour, had any right to sell them? The colonel said, that from every account he had read, the English appeared to have been taken by surprise at Toulon; otherwise every ship that was destroyed would have been added to the British navy.

Mr. Sheridan asserted, that although all prizes were the right of the crown, it was only in trust for the people. Upon the whole view of the subject of the captures at Toulon, he thought that lord Hood was to blame, and on that account he had formerly voted against conferring on him the thanks of the house. If any honour was to be claimed in the business, he conceived it was due to sir Sidney Smith.

The master of the rolls said, that from the reign of queen Anne, to the present moment, the country had never derived benefit from captures without remunerating the captors. What ground was there, he asked, for their breaking in, upon the present occasion, on the uniformity of proceeding in these cases? If lord Hood could have proceeded to condemnation in the court of admiralty, there was no occasion



occasion to come to the house ; and surely it would not be contended that the house was never to be liberal, except in those cases where they had no discretion. The ships in question were part of the enemy's force, and might have remained so, if it had not been for the exertions of lord Hood. His lordship, having ulterior objects in view, abstained from exercising the strict rights of war. It thus became a qualified surrender, and this was an obstacle to proceeding in the court of admiralty ; but the injury done to the enemy was not the less. To postpone this subject, upon the ground that, if the French monarchy were restored, the ships ought to be restored to that government, might be delaying it for ever ; but surely there must be a limit to such a condition. All the facts relating to the capture of the ships were notorious ; all the papers which were necessary had been laid upon the table ; and he trusted that, as the claim was founded in justice, it would not be refused.

The question being called for, the amendment of Mr. Calcraft was negatived, and the resolution of the committee of supply to grant a sum not exceeding 265,336*l.* was formally ratified by the house.

The escape of admiral Linois from Pondicherry having been attributed to remissness on the part of ministers in conveying to admiral Rainier intelligence of the recommencement of hostilities, the earl of Carlisle, on the 13th of April, moved for the dates of all dispatches transmitted by government to India. The motion was resisted, on the ground that it was contrary to all precedent, and to the constant practice of the executive government. Where no accusation had been established, where

the motives for producing such documents were to be discovered only in vague and uncertain rumour, it was represented to be neither parliamentary nor prudent to trouble his majesty with an address for their production.

The earl of Carlisle could not agree with lord Hawkesbury as to the principle which he had laid down, that ministers were to communicate or to withhold information at their discretion, on all subjects except those which were fairly before the house. He maintained, in opposition to the noble lord, that public rumour may be sometimes a good ground for requiring information. It was notorious, his lordship said, that ministers had been so negligent in transmitting intelligence to India of approaching hostilities, that private merchants there had been informed of the war seventeen days before the dispatches of government were received. It was to negligence on the part of government, that the escape of the French squadron at Pondicherry was to be attributed ; for, if the English admiral had been duly apprised of the probability, much less of the actual commencement of the war, he would, conformably to his duty, have detained the whole of the French force under the command of admiral Linois.

Lord Hawkesbury still persisted in opposing the motion. His lordship, however, had no hesitation to state, that during the negotiation, and previously to his majesty's message, dispatches were sent to India with all possible celerity, to apprise our naval and military commanders there of the probable resumption of hostilities. A similar communication was made at a subsequent period of the negotiation ; and when hostilities



hostilities had actually commenced, intelligence to that effect was immediately transmitted to India.

Lord Spencer charged ministers with unpardonable neglect, in not conveying the earliest intelligence of the war to our settlements in India. The official dispatches, his lordship said, were transmitted by a frigate which had to convoy a fleet to Lisbon; which occasioned an unavoidable delay of at least sixteen or eighteen days. He stated, he had no reason to doubt that admiral Rainier was not apprised, on the 12th of August, of what had taken place in Europe so early as the 10th of March. Lord Spencer said, there was certainly great blame imputable to some quarter, and it was the duty of the house to examine it thoroughly.

The earl of Caernarvon and lord Harrowby supported the motion. Lord Hobart opposed it, and maintained that there had been no negligence on the part of ministers. The frigate which carried out dispatches, his lordship said, made an extraordinarily quick passage. Having sailed directly for India, our commanders there had timely notice of the state of affairs in Europe, and instructions for their conduct in case of the resumption of hostilities. As to the escape of admiral Linois' squadron, he was sure no blame could attach either to the executive government, or to his majesty's commander in those seas. Admiral Rainier was apprised of the probable recommencement of the war, when the French squadron arrived at Pondicherry; and it was actually under consideration to detain admiral Linois, when he was so fortunate as to effect his escape.

The motion of the earl of Carlisle was carried by a majority of one. A similar motion was made

in the house of commons by Mr. Kinnaird. Lord Castlereagh having stated that he had no objection to the production of the papers, the motion met with no opposition.

Dissatisfied with the measures which his majesty's ministers had adopted for the defence of the country, Mr. Fox, on the 23d of April, moved that it be referred to a committee to revise the several bills which had been passed, during the last and present sessions of parliament, for the defence of the country, and to consider of such further measures as may be necessary to render the said defence more complete and permanent. He began a very able and comprehensive speech, by denying that the zeal displayed by the people of England sprung from any approbation of the war, much less from any approbation of the measures of government. Their exertions, he asserted, had arisen out of the inaction and incapacity of ministers themselves; for the want of a strong and well concerted plan on the part of ministers forced the people at large to come forward and defend themselves. The character of the people of England, he said, was perfectly understood. They would always be found ready in the moment of danger; and the greater and more deplorable the state of calamity in which the kingdom may be involved, the greater and more zealous would be their exertions for its deliverance. From the preparations of the French, Mr. Fox acknowledged that they appeared to consider the invasion of this country as a practicable enterprise. The nation was therefore called upon to devise the means of permanent safety. It was not his intention to take into consideration the general system of defence, but to



confine his motion exclusively to the army. The committee for which he should move, would have two distinct objects: 1. The solid increase of the regular force, and the removal of the impediments which obstruct the recruiting service. 2. The formation of an irregular but auxiliary force of a permanent kind.

With respect to the first, it was impossible for the house to know its real extent; for, according to the assertions which had been made in parliament, the returns of the infantry were said to be double what officers of good information believed them to be. He was desirous that this should be made apparent by documents laid before the committee. For the purpose of establishing a permanent defence against the meditated plan of invasion, the increase of the regular force, or the provision of an elementary force, which might always come in aid of it, was the desideratum to be obtained. But every regulation which had been adopted, was calculated to counteract the recruiting of the regular army. On the breaking out of a war, there must be always some contraction of the manufactures of a nation, and some part of its population thrown out of employment; consequently, men were to be had for the regular army without difficulty. But when ten guineas were given for recruits for the regular service, and fifty for the army of reserve, a preference would be given to the latter injurious to the recruiting service. Human nature is the same at all times; and the people of this country were not so little capable of calculation, or so foolish, as to accept of the smaller sum when the greater is to be had. Plain and simple truths are not to be resisted,

Men are not to be bubbled with theories which contradict human reason. But a much more serious obstacle to the recruitment of the regular army was to be found in the monstrous error of enlisting men for life. In all the great military establishments on the continent, no such thing was attempted. In countries the most despotic, where governments of tyranny demand most the service of unconditional submission, and where, it may be supposed, the greatest facility would be given to perpetuating the service, no such thing has been attempted. "But in the freest country in Europe, in that country which boasts of the vigilance and care which are exercised by law over the persons and property of the people, is it not monstrous," Mr. Fox asked, "that this should be the only place where men are so enlisted? A man in many cases cannot dispose of his property under the age of twenty-one; and no person under that age can alienate any part of his estate: yet, by law in this free land, he may sell himself, at any age, into military bondage for his natural life! It is a monstrous solecism; a stain upon our military code; and, like every other gross and absurd practice, it serves to impede instead of promoting the service. For, what is it but this contract for life, that renders this service so terrific to every parent, and to every relative?—Every gentleman must have had frequent opportunities of seeing the effect which it has upon the hearts of fathers and mothers, even in the very lowest classes of society. They must have seen with what agony they have heard of their sons enlisting for life, and with what eagerness they hoard up from their scanty earnings a sum to buy him off;



off; with what earnest supplications they pray for his relief. And why is all this? but that by the nature of this engagement, made by a youth in a giddy moment, they consider him as cut off from their family for ever; cut off from the enjoyment of all the quiet blessings they intended for him, or from the exertions by which their own toils were to be eased, and their old age protected; because they consider his enlisting for life as tantamount to civil annihilation! But would it be so, if the contract were limited to a certain, and that a short period? On the contrary, would it not dispose many a parent, not merely in the lowest classes of society, but even farmers and tradesmen, to consent to a son's entering into the service, and to view his entrance with complacency, if, thinking him perhaps a little too unsteady for their occupations, they knew that his military career would be over in a certain number of years, and that he might then return to them with a mind improved by knowledge of the world, and with habits useful to his future life?" Mr. Fox was decidedly of opinion, that nothing effectual could be done in the way of recruiting the regular army, without radical reforms. There must be no competition for men, no buying them by extravagant bounties, and no enlisting for life. The army of reserve must be totally suspended, and the militia be gradually reduced to its proper level.

With respect to an accessory force, Mr. Fox thought there should be a more general armament than that of the volunteers. Without infringing on the volunteer system, he wished to propose a general arming of the peasantry of the united kingdom; a force which,

although inferior to the volunteers, as to fighting in battalion, would yet be of infinite value for the kind of attack with which we are threatened. An armed peasantry, with their topographical knowledge of their own territory, would be irresistible. It is the natural strength, to which, of all others, a free people in a cultivated country ought to look. An armed peasantry would prevent the enemy from reaping any advantage beyond the actual field of battle. After their victory, they would remain in a state of positive impotence. They could not scour the country, nor send to any town, village, or even to any farm, for a single load of hay, without a detachment and an escort. They must be broken into a thousand parts to provide themselves with food, and be enfeebled by division; or otherwise they must be confined to the identical spot of their glory; while our own beaten army would have time to recover, and to reinforce its ranks. On the other hand, the annihilation of the enemy would be the consequence of their defeat. No rallying point could be found in a country where every man was armed, where every hedge was an entrenchment. It would not be, as it is between contending armies, in a martial territory, where the inhabitants are quiet spectators of the battle; here a vanquished enemy could find no shelter, no suspension, no breathing-time, no recovery.

After recommending in very strong terms the arming of the peasantry, Mr. Fox proceeded to comment upon the defence act, which in many respects appeared to him to be extremely objectionable. He stated that the prerogative of his majesty could not be contemplated



without anxiety, if it was to be understood, that this act empowered him to compel any individual, without any limitation of rank, age, or station, to serve in the ranks, exactly on the footing of enlisted soldiers, and to be subject to all the severities of military duty and of martial law. He avoided all other topics of inquiry, except that of the establishment of such a plan of military defence as shall be equal to the hostile designs of the enemy, however formidable or protracted they may be. In a committee, he observed, the subject might be fully discussed. Some mode might be devised of strengthening and confirming whatever was well conceived in the present system of defence. The committee might determine in what mode the peasantry might be called out, armed, and arrayed; in what manner they might be employed; how far, if fire-arms cannot be found, pikes may, with advantage, be put into their hands; whether it may be necessary to place them under martial law, or in what other manner they may be rendered subject to military discipline. In a committee alone these subjects could be discussed with advantage; and there the different measures passed for the public defence may be revised, amended, and improved; their errors corrected, their contradictions removed, and their effect increased. Mr. Fox concluded a very long and argumentative speech with moving for the institution of a committee, the nature of which we have already explained.

The chancellor of the exchequer resisted the motion. He denied that the zeal and unanimity which pervaded all ranks and classes of society was to be attributed to the fear of invasion; and affirmed, that

the measures and conduct of his majesty's ministers were entitled to share the credit of exciting and cherishing this patriotic and public spirit. He acknowledged, that by the constitution the house was invested with very great and extensive powers; but he disputed its right to institute a committee, which, in its proceedings and result, must terminate in a committee of a purely military nature. Only two grounds had been alluded to, in order to justify its appointment; the abolition of the pernicious principle of recruiting by competition, and the alteration of the term of service from life to a limited number of years. It was not, he said, a subject of astonishment that the recruiting service had experienced a momentary cessation, when, within a space of little more than twelve months, the persons intrusted with his majesty's government had been compelled to take out of the population of the country no less than 200,000 men, for the purpose of recruiting the army and navy. "If," continued the chancellor of the exchequer, "gentlemen considered that the militia was to be raised, the army of the line to be recruited, the army of reserve to be established, the defence act to be prepared; and that, notwithstanding these difficulties, we have a regular army, line and militia, of 184,000 men, that we have 400,000 volunteers, and 27,000 sea fencibles, independent of troops in garrisons and in colonies, making in the whole a force little short of 800,000 men, a force superior to that which the greatest exertions of the enemy could produce,—he trusted that the house and the country would admit that ministers were not that incapable and incompetent description of men which the hon. mover of  
of



of the question had endeavoured to represent them to be." Adverting to the principle expressed in the defence act, that it is his majesty's prerogative to call upon the services of all ranks of his subjects capable of bearing arms, in case of invasion, he observed, that during the discussion of the bill that principle was frequently alluded to, but never opposed; for it was generally admitted, that his majesty possessed such a prerogative in case of invasion, and the only question was, whether or not he could resort to it before invasion? The object of the motion, he suspected, was to create such an opposition to his majesty's ministers as would tend to produce a change of administration. If this were the case, some specific charge should be made, some direct accusation should be produced. The sense of the house should be taken upon it; and, instead of attacking ministers by covert and underhand attempts, they should be boldly and manfully accused. If they were accused upon specific grounds, they would be ready to meet the charge; and he trusted they would find no difficulty in defending themselves upon fair, open, and constitutional principles. To the motion of the hon. gentleman he felt the strongest objections, and conceived himself bound to resist it upon every consideration of prudence and of public policy. Without intending to affirm that a great state necessity might not justify the appointment of such a committee, he should leave it to the wisdom of the house to determine, if any proofs of such necessity had been advanced in support of the present dangerous and extraordinary measure.

Mr. Pitt thought the motion was calculated to unite all those who,

by the experience of the last twelve months, were convinced that from the present ministers no measures of suitable vigour and energy were to be expected. If it were true that the motion was extraordinary, it should be remembered, that it was called for by very peculiar and extraordinary circumstances. Adverting to the subject of an armed peasantry, Mr. Pitt observed, that whatever difference of opinion might prevail as to the degree of utility, the mode of application, and the local circumstances in which a force of this kind might be desirable, it was not to be disputed, that the efforts of the peasantry might, in many situations, produce the greatest advantage. If the peasantry were calculated to be of utility in Essex, Kent, or Sussex, in opposing the enemy, and retarding their progress to the metropolis, it was fit that no time should be lost in devising a plan for obtaining this additional aid. The right hon. gentleman commented with much severity upon the principal measures of government relative to the national defence, and proceeded to take a very comprehensive view of the advantages and defects of the whole volunteer establishment. He imputed considerable blame to ministers for the mode in which they checked and restrained the spirited and zealous offers of voluntary service, at the recommencement of hostilities. He objected to exemptions, and asserted that the volunteers, for the most part, required no such encouragement to offer their services, and that many of them were not even aware that any exemptions were to be granted. The right of resignation, he conceived, should never have been disputed. He noticed also the mode in which the volunteers were distri-



buted, and represented it as a radical error in the system of defence, that the volunteers were not, in point of numbers, assigned to each district in proportion to its exposure.

Mr. Pitt said, that he could not presume to pronounce a decided opinion upon the propriety of raising men for limited service. This point had been much disputed by great military authorities. If such a system were proposed, it would be necessary, before its general adoption, to obviate a number of military objections, with regard to the difficulty of supplying our foreign stations. He was, however, of opinion, that it would be the more eligible policy, and the best calculated to render the army respectable and efficient. As to the plan of bringing the Irish militia over to this country, he could not approve of it, under existing circumstances. No argument could be drawn in favour of such a plan at present, from a precedent which occurred in a quite different situation of things. There were also many physical objections to an interchange of the militias of the two countries; for the officers connected with both militias would be exposed to numberless inconveniences from the adoption of the measure.

Allusion having been made by Mr. Fox to the power belonging to the crown of calling out the population of the country in the event of invasion, as expressed in the preamble to the general defence act, Mr. Pitt observed, that nothing appeared clearer to him than the proposition, that the state has a right to call on the people to defend it, and that in the crown, being the depository of the power of the state, is vested the right of so call-

ing out the people upon any great emergency. This right he thought he could show, from a series of precedents, to be recognised by the constitution and custom of this country: for it must be admitted, that the crown possessed the power of putting any district of the kingdom under martial law, in case of invasion; subject, however, to that responsibility to which ministers would be liable for the abuse of any such power.

In the course of his speech, Mr. Pitt expressed the most decided disapprobation of the measures of government. The spirited exertions which had been made to organize the strength of the country were not, he said, to be ascribed to the direction and energy of ministers. No one measure could they claim as their own; no one measure had they improved and perfected; but many they had weakened and destroyed by their incongruities. Whatever then the spirit and zeal of a free and brave people may have been under the sense of danger, ought fairly to be separated from the tardiness, languor, and imbecility of ministers in every thing of which they have assumed the direction. They boast of what others have suggested, or voluntary public zeal has effected, as if what was done were perfectly adequate to our security. But is it enough, Mr. Pitt asked, to have provided against the danger of a final conquest? Enough, he affirmed, has not been done, unless we have adopted every practicable and rational means of defeating the enemy, should they invade our shores, with the least sacrifice of life, with the least waste of the public resources, with that signal overthrow and destruction which will for ever deter them from a repetition



petition of the attack, and for ever relieve the country from the alarm and anxiety of invasion. In conclusion, the right hon. gentleman stated, that, judging of ministers from what they had done, and what they had omitted to do—from their slowness to adopt, and their incapacity to act upon, any vigorous plan for the public defence—from the very long consideration they required upon even the most trifling topics, and the very crude and ill-digested measures they, notwithstanding, uniformly brought forward—from all these considerations, he felt himself urged, by a strong sense of duty to the house, to his country, and to his sovereign, to vote for the appointment of a committee, to consider of devising some effectual means for our protection, and for the security of all that a great nation could hold to be valuable.

Mr. secretary Yorke succeeded. He said he should give his negative to the motion now proposed, since it was impossible for him to agree to it, without consenting to give up all the reports made to the different departments, and thereby affording the enemy all the information we were in possession of ourselves. Such a proceeding was not warranted at the present crisis. Was there, he asked, any want of public confidence in ministers? He knew there was great dissatisfaction in some gentlemen in that house, but he had heard none that had manifested itself in the nation. After dwelling upon the extent, spirit, and discipline, of the volunteer force, he stated his objections to an armed peasantry. He did not deny that upon many parts of the continent a force of this description might be of great utility; but the face of the territory, and the habits of the people, were extreme-

ly different from those of this nation. The animadversions of Mr. Fox upon the declaration of the prerogative contained in the general defence act, appeared to him to be unseasonable at that period of the session. The proper time for such objections was when the clause was proposed, and when precedents were quoted in support of the exercise of the prerogative. He conceived it to be equally extraordinary that, after the bill for consolidating and amending the several volunteer acts had passed through both houses of parliament, and would probably soon receive the royal assent, a committee should be proposed to examine that and the other acts passed for the defence of the country. In order to remove some of the difficulties which retarded the recruiting of the army, it was his intention to propose a temporary suspension of the army of reserve act. By suspending the operation of this act for twelve months, he expected that eighteen or twenty battalions of regular infantry might easily be raised. He refused Mr. Pitt the credit of having suggested the measure of the army of reserve, and acknowledged that it was submitted to his majesty's ministers by a highly respectable general officer. In defending the system pursued by the admiralty of building in the king's dock-yards, in preference to those of the merchants, he observed, that during the administration of lord Temple and lord Anson nearly seven ships of the line had been annually built in the former. Having replied to various other points which had been urged against his majesty's ministers, he concluded by recommending to those who had preceded him, to bring forward a direct motion against ministers, if they really thought



it to be their duty, and not to aim at their dismissal, by an oblique measure, like that to which they had now resorted.

After Mr. George Vansittart, sir William Pulteney, sir Home Popham, and captain Markham, had shortly expressed their opinions upon the subject of the question, the attorney-general rose, and entered upon an animated and eloquent defence of the measures of administration. In this spirited vindication, however, he did not confine himself to the subject before the house; but commented at length upon the probable consequences that might result from carrying the question in favour of Mr. Fox's motion. "Is it," he asked, "on a motion of this sort, containing no direct charge of any criminal act or omission on the part of his majesty's ministers, that I am to expect a decision, in which is insidiously involved the question, whether or not they shall any longer retain the confidence of this house, or continue to fill those situations in which they have acted with so much zeal and integrity, and, I will add, with such signal effect for the service and security of their king and country? Is this a species of conduct consistent with the candour of the honourable gentleman, or the manliness of his character? Could I have expected from him, to choose such a mode, or such a subject, in order to collect every stray vote and every stray opinion, with a view to support this attack upon his majesty's ministers, preparatory to their fall under a subsequent measure—an address to his majesty for their dismissal? Of this, it is obvious, the motion before the house is the forerunner. But if this house shall agree to a motion brought forward in such a manner, I have no hesita-

tion in declaring it will sanction a project the most to be deplored, under existing circumstances, that ever was adopted by parliament."

The attorney-general entertained no doubt of the prerogative of the crown, in case of invasion, to call out the population of the country for the defence of the state; for, the power of the magistrate and of the courts of law being then suspended, the prerogative of the crown was all in all for the defence of the realm. He alluded in direct terms to the efforts which at this time were exerted out of parliament, to form an administration of which Mr. Fox was to become a member; and demanded what congruity of proceeding the country could expect from a junction of that honourable gentleman with Mr. Pitt? He endeavoured to impress on the house, that from such an union, in succession to his majesty's ministers, no unity of sentiment could be expected; for, in a cabinet composed of individuals entertaining such opposite principles, no union could exist. He arraigned the conduct of Mr. Fox during a considerable period of Mr. Pitt's administration, in terms of strong personal animadversion, and dwelt upon his temporary secession from parliament, particularly during the alarming crisis when a mutiny threatened the annihilation of our naval power. Having denominated Mr. Fox an enthusiastic admirer of French principles, the attorney-general was called to order; but he justified himself upon the ground, that if gentlemen wished to put an end to the consistency and congruity of government, he was not to blame for endeavouring to rescue the house from delusion.

Mr. Windham replied to the attorney-general, and Mr. Tierney to Mr. Windham. The latter directed against



against that right hon. gentleman a great deal of pointed sarcasm, and defended at some length the general conduct of administration.

At a very late hour Mr. Fox rose, and justly complained of the personality and extraneous matter which had been introduced into this discussion. With the single exception of the speech of the secretary of state, the whole debate, he affirmed, had been conducted upon principles of party, or rather of faction; without any reference to the subject, which had been treated in a manner that, in his opinion, deserved no better name than mere ribaldry. He animadverted with much warmth upon the speech of the attorney-general, and, at the same time, replied with vivacity and effect to the many personal observations applied to him by the learned gentleman. The singular turn of the discussion rendered it unnecessary for Mr. Fox to attempt a long refutation of any arguments which had been advanced. Having chiefly pursued the personal course of reply, which the peculiar features of the debate seemed to require, he concluded by saying that those who opposed ministers might nevertheless be zealously eager to defend the country, and that he asked for no votes but from those who thought something more should be done for the public defence. The house, consisting of 460 members, divided at four in the morning, when Mr. Fox's motion was lost by a majority of 52 in favour of ministers.

The same fate attended a motion made shortly after by Mr. Dent, to refer the loyalty loan act to a committee, in order to take into consideration the claims of the holders of the loan. These claims rested upon the injury which they had

sustained, in consequence of a new clause having been introduced by parliament into a bill founded upon the resolution of a committee of ways and means. The bargain for the loan was concluded, when the resolution of the committee was published. It was therefore represented, that any departure from that resolution in the progress of the bill, was an alteration made by one of the parties, without the consent of the other. But, on the other hand, it was contended, that the bill, founded upon the resolution of the committee, had been several successive days in the course of discussion, and that the subscribers were apprized of the alteration in question. They were consequently at liberty to withhold their subscription, if they disliked the terms expressed in the clause. But having afterwards continued their payments, it was conceived they had now no right to complain of an agreement which they had ratified with their eyes open. It was acknowledged that the public interest had a claim to parliamentary consideration, and it was stated to be the intention of government, that the original subscribers should be paid at par, and that they should receive something more than seven per cent.: no loss therefore would ultimately be sustained by the public.

On the 25th of April, Mr. secretary Yorke moved, that the house should go into a committee upon the bill for the suspension of the army of reserve act.

Mr. Pitt opposed the motion at considerable length. By suspending the operation of the army of reserve, we should relinquish all chance of reaping further advantage from a measure, which, how much so ever it may have been im-

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peded and embarrassed in reaching its full effect, has been found to add, within these last twelve months, a supply to the regular army, which in the present circumstances of the country we could not have obtained by any other mode whatever. He proceeded to state his objections to the plan which had formerly been proposed for the augmentation of our disposable force. This plan consisted of three parts—the increase of the Irish militia, the suspending the operation of the army of reserve, and the raising a considerable number of additional battalions.

With respect to the augmentation of the Irish militia, he observed, that it was a measure slow in its effect, and distant in its operation; that it was a species of force, which, however desirable on ordinary occasions, may be carried beyond its proper limits; and that, at the very time when we wished to increase our regular regiments, by raising new levies both in England and Ireland, we were encouraging, by the increase of the militia, that disadvantageous competition which it was so desirable to remove. The services of the militia being limited by law to the country in which it is raised, a preference would naturally be shown to this description of force, and consequently there would be no chance of thus procuring a greater number of men for the regular army. Besides, to procure men in a shape in which they cannot be rendered so efficient, or so disposed to engage themselves in the regular service, was certainly a plan which was far from being advisable. The manner in which the new levies were to be raised, appeared to Mr. Pitt to be extremely absurd; for, while men cannot be procured for limited service at a high bounty, it is in

vain to propose to raise men for extended service at a low bounty, without at all offering any other or new encouragement to them to come forward. It appeared to him that there was just as much prospect of raising men for the existing battalions, as for new levies. No inducement, he thought, would be given, by permitting officers to raise regiments for rank, unless the officers were to offer additional bounties to operate as an encouragement. If then the present system has not sufficient efficacy, the suspension of the army of reserve ought not to take place. At least we ought, Mr. Pitt continued, in the first place to consider, whether or not some means might be found, which, without any suspension at all, would enable us to derive advantages from that very species of force, by modifying and improving it; and secondly, if that force be really found to be ineffectual, we should determine whether the suspending it in a limited manner is not doing too little, and whether we ought not to repeal the act altogether?

Mr. Pitt next proceeded to submit to the house those measures which, in his opinion, would have a beneficial tendency towards the accomplishment of the objects in view. The foundation of these measures, he said, rested upon the principle, that in the present state of society, and considering the present circumstances of the country, looking at the state of commerce and of agriculture, all the demands for labour, and all the temptations which divert men from enlisting in the regular army; looking also to the distinction which naturally exists betwixt an unlimited service, and one which confines men to their own soil, there must, he observed



served; be a probability, that in such a country as this, a great number of men may be easily induced, by proper means, to enter into a service which is limited in point of its extent. He assumed the doctrine, that when persons are once induced to enter into a limited service, the gradation into a service that is unlimited becomes thereby much more easy. The militia he did not consider as that species of force from which such a transition was most likely to be made. The services of the militia ought, in the opinion of most men, to be limited. If it exceeded 40,000 men in England, it could not be maintained with full effect; for if the number were to be extended, the nature of that system would be changed. We should, therefore, endeavour, as soon as possible, gradually to recur to our original number of militia; that is, to decrease them to 40,000 men in England, and 8,000 in Scotland. After doing this, the number of the army of reserve should be increased in the same proportion as the militia is decreased. Instead of beginning by a reduction of the militia, it would be advisable not to fill up any vacancies therein during the present war; leaving it at the same time to decline, by its contributing to the gradual increase of this other force. This would at least take away one half of the competition in recruiting the regular army, and would bring the whole into a more concentrated point of view. Of the army of reserve, only about 30,000 men have been raised in England and Scotland, and of these not less than 9,000 have entered into the regular service. By increasing the numbers of this description of force, there would exist

a chance of adding to the troops of the line a greater proportion, if the men were empowered and encouraged to enlist into an extended service.

He then proposed, that out of the army of reserve, when raised to 60,000 men, one fourth or one fifth should be allowed each year to enlist into the regular army, and that the vacancies should be filled up which might be thus created. This might furnish the means of adding 10, or 15,000 men annually, over and above the mode usually followed in recruiting the regular army, and would prove the most effectual plan of increasing our regular force. One material point Mr. Pitt wished to submit to the house was, that there should be a proper proportion of quotas observed in each county, in the same manner as in raising the militia, and also that some measure should be adopted, to establish a permanent connexion between all our regular regiments in Great Britain and Ireland. This plan had been often mentioned, but never put into execution, though it would evidently tend to enlarge the system of recruiting. The soldiers would look on each other as relations and friends, if instead of raising new regiments, a second battalions was added to every regiment in each county. The connexion would then be much closer, and much more operative. Such measures, he maintained, would have an incredible effect in procuring recruits, and those too of the best kind.

Mr. Pitt objected to the ballot, as it was now regulated; for if it fell upon a person whose engagements in life rendered it unfit that he should serve, he must find a substitute, and no limit was assigned



signed to the sum he must give in order to procure one. He therefore proposed, that if the person upon whom the ballot had fallen would not serve, he should pay a certain moderate fixed sum; but if he should serve, the same amount should be given him which he would otherwise have paid for a substitute. The substitute should be found by the parish, and not by the individual; and further, the person so provided should, in almost all cases, be taken from the hundred, and not from the great market towns. The next consideration to which he requested the attention of the house was, the supplying of the vacancies, or the providing for those cases where the hundred could procure no substitute. In such circumstances the bounty should be made over to the colonel, in order that he may pay the limited sum he so receives for the more limited service he requires; that is, that the recruiting parties he employs should procure men for this particular service; and regulating the quantum of bounty by the nature of the duty, no pernicious competition would arise, as the larger bounty would always be given for enlisting into the regular army. These measures, he flattered himself, would tend to improve and augment the regular army, by presenting novel expedients for the purpose, and thus conduce essentially to the means of internal defence and external warfare. Their adoption, he trusted, would render it unnecessary to abandon the sound maxims of state policy, by which the militias of Great Britain and Ireland are confined to their native territory; and the disposable force of the country might thus be employed in those situations where its gallantry and conduct will most

redound to the advantage and glory of the empire.

Mr. secretary Yorke succeeded Mr. Pitt. He began by stating the grounds of the measure before the house. Two objects, he said, had been proposed; first, to render the internal defence of the country complete, and secondly, to augment the disposable force. The first object appeared to him to be completed; the second was now to be considered, and the plan proposed for this purpose was a temporary expedient to increase the facility of the new levies for the troops of the line. The material means of accomplishing this end seemed to be, the removal of the pernicious competition for recruits, and the introduction into this country of a certain proportion of the Irish militia. It was conceived that the suspension of the army of reserve act for twelve months, might render it more easy to raise the new levies, by taking away all competition. He acknowledged that its effects had been to raise a much larger force, in a much shorter period, than could have been done by any other resource. But notwithstanding this success in the outset, it at this time barely supported itself, or supplied the deficiencies occurring daily from sickness, desertion, and other causes. Thus the benefit was only nominal, while the detriment was real, in obstructing the future levies on which the increase of our disposable force was to depend. The plan therefore which Mr. Pitt had proposed, appeared to him to be no way calculated to produce the immediate augmentation required. Thirteen or fourteen thousand men were wanted to supply the existing deficiencies, and both on his schemes, and under the existing act, it was impracti-



impracticable to obtain them. Under these circumstances, it was proposed by government to destroy all competition by suspending the levies for the army of reserve, and by limiting the bounty for recruits. In order to facilitate the augmentation of the public force, it was also intended to allow men to be raised for rank. The bounty was to be limited to 10*l.* 10*s.* for the recruit, and 2*l.* 2*s.* for levy money to the officers. The duty of recruiting was to be undertaken by officers of the line, who were to be advanced only one step in rank; and the number of men was to be completed within the period of six months.

In reply to Mr. Pitt's observation, that instead of suspending the army of reserve act, it would be advisable, if the bill had been found to be ineffectual, to repeal it, Mr. secretary Yorke said, that as it had been beneficial, and, under new circumstances, might be so again, it would not be prudent to abrogate it entirely, before the system for the regulation of the public force had received a fair, full, and solemn, investigation. He proceeded to state, that, from some observations which had fallen from Mr. Pitt, he did not appear to be aware of what had been done by ministers, with respect to the distribution of the men among their native regiments. The men raised in Scotland had been placed in the 42d and 92d regiments, and the 26th, or what is called the Cameronian regiment; the highlanders in the former, and the lowlanders in the latter. Those raised in Ireland were assigned to the 18th, or royal Irish regiment, and to such others as were most convenient. As far as possible, the men had been apportioned among their native

regiments, and in the English regiments they were so distributed, that their names corresponded with the counties in which the recruits had been raised. With respect to the plan of service for a limited number of years, instead of for life, Mr. secretary Yorke stated that the colonial connexions of this great maritime and commercial country would naturally present many obstacles to its adoption. In the Austrian, German, and Prussian states, where no such difficulties existed, such a measure might be carried into execution. Having made a variety of observations upon the prominent features of Mr. Pitt's plan, he concluded by expressing his opinion that it was not calculated to answer the object of augmenting the army to a considerable extent, in a very short space of time; but, on the contrary, the expedient submitted to the house was considered, by the highest military authorities, adequate to the completion of this important design.

Mr. Whitbread observed, that the army of reserve was either a good or a bad system. In the former case, the suspension was unnecessary; in the latter, the act should be totally repealed. If government has not been able to raise the necessary supply of men by the operation of this act, how would they be able to raise the men wanted, if the field was so exhausted as to render that measure inoperative? If the act was no longer useful, he would willingly vote for its repeal; but he would by no means encourage partial measures by voting for its suspension, when according to the statement of ministers themselves, it ought to be entirely abolished. Inefficient, however, as the army of reserve act would

now



now seem to be, its provisions had not been carried into execution; which was still a further proof that ministers were ill qualified either to adopt new measures, or to carry existing ones into execution. They enacted without thought, and were equally anxious to suspend without reflection. By the army of reserve bill, they had required the quota of men to be raised in a certain time, or a fine to be imposed should any county or district be deficient in their number. He would not take upon him to determine whether this provision was wise or not, but he was certain it had not been, and perhaps could not, with any propriety, be put into execution. In the county with which he was particularly connected, the number of men, Mr. Whitbread stated, had not been found; but at the same time no fine had been imposed by the quarter sessions, as it was found the men could not be procured. Nor could he think the mode justifiable which was now proposed, of imposing the fine on the county at large; as, according to this provision, those who had exerted themselves in any such county would be liable, and would in fact be subjected to the fine as well as those who had not raised a single man. With respect to raising men for rank, Mr. Whitbread observed, that by limiting the period in which the number of men were to be raised for this purpose, the object of this arrangement would, in a great measure, be defeated;—especially, when in addition to this circumstance, only a limited bounty was to be given. If an officer is limited to a certain time, he must necessarily give the greater bounty. Mr. Whitbread concluded by giving his negative to the motion, on the principle,

that if it should be carried, the army of reserve act can no longer exist; that a repeal, therefore, was more proper than a suspension, and that the measure intended to be brought forward by Mr. Pitt was entitled to a previous discussion.

After the secretary at war had spoken in favour of the motion, Mr. Fox rose and opposed it. He conceived it to be preposterous, and contrary to all order, and to every idea of common understanding, to suppose, that, having exhausted the more easy and less extensive species of service, ministers could expect they could then, without any improvement, and without any favourable alteration of circumstances, look for greater success in the more extended and difficult service. What hopes, he asked, could they have of success, when the army of reserve, deemed the most successful of all measures, had failed them? The plain answer was, because by giving rank to officers, the door was opened for offering higher bounties than were given for any other service whatever. The limitation of time for raising the number of men to entitle an officer to his additional rank, so far from operating as a check on this practice, would, he was convinced, as had already been noticed by Mr. Whitbread, prove an additional encouragement to the increase of such bounties. Rank was the great aim of officers who had undertaken to raise men in this manner; and having made up their compliment nearly to the number agreed on, there was little doubt that sooner than sacrifice their object, they would give a bounty to almost any extent.

Mr. Fox seemed to approve, in great measure, of the plan proposed by



by Mr. Pitt. In his opinion, it unquestionably deserved every serious and attentive consideration. When brought forward in a regular manner, he had no doubt that it would be greatly calculated to answer the object in view. The plan would then be more intelligible; and though he had not been able to follow the whole of the right hon. gentleman's statements and provisions, he had no doubt, from many things which did meet his approbation, that the proposed measure would be infinitely superior to the present system. Ministers, however, had asked, why this plan, which they also seemed to think might be productive of some advantage, was not proposed to be brought forward at a later period. The reason was evident. The plan was formed on the measure of the army of reserve, which it was Mr. Pitt's object to improve and render efficient. By accelerating the suspension of this act, ministers, Mr. Fox said, attempted to do away the very measure which it is the aim of the the right hon. gentleman's motion to improve; and which, by his attention and ability, might be rendered of infinite advantage. If Mr. Pitt succeeded in carrying the present question, the effect of the delay which he was desirous to obtain would be, not to destroy, but to support, the army of reserve act. If, on the contrary, ministers thought any thing could be made of their own measure, the best mode undoubtedly would be to delay it, and to see if they could not ingraft upon it the plan proposed by the right honorable gentleman; unless, indeed, they conceived there was something supernatural in their powers, and that they possessed something in the

nature of conjurors, which should induce them to try a series of experiments. Mr. Fox gave his hearty assent to Mr. Pitt's proposal.

Lord Castlereagh begged leave to take notice of the charge of inconsistency which had been made against ministers, in consequence of their admission, in the course of the debate, that the strongest reason which induced them to propose the suspension of the army of reserve bill was, lest it should interfere with the recruiting of the new levies proposed to be raised. It should be remembered, his lordship said, that at the time the bill was originally proposed, ministers never did assert that it would not interfere, in its execution, with the recruiting for the regular army; but they distinctly maintained, that such interference would be more than counterbalanced by the number of men which the bill would procure for the defence of the country, and in a way much more expeditious than by any other which could be devised. If it should be asked, why an act which had been productive of such a result should be now suspended? He would mention, because its capacity of production had ceased, and its further continuance might much embarrass the progress of the regular recruiting, without doing any adequate benefit. Ministers never meditated the introduction of the bill before the house, until they had exhausted every effort to render it efficient;—until they had twice appealed to the lords lieutenants of counties to accelerate its success, and to promote the ballot. After waiting to ascertain the final result of this appeal, and making every exertion, they came to the house, and confessing that no further accession of

force



force could now be drawn from this resource, they proposed the suspension of the bill, until another plan for raising men should be fully tried.

With respect to the plan of his right hon. friend, his lordship thought, that as it was so extended, and embraced so completely the whole organization of the public force, it would require much time to examine its details, and decide upon its practicability; and that it would tend to impede the other means in the contemplation of government for the augmentation of the regular army. With many parts of the plan, he had no hesitation in saying that he perfectly agreed. At all events, the frame of the plan was such as must undergo much deliberation, and should not, of course, be put in competition with a measure which was pressing in point of time. Whether or not it would be wise to reduce the militia from the present number to 40,000, men, he was not prepared to say; but no reduction, his lordship was of opinion, should be attempted, until provision were made for an adequate increase in some other branch of our force. His lordship made a few spirited observations in defence of administration, and added, that he had no fear as to the issue of an appeal to the judgment of fair, dispassionate people, upon the measures which ministers had framed and executed for the defence of the country.

Mr. Windham said, that the suspension of the army of reserve act was liable to an objection, which would not altogether apply to a proposition of repeal. It would keep alive the memory and encourage the hope of large bounties; an evil than which nothing could

so materially injure any plan of recruiting for the regular army. What ministers proposed to gain from the future renewal of this bill, compared with this obvious loss, he could not imagine. But suppose they were determined to persist in the bill before the house, what argument could they offer against the delay proposed by Mr. Pitt, in order that he might have time fully to prepare the measure he had announced his intention of proposing in the committee on this bill; a measure to which possibly even the supporters of the bill might be disposed to give way? In some parts of the plan, as he understood it from his right hon. friend, he agreed; and of others he entertained many doubts. His opinion decidedly was, that the country should trust to a regular army principally, and, in addition to that, to what was termed an armed peasantry. This regular army, he was convinced, could find more than enough of recruits, to advance it to any necessary extent, if the impediments were removed which had been thrown in its way by the measures of ministers. Of this sentiment he was satisfied; that notwithstanding all the various employments which our manufactures and agriculture furnished, sufficient recruits could be obtained without prejudice to either; and that our army might be rendered formidable in numbers, and respectable in character, particularly if the plan were adopted which he had often mentioned in that house, and which had been strenuously recommended by the best military authorities, of raising men for a limited period of service. In point of fact, the army of reserve act had met the fate that always awaits too rigorous mea-



tures: as it happens with penal laws, when they become too severe, they lose their effect; no person being willing to execute them. This was the case with the army of reserve act. It was so odious, that no officer could be found to carry it into execution. But that failure should not induce an apprehension, that plenty of men were not to be had for the regular army, if the recruiting were to be unimpeded and properly conducted.

Mr. Windham adverted to the frequent mention made by ministers of the gross amount of the public force. But he denied them any claim to merit on their part. He asserted that, by their conduct, they had brought the country to such a state of desperation, that every man was forced to feel the necessity of struggling for his own protection; and, in truth, independently of the impulse of patriotism, the alarming state of the country was such as to suggest to men the propriety of coming forward for the safety of their own lives, their family, and property. He strongly recommended the adoption of an amendment which Mr. Pitt had proposed, in order that his plan might be examined, and that it might be determined, whether, upon so bad a stock as the army of reserve act, any thing efficient could be grafted. At all events, he was persuaded, that nothing was likely to be worse.

The chancellor of the exchequer stated, that the army of reserve was not originally a measure of choice with his majesty's government, but was forced on them by the peculiar circumstances of the country. The immense number of volunteers, amounting to no less than 400,000 men, and the 200,000 men drawn from our population for 1804.

the recruiting of our army and navy, rendered it an act of necessity; of urgent inevitable necessity. Without attempting to follow the right honourable gentleman (Mr. Pitt) through all the details of his complicated plan, he had one decisive objection to offer to it:—it tended to the creation of a great and permanent military establishment. He never would give his consent for placing a great portion of the community under the control and inspection of officers, who, however individually respectable, should not be vested with the power of continually teasing and soliciting the persons under their control, to engage for general service. With respect to the causes which had lately impeded the recruiting service, he alluded to an effect produced by the cheapness of provisions, which happily removed that necessity to seek for subsistence, which the lower classes experienced in time of scarcity. This circumstance, however, naturally operated to the injury of recruiting; and the 200,000 men raised for the army and the navy scarcely left a disposable person in the country. He dissented from that part of Mr. Pitt's plan which proposes the connecting of regiments with particular counties. For, as it did not sufficiently take into consideration the varieties of character of the different manufacturing, agricultural, and commercial counties, he thought it likely to produce much inconvenience, without one practical advantage.

Adverting to Mr. Windham's observations upon the cause and direction of the zeal of the country, the chancellor of the exchequer acknowledged, that it was a great voluntary aid afforded to government, at a very critical period.—The only merit, he said, which government



government claimed, was that of having given a beneficial direction to a great public principle. But was it that spontaneous zeal, he asked, which enabled government to blockade the enemy's ports, from the Texel to the Adriatic?—Was it that spontaneous zeal which enabled the executive government to effect, within the first six months of the war, greater conquests than in former wars have been achieved in many campaigns?—Reverting to the measure of the army of reserve, he thought, that as no present advantages resulted from the measure, it had operated a sufficient length of time. It might therefore be judicious to try the effect of a temporary suspension towards increasing the disposable force of the country.

Several members having shortly stated their sentiments on the subject of the motion before the house, the question was put for the speaker's leaving the chair; when ministers carried their motion by a majority of only 37 votes. There were 443 members present at the division.

Although the estimates for the army had, as we have already noticed, been voted by the house at an early period of the session, the secretary at war, on the 27th of April, moved for various supplementary grants, under the head of military services. The only item

which appears deserving of particular attention relates to two new military establishments. We shall shortly mention the nature of these institutions, and proceed to give a mere financial statement of the services for which specific sums were voted.

The two new establishments consist of a royal military college, and a military asylum. The former is destined for the education of the sons of officers desirous of regular military instruction with a view to engage in the public service. Under the present regulations, it is intended that 40% should be paid with each pupil indiscriminately. But as this, although a small sum, might be too considerable to be easily advanced by many deserving officers desirous of benefiting by the institution, it is intended to open the establishment upon a scale of expense proportioned to the circumstances of the parents, and to educate gratis those who could not afford to pay any thing. As it is desirable to add the advantages of an ordinary education to those of military instruction, it is intended to assimilate this institution to that at Great Marlow. The military asylum is to be founded upon a scale calculated to provide for 1000 children, of which the number at present does not exceed 600.

The following resolutions on the amounts to be devoted to particular services were put and agreed to:

For supernumerary officers	-	-	-	-	£ 36,464
Increased rates of subsistence to soldiers and inn-keepers	-	-	-	-	455,464
British officers on half-pay	-	-	-	-	189,268
Chelsea hospital	-	-	-	-	245,000
Reduced half-pay officers on the British establishment	-	-	-	-	5,665
Militia officers	-	-	-	-	50,000
Chelsea pensioners, in and out	-	-	-	-	245,045
Barracks for Ireland	-	-	-	-	461,801
Hospitals	-	-	-	-	22,500
					Volunteer



Volunteer cavalry	-	-	-	-	-	£.500,000
Further charge for volunteer corps	-	-	-	-	-	570,000
Foreign corps	-	-	-	-	-	582,216
Military college	-	-	-	-	-	11,282
Military asylum	-	-	-	-	-	22,600
Augmentation of the military forces in Ireland	-	-	-	-	-	200,000
Garrison service in the West Indies	-	-	-	-	-	8,800
Barrack department of Great Britain	-	-	-	-	-	2,182,932
Recruiting service	-	-	-	-	-	98,625
Increase for the commissary-general of stores (not usually in the estimate)	-	-	-	-	-	330,000

On the same day, upon the motion of the chancellor of the exchequer, the following resolutions were put and agreed to.

Extraordinary expenses of the army for the year 1804.

In Great Britain	-	-	-	-	-	1,400,000
In Ireland	-	-	-	-	-	600,000
Expenses of the journals of the house, and other incidental charges	-	-	-	-	-	33,643
Alien office	-	-	-	-	-	8,587
Repairs of military roads in North Britain	-	-	-	-	-	5,000
Board of agriculture	-	-	-	-	-	2,000
Extraordinary expenses of prosecutions	-	-	-	-	-	3,309
Civil establishment in Canada	-	-	-	-	-	8,050
_____in Nova Scotia	-	-	-	-	-	7,165
_____in New Brunswick	-	-	-	-	-	4,660
_____in Prince Edward's island	-	-	-	-	-	2,300
_____in Cape Breton	-	-	-	-	-	2,040
_____in Newfoundland	-	-	-	-	-	1,715
_____in Bermuda	-	-	-	-	-	580
_____in Dominica	-	-	-	-	-	600
_____in New South Wales	-	-	-	-	-	10,069
Improvements in the two houses of parliament, and in the speaker's house	-	-	-	-	-	12,345
Public record offices	-	-	-	-	-	741
Repairs in the king's bench prison	-	-	-	-	-	2,610
For the lazaretto in Kent, under the act	-	-	-	-	-	30,000

These resolutions having been agreed to by the committee, the chancellor of the exchequer again rose, and submitted to their consideration the propriety of granting 50,000*l.* to promote the inland navigation of Scotland.

This is an object of great national importance: it is intended to connect the eastern and western seas by the Caledonian canal extending from Inverness to Fort William. For

this purpose, parliament had already granted the sum of 25,000*l.*; but as the work is of too much magnitude to be undertaken by individuals, it was deemed expedient to afford this additional assistance. This vast intersection is not to be conducted on the contracted plan of ordinary canals; on the contrary, it is to admit the passage of frigates of 32 guns. From the survey taken of that part of the



Highlands, the commissioners reported that the expense of this enterprise might amount to between 4 and 500,000*l*. It is an honourable instance of public spirit, that the zeal of the country has been so great to forward the project, that in many instances the land for the canal has been offered free of all expense. Independently of many obvious advantages likely to result from this extensive undertaking, it is very justly expected that it may contribute effectually to prevent emigrations from the Highlands, by providing employment for a great number of the people of that country, and by diffusing the benefits arising from the extension of commerce and of the arts. An object of such national consequence, it is almost needless to observe, met with no sort of opposition.

One of the last measures of Mr. Addington's administration was the production of the budget. The house having formed itself into a committee of supply, the chancellor of the exchequer began his annual statement of accounts, by calling their attention to the beneficial consequences resulting from the system of raising a large proportion of the supplies for the public service within the year, by means of war taxes. In his statement last year, having assumed that the British proportion of the expenses of the war might be taken at 26,000,000*l*., he had conceived that if a sum of 10,000,000*l*. were raised by war taxes, in addition to

the ordinary revenues of the state, not more than 6,000,000*l*. would remain to be provided by way of loan; and as the amount of the sinking fund exceeded that sum, the total of public debt would be rather diminished than increased in the course of the year. In order to insure a net annual addition of 10,000,000*l*., he had thought it his duty to propose taxes which he then stated as likely to produce 12½ millions; namely, 8,000,000*l*. by additional custom and excise duties, and 4,500,000*l*. by a direct tax upon property. He had now the satisfaction of stating, that, from the net produce of the additional customs and excise, in the first half-year of their collection, there was every reason to conclude that their future annual produce would somewhat exceed the estimate of 8,000,000*l*., which had been formed upon the average consumption of several years. The produce of the property tax had also exceeded the estimate. He stated to the committee, that notwithstanding the system of war taxes could not be expected to take full effect within the first year, yet the addition actually made to the public debt in the year 1803, amounted to no more than 3,590,000*l*. 3 per cent. stock. The amount of all the permanent taxes in January 1803 was 28,309,000*l*.; in January 1804 it was 30,676,000*l*. The chancellor of the exchequer then proceeded to state to the committee the supplies, and the ways and means for the present year.

#### SUPPLIES.

Navy, exclusive of 325,000 <i>l</i> . ordnance, (sea service)	£.11,715,000
Army (England)	£.15,256,000
(Ireland)	3,887,000
	<hr/> 19,143,000
	<hr/> 30,858,000
	Brought



				Brought forward	£.30,858,000
Ordnance (England)	-	-	-	£.3,693,000	
----- (Ireland)	-	-	-	369,000	
					4,062,000
Vote of credit, including 800,000%. for Ireland,					2,500,000
Miscellaneous (England) including 40,000%.					
for services not yet voted	-	-	-	617,000	
----- (Ireland) including 50,000%. to					
be voted for civil contingencies	-	-	-	266,000	
					883,000
Irish permanent grants	-	-	-		400,000
Joint charge for England and Ireland					38,703,000
Add England separate charges.					
Toulonese ships	-	-	-	265,000	
Deficiency of malt duty	-	-	-	115,000	
American awards	-	-	-	412,000	
Exchequer bills V. C. 1803.	-	-	-	1,500,000	
					2,292,000
Total supplies				-	40,995,000
Deduct on account of Ireland	-	-	-		4,711,652
on account of England				-	36,283,348
Exchequer bills on aids 1804, to be replaced by a like					
amount on aids 1805.					
Per act 43 Geo. III. cap. 36. part of 4,000,000%.	-	-	-		3,000,000
----- 147. bank	-	-	-		1,500,000
----- 93.	-	-	-		5,000,000
					9,500,000
2-17ths of the sum of 38,703,000%. to be contributed by					
Ireland	-	-	-		4,553,294
Add for Ireland 2-17ths of 1,346,043%. for civil list and					
other charges on the consolidated fund, not relating to					
the public debt	-	-	-		158,358
					4,711,652
WAYS AND MEANS.					
Malt duty	-	-	-		750,000
Duty on pensions, offices, &c.	-	-	-		2,000,000
Surplus ways and means, 1803	-	-	-		1,370,000
War taxes to 5th of April 1805.					
Customs and excise	-	-	-	8,200,000	
Property tax	-	-	-	7,000,000	
					15,200,000



	Brought forward	£.15,200,000	
	Deduct, wanting to complete grants 1803,	760,000	
		<hr/>	
		14,440,000	
Additional war taxes	-	-	1,000,000
		<hr/>	15,440,000
Surplus consolidated fund to 5th April, 1805	-	-	5,000,000
Lottery	-	-	250,000
Vote of credit	-	-	1,700,000
Loan	-	-	10,000,000
			<hr/>
			£.36,510,000

Directing the attention of the committee to the importance of carrying on a financial system, of which the practicability had been fully demonstrated by experience, he recommended an addition of 1,000,000*l.* per annum to the war taxes, which he proposed to raise by increasing the duty of excise on wine to the extent originally intended, of 20*l.* per ton; and by an addition of 12½ per cent. upon the consolidated customs, except those on exports and tonnage, and on the articles of wine, tea, and cotton wool.

He next adverted to the loan of 14,000,000*l.* (of which sum 10,000,000*l.* were to be provided for by Great Britain), for which he had that morning contracted, on terms fair and even advantageous to the public, and at the same time likely to prove profitable to the contractors. For every 100*l.* in money, he had engaged to give 100*l.* 3 per cent. reduced, and 82*l.* 3 per cent. consolidated annuities. The rate of interest would be 5*l.* 9*s.* 3*d.* per cent., amounting to 546,000*l.*; to which adding the allowance for management, and a sinking fund of one per cent., the total annual charge would be 736,190*l.* This charge he proposed to provide for by a consolidation and simplification of the

stamp duties, which were now extremely intricate and embarrassing, with some addition to the present rates of duty. The chancellor of the exchequer, after a short recapitulation of his statements, observed, that the addition of 1,000,000*l.* annually to the war taxes, according to the plan of the present year, would, in the course of about three years, should the war continue so long, raise the amount of the public income to such an extent, as to leave a sum to be provided for by loan not greater than would be furnished by the sinking fund; from which period, he flattered himself that the nation might persevere in the prosecution of the war with a diminishing instead of an increasing debt.

The budget, upon the whole, appeared to be so satisfactory, that, on moving the various resolutions, no opposition whatever arose. An irregular conversation, however, took place, in allusion to an expected change in the administration. This event we shall reserve for future discussion; and shall proceed, in our next chapter, with a continuation of parliamentary affairs, in order, consistently with our plan of exhibiting a concise, faithful, and impartial account of the debates, to close our analysis within due and reasonable limits.



## CHAP. V.

*Proceedings of Parliament under the New Administration—Motion by Mr. Fox relative to Contracts for Shipping to convey the Hanoverian Army to this Country—Debates on Mr. Wilberforce's Motion for the Abolition of the Slave Trade—Debates on the Motion of the Chancellor of the Exchequer for raising and supporting a permanent Military Force, and for the gradual Reduction of the Additional Militia.*

WE have now to give an account of the proceedings of parliament, under the new administration. But before we exhibit any statement of the measures of the new ministry which are supposed to constitute a greater claim to public confidence than those adopted by the late administration, and which, indeed, chiefly relate to military and naval arrangements, we shall notice, in the order of time, those subjects which were brought under the consideration of parliament.

It was generally admitted, that, under the peculiar circumstances of this country, the loss of Hanover was a serious calamity. However impossible it might have been to make an effectual effort for the security of that electorate, it was at least supposed, that something might have been done to convey the Hanoverian army to this country. It was known that his majesty's government had taken some steps for the accomplishment of this object; but its failure was attributed to delay. With a view to public satisfaction on this subject, Mr. Fox, on the 9th of May, moved for an account of the number of ships, with the amount of their tonnage, taken up by order of the transport board, for the purpose of conveying the Hanoverian troops to this country; together with an account of the expense attending

the contract, a copy of the orders given for these ships to proceed on their destination, and a copy of any counter orders issued, if any such counter orders existed.

The chancellor of the exchequer (Mr. Pitt) had not the smallest objection to urge against the motion. He acknowledged that the incursion of the French into Hanover was a serious calamity; but it was not in the power of his majesty's ministers to take any measures for the protection of that electorate.—Under the circumstances in which the war was renewed, it could not be denied that we had not the means of sending any part of our military force to the relief of Hanover. It was also to be recollected, that at the time the war broke out, there were two treaties in existence for the protection of the neutrality of the north of Germany, to which all the great powers of the continent were parties. If these conventions were disregarded by the French government, it was not to be expected that any remonstrances by his majesty's ministers would be attended with success.

At the present moment, he was desirous of anticipating the result of the production of the papers moved for, so far as to state, that ministers had taken the earliest opportunity of providing means for bringing away the Hanoverian troops. Only two days after the re-



commencement of hostilities, a conference was held with his majesty's electoral minister at this court, for the purpose of consulting on the most effectual mode of conveying the Hanoverian army to this country, in case of necessity. The result of this was, that a plan for the purpose was proposed and instantly adopted. On the 18th of May, an agent was sent to Hamburgh, to contract for vessels to bring the troops to the mouth of the Elbe. These vessels were contracted for, and in all respects ready, before the orders for their sailing were issued. Circumstances, which however had no connexion with any want of preparation, did occur to prevent their sailing. At the expiration of two days, measures for bringing over the troops were adopted, and in a week thirty-six transports were ready to proceed on their destination. The house, he trusted, would give him credit for the accuracy of this statement, which would be fully verified by the production of the papers for which the hon. gentleman had moved:

This statement appears to have been considered satisfactory; for Mr. Fox did not, later in the session, make any motion in consequence of the production of the papers in question.

On the 30th of May, Mr. Wilberforce, for the last time, pressed on the attention of the house the abolition of the slave-trade. It will be in the recollection of some of our readers, that it is now sixteen years since he first submitted to parliament this most interesting question. In the year 1792, the plan for gradual abolition was adopted, with a view to consult the wishes and the feelings of the West India merchants. The year 1796 was fixed on as the period

when this nefarious traffic was in a great measure to cease; and in 1800 its ultimate abolition was to be effected. Till that period, the importation of negroes was to be subjected to the severest restrictions. In 1796 no abolition took place; but, on the contrary, the West India colonists then began to talk of the rights and privileges which they had in those whom they denominated their practical labourers. Persevering in a determination to exert every effort to relieve a race of human beings who have long been exposed to every cruelty of persecution, Mr. Wilberforce again proposed to parliament the abolition, within a limited time, of this infamous system.—Whether, upon this occasion, the eloquence of the hon. gentleman derived additional vigour from a hope, that his last exertions, in this important cause, might perhaps be attended with success, or whether, stimulated by despair, he was resolved to appeal to every feeling of the heart, in defence of the claims of humanity and justice,—certain it is that his language never assumed a higher tone of passion, or displayed greater force of reasoning than in supporting this grand and truly interesting cause.

The importance of the subject, the hon. gentleman was convinced, would be denied by no one; or that this importance was augmented by considerations derived from the present state of the West Indies, and from the general situation of Europe. An opportunity, he thought, was now offered, of bringing this abominable traffic to a termination, by parliamentary regulations, without any material injury to individuals. He proceeded to take a general view of the various iniquitous means employed to procure



cure supplies of slaves. Such was the infatuation of the ignorant and unfortunate princes of Africa, that, in order to get slaves for sale, they often engaged in wars with each other, upon the most frivolous grounds, and frequently without any pretence whatever. To augment this evil, and to render the passion for warfare still stronger, we tempt them with spirituous liquors, their attachment to which becomes so strong, that they will not hesitate to perpetrate any injustice to gratify the passion. In pursuance of this abominable trade, we set fire to their villages, that we may catch the wretched fugitives in their attempts to escape from that dangerous element. From this pernicious traffic, which we encourage, all their transactions with each other, and even the administration of justice itself is made subservient to the procuring of slaves. It is worthy of remark, that so pernicious has been our connection with the unfortunate Africans, that the general progress of civilization has been reversed; and, contrary to former experience, the interior of the country has become the most refined, while those on the coast, who have the greatest correspondence with us, have become the most profligate, the most ignorant, and the most corrupt. These evils are not extended over a small tract of country, but over a coast of not less than between three and four thousand miles, and to a distance of seven hundred miles up the interior. It is impossible to reflect on the wretched state of such a vast population, without pity and indignation; and of what baseness, he asked, may we not accuse ourselves, when we consider that we are the cause of most of their evils?

But not only from the mode of

procuring slaves, and the manner of transporting them, was this trade to be deprecated: their treatment when arrived at the place of their destination, was also a subject of serious consideration. Those who were conveyed to the West Indies were not only doomed to be slaves for life, but their posterity were condemned to the same fate, and their treatment, in many instances, was unworthy the character of men. But it had been represented, in justification of this harshness, that the negroes were no better than a species of brutes. They had even been thus described by Mr. Long, the historian of Jamaica. Mr. Wilberforce demanded, if they are not endowed with recollection; if they are not capable of anticipating the future; if they are not possessed of social feelings, and of remembrances which endear the past? However much we may have calumniated them, they have lately proved, in the West Indies, that they are capable of thought, of enterprise, and exertion. They have displayed the highest degree of courage and resolution. They have discovered astonishing perseverance in the pursuit of their purpose, and have shown that they are capable of opposing tyranny with a steady resistance. It may be remembered, that the original invaders of America attempted to justify their cruelties to the natives, by representing them as beings of an inferior nature. They at last obtained relief from a powerful quarter, where the rights of humanity had in general been respected—from the spirit of the Roman catholic religion. To relieve the distresses of those unfortunates, the pope, in the year 1587, issued a bull, ordaining that it had pleased him to acknowledge the Americans



to be true men, and that they should be entitled to the privileges of men.

Not only, according to the testimony of Mr. Moore and Mr. Acton, are the campaigns of the native Africans in general commenced and carried on for the purpose of making captives and slaves, but since the year 1704 all punishments have been commuted into slavery; and men in power have very frequently accused people of crimes of which there is no proof, in order to dispose of them. The older writers state the punishments in Africa as being mild and easy. Banishment was formerly the greatest punishment that could be inflicted; but now, the smallest crime is followed by slavery for life. With respect to the argument, that the Africans are so wretched and so poor in their own country, that their situation could not be altered for the worse, Mr. Wilberforce said, that he was strongly inclined to doubt the principle of this objection. But he would ask, was there no harm in separating men from their families, from their country, from all they held dear in life? It had been stated, that if we did not take the slaves offered for sale, they would all be massacred. But so far was this from being the case, that those who are brought to the coast from the interior parts of the country, and not disposed of according to the wishes of the sellers, are employed in labour, in agriculture, and other avocations, till a better or more profitable opportunity of selling them occurs.—The arguments said to be derived from providence, and even from scripture itself, in justification of the system, he regarded as in the highest degree profane. The improper and cruel treatment of the

slaves on the passage, he observed, was manifest from the numbers that died. Some diminution in the number of deaths, he admitted, had taken place in consequence of the adoption of better regulations. He denied that the vessels employed in the slave-trade were a nursery for seamen. On the contrary, they were so liable to disease, and so apt to spread contagion, that they became unfit for the navy. Foreign nations, it was said, would take up the trade, if it were abolished in this country. This would be productive of no disadvantage, but, on the other hand, would enable us to apply our capital and our industry in some other way, without hardening our hearts in cruelty, or staining our hands with blood.

Mr. Wilberforce proceeded to state the causes of the decreasing negro population in the West Indies. It is a melancholy fact, he observed, that the system of keeping up slaves by the natural increase of population, has never engaged any share of the attention of those most interested in this business. Their decrease is to be traced to two distinct causes. In the first place, the negroes in our West India settlements are not sufficiently fed; and in this respect the treatment of the slaves in the American states appeared to be infinitely better. They received full three times as much food as the negroes in our islands. Secondly, excessive labour in proportion to the quantity of food received, was another cause of the decrease of the negroes in our settlements. In this respect, also, the difference of regulation in America is far preferable. The slaves are there employed in task work, which gives them opportunities of occasional recreation. Could there, Mr. Wilberforce asked, be a stronger proof



proof of the miserable, oppressed condition of the negroes, than the fact that they were anxious to relieve themselves from this degraded state, at the expense of the earnings and savings of their whole lives?—If it were urged, as a reason for the continuance of the trade, that it was carried on by other nations, there was no species of wanton cruelty, no sort of guilt or villainy in the history of nations, which could not be justified by this sort of appeal. Another argument against the abolition was, that the West India merchants should have time to provide for the consequences which would necessarily result from the measure. However just, or politic, or necessary, might be the abolition, it was not to be expected that the West India proprietors would ever give their hearty concurrence. Mr. Wilberforce stated, that since the time the proposition for the abolition was carried, not fewer, he believed, than 300,000 additional negroes had been imported into the West Indies. Into the island of Jamaica alone no less than 140,000 negroes had been imported since the year 1792: a number far more than sufficient to keep up the population; and to complete the establishment of such plantations as happened to have deficiencies, at the time the proposition of abolition was adopted.

Another important consideration, at the present moment, was the expediency of vesting British capital in a part of the dominions of the empire which was most vulnerable, most liable to the external attack of the enemy, and most subject to internal convulsion. The profits on this capital are quite inconsiderable;—in Jamaica, not above four per cent., and not above five or six

in the other islands. The number of executions on West India colonial property, he represented to be truly alarming. In the course of twenty years, these executions were for sums to the amount of no less than thirty-two millions currency. Another important objection to the continuance of the trade was, that it operated as a continual and alarming drawback upon the population of this country; from the necessity of having an additional number of troops for the protection of the external safety, as well as the internal tranquillity of our colonies. The present situation of St. Domingo suggested an additional reason for not increasing the number of new negroes in our West India islands; for it was perfectly well ascertained, that the newly imported negroes were the most ready to join in any plan of insurrection. In answer to the objection that the agitation of the question of abolition might at the present moment be productive of serious consequences, he thought it necessary to state, that whatever danger might be supposed to exist, arose not from the question of abolition, but of emancipation. After the question of abolition was disposed of, any subsequent measures must be left to the colonial assemblies themselves, and with them it would rest how far the condition of the negroes was susceptible of further improvement. It was not fair in those who opposed the abolition, to confound it with the question of emancipation, with which, in the first instance, it had no immediate connexion.

Having refuted, with considerable strength of argument, a variety of other objections which have been, at different times, advanced against the abolition of this disgraceful system, Mr. Wilberforce concluded

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by observing, that it was now sixteen years since the discussion of this important subject had commenced; and surely sufficient time had been given to consider it in all its bearings and relations. The cause which he had undertaken, he should never desert as long as he had a head to understand, a heart to feel, or a tongue to deliver his opinions. He regarded it as one of the greatest honours of his life, that he had been the cause of the original agitation of this most interesting question. It had been his good fortune, in the course of all the discussions upon it, on former occasions, to meet with the support (with a few exceptions) of all that is good and great in the various characters of whom that house was composed; to have enlisted on his side whatever is estimable in talent, in humanity, and in virtue. The honourable member then moved, that the house do resolve into a committee, to consider of the propriety of the introduction of a bill for the abolition of the slave trade, within a time to be limited.

Mr. Fuller contended that the situation of the negroes in the West India colonies was equal, or even superior, to the condition of the labouring poor in this country. It was not true, he asserted, that they felt themselves miserable under English masters: the reverse was the case. He had letters in his possession which assured him of the fact, which, he said, was also confirmed by his own experience. The way of punishing negroes for offences was to threaten them with transportation to their own country. He had himself made trial of this mode of punishment, and had found it effectual. He admitted it to be true, that all law was set aside in Africa, and that for witchcraft, and other

accusationsequally ridiculous, thousands of victims were banished their country. The negroes were not even divested of these foolish notions, when established in the West Indies; for, upon his own estate, he had been obliged to hang a negro for having killed four others on an imputation of witchcraft. It was contended, that no attempt had been made to keep up the stock of negroes. This was not a fair statement. The attempt had been made by several respectable individuals; but without adequate success. He himself had directed his attention to the same object; but he was satisfied that, owing to the impossibility of procuring a sufficient number of female negroes, the stock could not be kept up, without fresh importations. The slave trade, he admitted, was not moral in its nature or origin; but he thought that it arose out of the peculiar circumstances of Africa. If it could be rendered more palatable, if rules for diminishing its severity could be adopted, he should be happy to give them his cordial support. But as he did not think the abolition of the trade a practicable object, he should vote against the motion.

Mr. Barham could by no means admit the force of the arguments founded on the cruelties said to be practised on the negroes in our colonies; for he was convinced that the facts themselves were in general either false, or very greatly exaggerated. He did not mean to deny the truth of the position, that undue power will be abused; but this abuse appeared to him to be checked by two of the strongest motives inherent in the human mind—self-interest, and self-preservation;—self-interest, in as far as it was universally acknowledged, that



that on the prosperity of the slave depended the prosperity of the master ; self-preservation, in as far as persons, whatever power they may legally have, cannot exert it with any great degree of violence and oppression, over those in whose physical power they so completely are, and know they must continue. That they had not done so, was fully proved by the conduct of the slaves themselves ; who, instead of availing themselves of the many opportunities of successful insurrection, which had lately presented themselves, had exposed their lives, and shed their blood, in defence of their masters. His chief objection to the plan of abolition was, that it would completely fail of its purpose, and only substitute for the present trade a contraband trade ; under the protection of foreign flags, indeed, but carried on by the same persons, in the same ships, with the same capital, and to the same extent as it now was. Mr. Barham stated, that he had formerly objected to the measure upon other grounds also ; and particularly, because he thought it would interfere with other means which, he conceived, offered a better chance of success. Such means, he supposed, parliament must have had in view, when a vote was passed in favour of a gradual abolition—not an abolition to take place at some given period, however remote ; but an abolition to be effected by a series of measures all tending to the same purpose.—The importation of slaves, on the one hand, might have been rendered onerous and unprofitable, by always fettering and loading it up to the utmost point which it would bear without producing the contraband trade. On the other hand, the demand might have been lessened by taking out of the scale all un-

settled lands, the opening of which chiefly creates it. These lands, indeed, could not have been resumed, without a fair compensation to the owner : but the expense would not have been considerable ; and, what was more important, it would fall where it ought—on the public, who requires the sacrifice, and not on the individual of whom there is no justice in separately requiring it. The demand might be further lessened by exciting and assisting the colonies to remove whatever causes tend to obstruct the natural increase ; and, finally, by altering and improving the nature of slavery itself. Such were the grounds on which he had formerly voted against the abolition of the trade ; and if the situation of the colonies had remained unchanged, he should now have pursued the same steps. But the state of the West India islands was materially altered. At present, there was no reason to apprehend a contraband trade. But little temptation was now offered to speculators at home, to embark in a trade of distant and hazardous establishment. The situation of foreign countries gave no great reason to suppose they would be very forward in its protection ; and the state of the colonies, reduced as their profits were, was not such as to present any great encouragement. By these considerations, his chief objections to the project of abolition were removed ; and, from causes no less obvious, his hope from the measures before alluded to had entirely vanished. The hon. member concluded a speech, in which he displayed much liberality of opinion and soundness of argument, by voting for the motion.

Mr. William Smith also supported the motion. Although no difference of opinion on the nature



of the slave trade appeared to prevail when it came under discussion, yet he could not but regard it as extraordinary, that notwithstanding twelve years had elapsed since parliament had resolved, in the most solemn manner, that this nefarious traffic should be abolished, not one step had been taken towards the execution of an object so universally acknowledged to be desirable. Could any proposition, he asked, be more simple than this, that the practice of buying and selling men and their posterity to slavery was inconsistent with the character of an enlightened and christian country?—If it were said, that negroes were subject to transportation for the most trivial offence, or that some were bred for slavery, still he would ask, supposing the information to be true, whether it was consistent with the civilized character of this country to sanction such a system? There could only be one answer given. As to the assertion, that it was the custom of the native princes of Africa to sell their prisoners of war to slavery, and if the persons on the coast did not humanely purchase them for our merchants, those prisoners would be murdered, he considered it an idle tale. And here he could not but remark, that although it was stated that witchcraft was a fruitful source of slavery in Africa, it did not appear that any of those humane merchants, or their humane agents, ever made any attempt to remove that delusion. As Christians, as men, as Britons, he called on the house to interpose and give its zealous concurrence to an object that involved the interest of so many thousands of our fellow creatures; of those who possessed a common nature with us, and were equally entitled to the rights of humanity.

Yet, towards them, what was the conduct of the trade? To treat them like beasts of burthen, to put them out of the protection of the law! It was quite absurd, whatever might be said on the subject, to suppose that any law could protect a slave against his master. It was quite impracticable, considering the power which the master had in the West Indies, and the mode of administering the laws. The slave was not in fact an accountable being. He could have no property in any thing, who had no property in himself. He had no instructor to let him know what the law was. He knew not how to obtain redress when aggrieved. He could not be bound by any law. To his master he might be bound by gratitude and affection, and it was happy where he was; but there could be no tie of duty upon him, for there was an incurable defect in the title that held him. There was a right inherent in the slave to abstract himself from such a title, while it was the master's interest to make him work, and ensure his servitude. These two relations were at variance. There was no relation between the two, to regulate which the laws of morality could apply. To attempt to legislate for them would be absurd.

The motion, he flattered himself, would meet unanimous support; and he hoped that every West India planter would evince the same generous promptitude as the hon. member who had preceded him in the debate, to abolish this nefarious and universally execrated traffic.

After a few words from general Tarleton, in opposition to the measure, Mr. Manning rose, and expressed his expectation, that, if parliament should determine on the immediate abolition of the trade, it would



would be felt that the merchants and others connected with West India property, who might lose by such a measure, would be entitled to compensation. If parliament had changed its mind, as to the expediency or justice of this traffic, it would be unjust to allow those who had embarked their capital upon the faith of parliament, to suffer any pecuniary loss. He called for this consideration upon the same principle as that which was uniformly acted upon, where any public measure was productive of injury to the property of individuals. As no such indemnity appeared to be connected with this motion, and as he was adverse to the immediate abolition of the trade, he should move for the order of the day.

Several other members having briefly expressed their opinion on the question, the house divided upon the motion of Mr. Manning, which was lost by a considerable majority.—Mr. Wilberforce's motion was of course carried, and leave given to bring in a bill for the abolition of the slave trade, within a time to be limited.

The bill passed through all its stages, without producing any discussion in which the leading members of the house, whose eloquence upon former occasions shone with such uncommon lustre, took any distinguished share. It may be proper, in order to give a general conception of the arguments which Mr. Wilberforce thought it necessary to notice, to present a short outline of his reply, upon the second reading of the bill.

He denied that any of his statements rested, as had been insinuated, on light grounds, or had been produced with a view to deceive the house. He repeated, with additional force of reasoning, many of

his original arguments in favour of the abolition of the trade. He quoted from Mr. Park's Travels into the Interior of Africa, several passages, to show that the arguments of the abolitionists are founded in the justest views of policy, as well as the most enlarged ideas of introducing knowledge, humanity, and religion into that vast continent. Arguing at some length on the practicability of keeping up the stock of negroes, independently of importation, he showed, that for a long series of years, particularly for the last twelve, the proportion of the deaths and births of the negroes was gradually becoming more favourable. This statement was verified by several authorities, particularly by Dr. Anderson, who had had the care of 4000 negroes. By good management, their numbers, he was convinced, might be kept up in all our islands. In illustration of this idea, he stated that he was enabled to affirm, on the authority of Mr. King, the late American minister, one of the most respectable men alive, that in ten years, from 1791 to 1801, the American negroes had increased, in such a proportion, as to hold out a fair prospect of doubling their numbers in twenty-four or twenty-five years. It being ascertained that such a rapid increase was obtained in America, he saw no reason to think that our West India negroes might not only keep up their numbers, but might positively increase to a great degree: for the climate of America was so far from being more favourable, that the dews and exhalations had been found to be injurious to the health of the negroes, who had been accustomed to a dry and hot climate. Mr. Wilberforce, after illustrating this point, laid before

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the house, on the positive information of the American minister, the very satisfactory prospect of the probable abolition of the slave trade in the United States, at no very remote period. At present, in all the states, with the exception of South Carolina, the importation of negroes was prohibited; and in 1808, when the powers on this point, now vested in the particular states, should cease, there was every reason to believe that congress would take up the business, and abolish the slave trade for ever. He congratulated the house on this prospect, and urged it as an additional argument for taking the lead in the great work of humanity, policy, and justice.

Although this very important bill passed the house, on the third reading, by a majority of 36 votes in favour of the measure; yet, as the period of the session was so considerably advanced, and the number of members so small at the last discussion of this great and interesting question, it was thought proper, in the house of lords, to defer the consideration of this subject to an early period of the ensuing session of parliament. A motion of lord Hawkesbury to this effect was carried, and the bill was consequently lost for this session. Thus terminated, for the present, the discussion of a question equally involving the character of this country, and the interests of the whole negro population of our West India colonies.—When it is considered, that sixteen years have elapsed since the abolition of this odious and nefarious traffic was first agitated in parliament, that it is now no less than twelve years since the legislature solemnly decreed its abolition, and that various steps have been repeatedly, but in

vain, resorted to, in order to carry the will of parliament into effect,—to what praise, under such discouraging circumstances, is the undiminished zeal, the unabated ardour of Mr. Wilberforce entitled! Session after session, when it was imagined that every topic connected with this discussion was entirely exhausted, he inspired a fresh interest in the subject, by the discovery of new arguments, or by reviving those which had been repeatedly advanced, but with a vigour of colouring which even heightened their original force. No procrastination, no evasion, no sophistry could ever divert his mind from the steady pursuit of the great object to which his exertions have been unremittingly directed. Determined, if such an end could be accomplished by the strenuous, humane, and manly efforts of an individual, to raise from bondage and degradation a race of beings whom avarice, fraud, and tyranny have condemned to abject servitude, he has displayed a degree of zeal and perseverance, which nothing but his ardent piety could have fostered and invigorated during so long a period of doubtful exertion. That he may be ultimately successful in the great cause which he has undertaken to support, is a wish which we express with a sincerity not inferior to his own.

When the new administration was formed, it was universally expected that their attention would be immediately directed to the improvement and augmentation of the military force of the empire. The dissatisfaction expressed in parliament at the mode in which the public force had been organized by the late ministry, was supposed to have contributed very materially



to the change which had been effected in the cabinet. It was therefore incumbent upon their successors to propose such measures as might have the effect of convincing the nation, that the public security was the great and incessant object of the attention of government. The most certain means of accomplishing this end was the adoption of arrangements for the rapid improvement and extension of the military and naval resources of the state. The former of these objects the chancellor of the exchequer had in view, in bringing forward, on the 5th of June, a motion for raising and supporting a permanent military force, and for the gradual reduction of the additional militia. No measure submitted, during the whole session, to the consideration of parliament, produced longer and more animated discussions. The various bills for the organization of the volunteer force, it might be imagined, had exhausted every argument upon military subjects, as far as they relate either to the disposable or to the defensive force of the kingdom. But, on the contrary, the debate upon Mr. Pitt's motion sufficiently proved the difficulty of establishing an extensive and permanent military force in a commercial country; and at the same time that it, in some measure, put the strength of the new administration to the test, it convinced the house, that however their patience might have been fatigued by military discussions, much yet remained to be advanced upon subjects of such general importance to the safety and prosperity of the state. We shall merely give a concise outline of the various debates. For, however interesting such subjects may be in detail, we

must remember the limits to which we are confined, and the important matter, relative to foreign affairs, which will claim attention in the sequel of our performance.

Mr. Pitt prefaced his motion by observing, that it was peculiarly important to have a military establishment, adequate not merely to the present circumstances of the country, not only to serve as an instrument for the intermediate improvement of the system already established, but to be employed as the means of supplying a sufficient resource to the regular force of the country, should an opportunity offer of employing it in foreign warfare. Such circumstances might occur. It was, therefore, wise and politic, that this country should be possessed of the power of giving, in such a contest, active and vigorous co-operation. The subject he was going to submit to the house, he said, he should class under three divisions.

The first object in view was to do away the objections essentially connected with the existing plan for raising the army of reserve, and to remove that competition which was so injurious to the completion of the levies for the regular army, arising from the existence of high bounties.

The second, and perhaps more extensive and important object was, not only to remove existing obstacles to recruiting for general service, but to provide a new and additional military force, as applicable not only to the present war, but to all future contests in which this country might be engaged.

The third object in view was to create a force at home, different from that which now exists, which may hold out a fair prospect of a great accession of ardent and brave recruits, promising at the same



time every advantage to the regular army, and giving an assurance of the benefits of communicating to intermediate troops the excellence of regular discipline.

The chancellor of the exchequer conceived it would be necessary for him to make a few observations, first, as to the amount of the men to be raised; secondly, to their particular description and term of service; and thirdly, to the mode in which they were to be raised and maintained. With respect to the first point, he wished to state, that his object was only to make good the deficiencies in the number of men to be raised by the army of reserve act. He should therefore propose, that the whole force intended to be raised by this act shall be completed in all those parts of England and Scotland where any deficiency existed. The next part of his plan was connected with the gradual reduction of the militia to its original number, of 40,000 for England, and 8,000 for Scotland. This part of the plan he proposed to carry into effect, by not filling up deficiencies which might from time to time occur. Such deficiencies he wished to have uniformly supplied by additions to the army of reserve, as long as the militia should exceed its original number. A very material addition would thus be made to our disposable force, by immediate offers of voluntary service into our regular army. We shall, by the adoption of this system, prepare the way for the formation of a regular force, which will enable this country to maintain the great station which it ought to hold among the nations of Europe, and to co-operate in any grand struggles which the great interests of liberty may require. When he stated that vo-

luntary offers of service into the regular army might be expected to the amount of twelve thousand annually, he founded this expectation on the numbers which had, during the last year, volunteered into the line from the army of reserve. By this mode of gradually reducing the militia, the army of reserve, which was fixed at fifty thousand, would be increased to seventy-four thousand.

The degree of approbation which might attach to the second point, would, the right honourable gentleman observed, depend much upon the mode in which this part of the plan was proposed to be carried into effect. The great object in this case was to remove the causes of annoyance, competition, and inconvenience, which now interfered with the augmentation of the regular army. To reduce the bounties was the first object in view. He was therefore desirous of having personal service excused for a small fine, in order to supersede the necessity of high bounties. He intended to propose the abolition of the ballot, as far as it was applicable to the completion of the army of reserve; and, in its place, to call on each county, in proportion to its population, and conformably to the regulations of the militia system and the army of reserve, to furnish their quota of men, on the supposition that in each year 12,000 of the reserve shall volunteer their services into the regular army. The whole task of supplying the quota of men required would then fall on the parishes. The parish-officers would, in this case, be the persons employed to direct the recruiting for the number of men required. In this manner, local recruiting, which is of so much importance, would receive material encour-



encouragement. The expense of it, he proposed, should be defrayed out of the general fund of the state; and the receivers-general of the land-tax in the different counties should pay the amount of the sums disbursed for general recruiting. The only cases to which he meant that this should not apply, would be those of default of proper exertion, where a fine should be incurred applicable to the particular circumstances of the counties where such default may have occurred. If it happens that a parish cannot supply its quota, this deficiency should be supplied out of the fund arising from the fines attached to the parishes or districts where the deficiencies have taken place. In these cases, the officers commanding in the district must have recourse to general recruiting; but, at the same time, the bounty should be subject to certain regulations. He proposed that the bounty, in these instances, should be four guineas below what is allowed for unlimited service. From this system it did not appear to him that any inconvenience would arise, while it certainly held out many inducements to its adoption.

With respect to the mode in which the fines are now levied on the counties, he wished to say a few words in the way of explanation. Twenty pounds was now the amount of that fine for each individual deficient in the quota at each quarter sessions, which might be successively augmented to even sixty pounds. It could not be denied that this was a very heavy pressure, and called for some modification. Instead of enforcing fines of such an unwarrantable extent, it would, in his opinion, be more politic to adopt some other means of rectifying the subject of com-

plaint. For this purpose, a specific fine should be levied independent of accumulation, but proportioned to the circumstances of the case.

The army of reserve, he contended, was capable of great improvement. A measure which had enabled us, within the short period of fifteen months, to raise thirty thousand men, must be one which ought to be regarded with attention and interest. It was surely then of great consequence to consider how it may be continued in activity; and in what manner, if its original form has been too oppressive, it may be so modified as to be productive of the greatest advantages, with the least possible inconvenience. With respect to the description and nature of the service of the men to be raised, he proposed that they should be engaged for the same term, of five years, as described in the army of reserve act. The same clauses would of course be introduced, as to their service during the war, if it should be continued beyond that period, or for six months after the conclusion of hostilities. In the next place, they would of course not be liable to serve beyond Great Britain and Ireland, and the islands in the channel. The manner of their service was, however, a subject of considerable importance. With a view to the discipline and regularity of new recruits, their incorporation with regular troops was of material consequence. The mode of disposing of them in second battalions appeared to him by far the most eligible, and the most likely to produce advantage. This sort of connexion being established betwixt two battalions, the promotion of officers should of course be reciprocal and indiscriminate. A constant interchange would then take place;



the officers and soldiers would be animated to the discharge of their respective duties by this reciprocity of service. If, out of 30,000 men raised last year, 13,000 were induced to join the regular army, though scattered and disjointed over the whole mass of the regular troops in this country, how much more powerful would be the inducement arising from such a connexion between the two battalions! In the one case, there was no previous tie of attachment; in the other, there is all the influence of known habits, feelings, and manners. The discipline of the corps so united would also be materially promoted. If ever, he observed, it came to be a question, how far it would be politic to send the greater part of our regular army out of the country, the discipline of the force for our internal defence must materially affect the decision. With the greatest respect for the militia and the army of reserve, with the greatest confidence in the ardour and zeal of the volunteers, he certainly should not wish to see the defence of the country intrusted to these branches of our national force, without a certain mixture of regular troops. He could rely on their courage, their zeal, and their spirit; but he could not risk whatever is valuable upon them alone, against troops inured to service, and acting on military experience and full confidence in their leaders. If the army of reserve, kept up upon the plan which he had suggested, were under the command of commissioned and non-commissioned officers of experience equal to their courage, and if our other force was organized, the regular army would be left applicable to every purpose of foreign service; and if we hesitated about the pro-

priety of employing our regular army in this way, on a fair and proper object, it would merely be from an apprehension that our means of internal defence were not altogether completed.

The right honourable gentleman, after recapitulating the principal points of his speech, explained at some length his objections to the system of balloting, which, at first, he had conceived to be favourable to personal service. Upon inquiry, however, it appeared, that of the whole number of men raised by the army of reserve ballots, only betwixt two and three thousand had actually given personal service. Having intimated his intention of submitting, at no distant day, some propositions to the house, relative to the state of the army in general, the better means for recruiting it, the volunteer system, and the calling out of the classes, he concluded with the motion which we have already described.

Mr. Windham perfectly concurred in the ideas of his right hon. friend, so far as they regarded the necessity of increasing our regular army; but he could not help observing, that the means proposed for the accomplishment of that object were not, in his judgment, likely to be effective. He heartily approved of the plan of reducing the militia, and of the rejection of the practice of commuting substitution for a fixed bounty; for, whether the object were to remove the competition of recruiting for the regular army, or to prepare the way for getting rid of the system of balloting altogether, it appeared to him to be equally desirable. It also afforded him much satisfaction to understand from the close of his right honourable friend's speech, that it was his intention to bring



bring forward a motion for a change in the condition of service in our regular army; namely, that men shall be enlisted for a certain term of years, in lieu of the present custom of enlisting them for life.

So far he approved of what had been submitted to the house; it was now his duty to state the parts of which he disapproved. In the whole of the proposed plan for raising men, there was comprehended an injudicious mixture of the voluntary and the compulsory, of which the latter seemed to him to be much too strong. This was one motive of his resistance to the army of reserve bill, the principle of which was preserved in the plan under discussion. If the danger to be guarded against were imminent, and a levy were immediately necessary, unquestionably a compulsory proceeding to obtain that levy would be the most effectual. But that compulsion could never be rendered effective in this country; for our laws are that kind of complicated machine, that half the force of such compulsion would be lost in overcoming the friction. These remarks he made to show, that the very genius of our people, and of our national institutions, is adverse to the exercise of compulsion; and no attempt should ever be made to resort to it, but in the last extremity. An excuse for such an attempt could not be pretended now to exist. This argument, which was seconded by the urgency of existing circumstances at the time the army of reserve was raised, cannot now be used with any effect. We are not now called upon to consult for the present only; for, however defective may be our system of military defence, or whatever may be the amount of the danger which menaces the country, we are, as to

our security, much safer than at former periods of the war, and, consequently, in a better frame of mind to devise and judge of a great and comprehensive plan of national defence.

Another objection to the plan before the house was, that the compulsory part was so calculated to interfere with the voluntary, that neither was likely to produce the operation looked for by its advocates. All the parishes were to be called upon for a certain number of men; to enforce the production of which, a fine was to be levied upon such as failed to furnish their complement within a certain time. He would not say that this was not an improvement, compared with the mode pursued of late, which interfered so materially with the supply of the regular army by the high bounties given for recruits: but the plan would still have in a great degree a similar operation; for, although the amount of bounty to be paid by the parish officers was limited in form, there was no security that the bounty would not frequently be exceeded. To avoid the expense and the disgrace of the fine, they would naturally be anxious to procure men, and would certainly, if necessary, give an advanced bounty. The evils complained of under the army of reserve act, respecting high bounties, were thus likely to recur. By the reduction of the militia to their original number, and by a corresponding increase of the army of reserve, the stock for the recruiting of the regular army, which is professed to be the main object in view, will consist only of those who remain after the operation of this plan. Hence almost the whole of the force to be raised will be merely for limited service. Mr. Windham



said, that he did not expect the regular army would be much augmented by the transition of men from one description of force to another. The fallacy of the argument, that, after men shall have contracted military habits, they will be forward to enter into the army for general service, was very obvious. For it quite as naturally followed, that, after men have caught this military spirit, they should remain in the corps from which they derived it; and prefer continuing upon the home service to enlisting into regiments destined to serve abroad. On the other hand, it was even probable that many would never acquire a relish for the habits of a military life. If these deductions were fairly considered, it might perhaps appear, that far too sanguine expectations had been formed of this new source of recruiting for the regular army. He strongly objected to what he termed this new-fangled trick of dividing our public force into two parts, in order to augment, through the limited force, that which was disposable, and thus to establish an indirect and circuitous mode of recruiting.

Upon the whole, Mr. Windham saw nothing in this plan, for which so many fair promises had been made, that was likely to have any other effect than to produce a large stationary force to be confined to this country. The only change he desired, at present, was to abolish the plans lately adopted, and, in the system of the army, to enlist men for a certain term of years, instead of continuing the practice which now prevailed of enlisting them for life. If in other respects things went on as formerly, there would not, he apprehended, be any reason to complain. With good

management, he was quite sure that enough of men could be found in this country for the ample recruiting of our regular army. There was no scarcity of population: on the contrary, it was far more numerous than at any former period; and there could be no doubt, that with the allowance of certain privileges, such as setting up trade in corporation towns, &c. men enough could be had for our army. These observations he introduced in order to show that the prospect for recruiting our armies was by no means discouraging on the score of population. He had no hesitation, indeed, in saying that trade was favourable to recruitings in its fluctuation, particularly; for sometimes it deserted one channel and proceeded to another, producing in this manner an occasional cessation of employment. Mr. Windham repeated, that in all this multiplication of plans, very little was to be found congenial with the true military system of the country; on the contrary, every thing that had yet been brought forward appeared to him to be extravagant, and but little calculated to produce a substantial system of defence.

Several other members spoke shortly upon the question; but as they reserved themselves for a later stage of the discussion, we shall only notice the concise and general reply which Mr. Pitt made to their objections.

In allusion to the limitation of the period of service in the regular army, he confessed that, upon general principles, it certainly appeared that such a mode would be wise and judicious. It required, however, the support of the opinion of the wisest and most eminent military characters, who, in forming a judgment



a judgment upon this most important subject, should take into consideration the peculiar situation and system of this country, distinguished as it is from all other countries of Europe, with regard to all its internal regulations. If, with adequate attention to all these distinguishing circumstances, it should appear that such a mode could, with perfect safety and propriety, be resorted to, he should consider it an important addition to the strength of our military system; but should it not be adopted, it would not be from any indisposition in his majesty's ministers to attend to the advantages it might possess. He felt himself completely at issue with those who opposed the fundamental principle of the measure; namely, that an intermediate army would not only be productive of no possible evil, but would prove the best mode of perfecting and increasing the regular army. The object in view was to have a number of men to spare; and if this bill furnished the men and improved the soldiers, if it was a mode of recruiting the regular army, then it answered the wishes of those who opposed the bill, although at the same time they were desirous of an augmentation of our regular force. His right hon. friend (Mr. Windham) appeared to apprehend something very terrible and tyrannical in the operation of the bill, and conjured up the most alarming phantoms of parish officers transformed into recruiting officers. So far, however, was he from feeling the force of such misplaced ridicule, that he was disposed to give every encouragement to parish officers; and to make the resemblance more perfect between them and recruiting officers, he was even inclined to give them a

bounty per head upon the recruits they should raise under the provisions of the bill. A great part of his right hon. friend's speech, he said, consisted of a metaphysical, moral, and political dissertation on the various modes of raising an armed force in different countries. From all these various lectures and lessons upon compulsion, a plain man would suppose that some attempt was making to introduce some new compulsory system; which was far different from the real state of the business. The army of reserve bill was far more compulsory than the present. There was no individual compulsion looked for in the measure. We were, by our free constitution, to consider the fittest and best means of accomplishing the great purposes of our national defence, and our future safety. The constitution had deposited the means of forming this judgment in the safest hands; but God forbid, he exclaimed, that a land of freedom should not be able to exhibit all the activity, and strength, and energy of its resources, when called forth by any arbitrary and tyrannical power that infested the world! Those who looked at the new situation of the country, at the peculiar danger of the times, at the strong demand for the perfection and permanency of our force, would perceive in the measure now recommended, two distinct and important objects; the adoption of a plan for recruiting the regular army, and for improving the general quality of our military force.

Upon the question being put, the motion of the chancellor of the exchequer was agreed to without a division.

Upon the second reading of the bill, on the 8th of June, it was op-



posed by Mr. Yorke. Consistently with the opinions which he had formerly delivered respecting the defence of the country, and the idea which he had formed of this measure, from the short consideration which he had been able to give it, he could not afford it his support. He objected to the suspension of the system of ballot; for, without it, he conceived it would be impossible to procure the supplies necessary for the support of our regular military establishment. It was never attempted, in any of the countries of Europe, to keep up the army by voluntary offers of service. Compulsory measures were uniformly resorted to, and a ballot more or less extensive was employed for the purpose. In the present circumstances of this country, a ballot was indispensably requisite to keep up such an army as our situation imperiously demanded. To the general principle of the bill, however, he had no specific objection. His objections were directed against the amount of the men proposed to be raised; the manner of raising them; and the time in which the measure had been brought forward. It was pretty generally allowed, he observed, that under the late administration, a degree of security as applicable to the resistance of foreign danger had been obtained, and that we had arrived at that state which called on us to look to our means of providing a disposable force. It was professedly with this view that the present bill was introduced, and the house were required to regard it as the foundation of a permanent military establishment. But the number of men to be raised by the bill, appeared to him too great to be at all consistent with the recruiting for the

regular army. The reduction of the militia, and the augmentation of the army of reserve to no less than 66,000, formed an arrangement which he could not possibly support; for it directly interfered with the recruiting, both for the regular army and for the marines, of which the numbers were now considerably below the vote of parliament. The knowledge of the deficiencies in both these branches of service was, he declared, one strong inducement for him to propose the suspension of the army of reserve act for one year. If the army of reserve were to be thus supported, it appeared to him to be ridiculous to talk of filling up the regular army. In proportion as the severity of the provisions contained in the army of reserve act was relaxed, the plan of filling up the deficiencies would, he was convinced, become altogether nugatory. It was indeed impossible reasonably to expect that, independently of compulsory measures, we should have a suitably extensive military establishment. The principle of the militia system was founded on the ballot: it was recognized and acknowledged by the wisdom of our ancestors. On many occasions, it had been the grand source of our security. At the commencement of a war, it enabled us to preserve our rank and consequence in the scale of nations. It was not therefore wise or politic to relinquish what had been proved, for what had either not been tried, or had been tried and totally failed. Upon the whole, he was convinced, that if the men were to be obtained, they could be procured only by compulsory measures, or by the operation of a ballot. It did not appear to him that, in point of time, the bill was at all of an urgent nature,



ture, that it held out any rational prospect of immediate effect, even if passed into a law, and that any ground had been adduced for proceeding with precipitation.

The following are the leading arguments of several members who supported the measure. The reduction of the militia was approved upon the principle of substituting in its place, a force whose services should extend to every part of the empire. This might be rendered necessary by the peculiar situation of Ireland, which might possibly require that we should have a disposable force for its protection. It was contended that the system of balloting was productive of more inconveniences and hardships than the present measure; for it operated on the lower classes as an exaction of compulsory service, and on those of better circumstances as a tax for the commutation of their services. Although the army of reserve act had been represented as a measure of a merely temporary pressure, yet, upon examination, it would be found not to contain a single clause from which its temporary duration could be inferred. The present bill, on the contrary, was far more lenient; for it merely called on the people to make good that proportion of men for the service of the country, which was already called for by existing statutes. It was represented as accomplishing this object in a manner the most consistent with the united claims of justice, convenience, and humanity. The objections made to the duty imposed on parish officers were described to be without any just foundation; for the duty assigned to them was one which, from their local knowledge and habits, they were better qualified to perform than any other class in

the community. It was denied that there was any resemblance between the present measure and the quota bill. It differed from it in a variety of important respects. The bounties, in that case, were unlimited, and in many instances enormously high. The whole was carried into effect by the parishes, without any interference of the legislature. In the present case, the bounties were to be regulated by positive restriction.

The opponents of the bill urged that it was both unconstitutional and dangerous to diminish the militia establishment, the safest and most approved part of our national defence, in order to increase our standing armies to an extent inconsistent with public liberty. It was asserted, that nothing could be more unjust than to impose fines in cases where every exertion had been made, without success, to raise the number of men required of any particular district. Such a system was calculated to disgust the lord-lieutenants, and indispose them to make any material effort to carry the provisions of the bill into effect. The employment of parish-officers as recruiting serjeants was deprecated. Such a perversion of their establishment was represented to be a subject for jealousy; and the more so, as they were not confined to recruiting in their own districts, but were enabled by the bill to go into the adjoining counties under certain modifications and restrictions.

Mr. Windham defended the allegation which he had made in a former debate, with respect to the compulsory character of the bill in question. He repeated that he still saw too much of compulsion in it. The ballot, he remarked, which had been lately the order



of the day, was now exploded, and the merits of the present system were founded on its downfall. This, however, was not conclusive. We were not obliged to confine our views either to the system of ballot, or to that before us. If we have only two alternatives, we must, indeed, take the one or the other. This was, however, not exactly the case here. The army of reserve bill was originally not compulsory, but commutable for money. Even the militia, so far as it is in its nature compulsory, has not produced many men. Not nearly the one half serve in person, but by substitutes procured by bounty. In the army, we have men serving, not by compulsion, but by bounty; and at this moment, of these descriptions of force, 200,000 men are serving induced by bounty, and not engaged by compulsion. Men were therefore always to be got in the way in which government had been accustomed to raise them——by bounty. The only thing which made this bill preferable to preceding measures was, that the bounties were reduced. The new mode, however, in which recruiting was to be conducted, he contended, would prove highly injurious. The ordinary mode of recruiting, he maintained, was the best, both for service abroad, and for home service, if it was necessary to make that distinction; though he thought an army enlisted wholly for general service was by far the least objectionable mode.

In considering the advantages arising from the parish system, he declared that he could see none, except the zeal and activity of this officer, founded on a double system of rewards and punishments——of penalty on the one side, and bounty on the other. One obvious

effect which it must produce would be a system of crimping, not confined to these species of officers alone, but extending to the experienced crimps; for, after all, he suspected that the parish officers would be very bad at the trade, and would consequently require the assistance of others, as intermediate agents, acquainted with all the arts of the profession. What scenes of oppression and persecution might not be expected? The objects of it would probably be, vagrants, real and imaginary, by construction and implication; poachers, obnoxious persons; every one, indeed, whom these vigilant gentlemen might choose to single out. Mr. Windham urged the propriety of trying what recruiting in a regular manner for soldiers, unlimited as to service, but limited with respect to time, would produce. He would venture to affirm, that thousands would immediately be found ready to enter, on such terms, especially if additional allowances were promised when the period of service should expire.

The chancellor of the exchequer expressed his surprise at the unqualified opposition of his right hon. friend (Mr. Windham), especially as the two evils of which he had so often complained, namely, the ballot and the high bounties, were to be removed by the bill. His reason for getting rid of the ballot was because the personal service of a very small number of men was obtained by it. He confessed that he never expected to hear the tone of his right hon. friend sunk so low, as to introduce petty parochial considerations into the discussion of a subject involving the fundamental interests of this country, and the best hopes of Europe. The bill should have been



been argued upon its own merits, and not resisted by the use of captivating topics, or by-words not fairly applicable to it, such as, that it would convert the parish overseers into recruiting officers. But suppose it did, and an additional force was thus procured for our national defence, the country would feel itself amply repaid for any inconveniences which this regulation might create, in the public prosperity and individual comfort which that force would contribute to secure. When it was said that this plan was novel and extraordinary, he would beg gentlemen to recollect that it was founded on that system which had stood the test of experience, which had existed fifty years in this country, and the principle of which had been recently extended, with the unanimous concurrence of the house, to a *levy en masse*. The simple question for the consideration of the house was this, whether the mode proposed for raising men for the army was preferable to the ordinary mode of recruiting? In order to judge of this question, there were three points for inquiry. First, whether local exertion, aided by ordinary recruiting, was not more likely to furnish recruits than the latter mode alone? Secondly, whether men so raised for limited service were not more likely to enter into the regular army than persons engaged in the several occupations of life? Thirdly, whether such men were likely to be worse soldiers than those taken immediately from such occupations? Upon the first point, it was only necessary for him to state that, within little more than twelve months, no less than 100,000 men had been raised in this country, through the medium of local exer-

tion. The second point also would be fully answered by resorting to experience; for, previously to the close of the war, above 30,000 militia volunteered for general service, and within the last year, out of between 30 and 40,000 men raised for the army of reserve, above 13,000 had enlisted into the regular army. What then, he asked, had not the country to hope, if, pursuant to the operation of this bill, it should have a force of 70,000 men ready at an emergency, from which a reinforcement of 12,000 men annually towards supporting the regular army was naturally to be looked for? With regard to the third point, he conceived it would only be necessary to state, that soldiers thus obtained, from limited to unlimited service, were as likely to be not only not worse, but, on the contrary, more effective men than others recruited from among the people, without any previous knowledge of military affairs. From this view of the subject, he was at a loss to know upon what solid ground a measure could be resisted, that had at once in view our present defence and our future strength.

Mr. Fox, considering himself challenged by the chancellor of the exchequer to give his opinion on the measure in question, urged a variety of objections against its adoption. It had justly been contended, he said, by his right hon. friend (Mr. Windham), that the parish-officers either will succeed in their exertions to raise men, or they will resort to threats, and to oppression. Although it was undoubtedly true, that the magistrates of this country deserved every praise for their pure administration of the laws, still it was good not to give them an interest in stretch-



stretching the law. Large bounties, he was convinced, would be resorted to, if the men were to be found. To save the parish the fine, in case of default, persons may be induced to contribute a guinea or two in addition to the government bounty; and thus, though this would not appear in the parish-books, the bounty would in fact be increased, and the competition of the regular recruiting overpowered, notwithstanding any regulation to the contrary. The measure appeared to him to attempt to blend two things utterly irreconcilable:—an extraordinary provision for a sudden emergency, and a permanent military system. Two things, Mr. Fox observed, were chiefly to be aimed at; a sufficient force for home defence, and a general disposable force; and much depended on the order of the two. The plan of enlisting men for the home service, because they would not, with their eyes open, enter for general service, seemed to him to be objectionable, in as much as the practice involved a fraud. It had also been observed, that, in the one case, their parents would forbid, and in the other encourage, them to enter. This was equally a fraud upon the parents. If the competition which existed, and which this measure would tend to revive, were removed, the general recruiting would in all probability go on well. At least the chance deserved to be tried. If it did not succeed, then a certain degree of force, if circumstances should require it, must be employed. The plan too, of making one battalion the nursery for another, seemed liable to the strongest objections. It is one of the great excellencies of a free government like this, that by means of elections and other

popular parts of the constitution, the rich are obliged to pay a certain court to the poor, which on the one hand increases the independence of the poor, while it mitigates and corrects the arrogance and pride which wealth and superiority might tend to engender. But this, which is excellent in the civil, would be most pernicious in the military state. There the officers should have no favours to ask of the soldiers; they should be in the situation of conferring favours; but to gain the good will of the men, and to carry them to another corps with them, must totally change the relative character of officers and soldiers, and operate to the destruction of discipline. It was said, however, that under regular officers, the home army would be kept in a state of perfect discipline. No doubt, under such officers, they might be made excellent troops. But it was uncertain whether a sufficient number of officers of this description could be procured.

In the next place, there were many constitutional objections to the proposed system. We ought not to forget, that such a home force as an extensive permanent army, was inconsistent with all those checks which were thought necessary in the militia. The officers of such a force, officered like regular troops, might in the end have no other connexion with the country but their holding commissions in it. Such were the objections against the permanency of the system. If it were to be only temporary, all the fine-spun theory of first and second battalions would be blown to pieces in a moment. What, then! Mr. Fox demanded, after so much expectation, after the removal of an administration,



ministration, in a great degree on the charge of want of vigour and efficiency in preparing for the public defence, will the country be satisfied with such a measure as this? What had been proposed by Mr. Windham would, he maintained, have the effect of removing the impediments to the general recruiting of the army, and would at least give the army a fair chance of proper augmentation. As to immediate effect, and for home defence, the best expedient, in his opinion, was to trust to the zeal and spirit of the country. The principal classes of our means of defence consisted in the regular army, the militia, the volunteers, and general army; but each of them in its place and order, so as not to interfere with that which, for its respective object, was more important. As to the offers of the militia, during the last war, to enter into the regular army, Mr. Fox called to the recollection of the house, that it was not till they had been in Holland, in Ireland, and in Minorca, particularly after they had been under an officer (general Fox) of whom it became him not to speak in terms of too high commendation, but who was allowed to excel in the forming of troops. Then, indeed, the drafts from the militia became most excellent as well as brave soldiers, and performed exploits which redounded to their own immortal honour and to that of their country. In conclusion, he deprecated the adoption of a measure so little calculated to promote its ends, and to which there were so many powerful constitutional objections. The house then divided upon the second reading of the bill, which was carried by a majority of only

40 votes. There were 402 members present at the division.

On the 11th of June, the chancellor of the exchequer moved the order of the day for the house to go into a committee on the bill. The only speech, in this stage of the discussion, which our limits permit us to notice, is that of colonel Craufurd. We are the more disposed to confine ourselves to an analysis of the observations of the hon. colonel, upon the fair presumption that military men should be best acquainted with subjects immediately connected with their profession, and because the colonel was the only officer who took any considerable share in the discussion.

Colonel Craufurd began by observing, that if his majesty's ministers were disposed to adopt any effectual plan for increasing the regular army, they must do away all competition which interfered with it, remove every idea of binding men to service for life, and improve the general condition of the army. Were such inducements given, it would be wholly unnecessary to have recourse to any compulsory means for recruiting. The consideration of the immense increase of the power of France, by its military conscription, which enabled the French government to augment their army to an amazing extent, certainly made it necessary for us to put ourselves upon a very regular footing. But, whatever compulsion might be necessary for that purpose, he was not an advocate for carrying it further than to vest the crown with power to compel men of a certain age to train themselves to the use of arms, and, in case of attack, to array them in any manner most effectual to repel the enemy. This should be done



done by the prerogative conferred by parliament; but it should not be in their power to draw a person, however low his situation in life may be, beyond the distance of five miles from his home, at any period, except upon invasion. With respect to the bill before the house, he acknowledged that, if carried into execution without abuse, it would not compel any man to go into the army against his will; but it authorized a species of compulsion, not upon the individual, but upon parishes, by the fine to be imposed for what perhaps they could not effect. It was thought that it would thereby interest a great number of people in recruiting the army, and that even the landed interest would find their advantage in endeavouring to avoid the fine. But it was to be observed, that there were very few parts where the landed interest had the power of inducing men to enter into the army, except in the northern parts of the kingdom, and there it was not a paltry fine that would operate as an inducement, but the great influence they had over their tenants and neighbourhood. Notwithstanding all that had been said about crimps, or men who made recruiting their trade, he was far from wishing to see that description of people abolished. On the contrary, he wished to see them greatly increased, but subject to such regulations, by licence or otherwise, as to have them under the power of government, and prevent the abuses which they were said to commit. They would be better recruiters than parish-officers, and would not be looked upon with such jealousy by the magistrate.

Nothing but extreme necessity, colonel Craufurd said, should in-

duce him to give the bill his support. He regarded it as a system of inveigling men into the army. He was an advocate for recruiting the militia; but these men were placed in a different situation; and he would rather recruit from the militia, than approve of its reduction. He objected to the plan of having first and second battalions conjoined in the manner that had been suggested. It was putting the men under officers who would look to one of the battalions with jealousy, being much more desirous for the welfare of the first than of the second, and who would consequently wish the men to quit the second in order to join the first. There would thus be 140,000 men enjoying all the advantages of the regular army, without going out of England. The chief motives that induced men to enter into the army were idleness joined with vanity, dress, and patriotism. One man liked the idle life of a soldier, and the dress, which attracts the notice of every village he enters, better than the labour of following the plough, or any other occupation. Temporary distress, throwing men out of bread, operated as a strong motive to engage in the service. A third reason was an ardent military spirit, which was the most honourable and praiseworthy of the three, but which he imagined produced fewer men than the other two taken together. A man that would formerly have gratified his vanity, or relieved his distress, by going at once into the regular army, would now prefer limited to general service. He neither approved of the plan of interchangeable promotion between the officers of the first and second battalions, because it would not prove satisfactory to the offi-

cers,



cers, nor did he think the enlistment of the privates of the second battalion into the first, was likely to be so general as expected.

With regard to foreign service, he thought it extremely desirable that all possible pains should be taken to put an end to that abominable branch of it, the duty of the West India islands, which had so long proved the grave of our gallant regiments. It was no unfrequent thing, on that detestable service, for an entire regiment to die in a few months, without an opportunity of signalizing its character by any act of valour, to endear its memory to its country and its friends: a consideration more galling to the spirits of gallant men, than any hardship, danger, or fatality, attendant on their public duty. If the proposed plan were adopted, of raising local regiments in the several counties, and sending such corps on West India service instead of regiments recruited from the country at large, the consequence would be, that where a regiment experienced such general fatality, it would completely, for a series of years, close up all sources of recruiting in the county where it had been raised. He declared to God, he would rather the whole of the West India islands were lost to this country, than maintained at such a loss of our brave troops.

He observed, that under this bill, it was proposed to suffer the militia gradually to diminish to its original number of 40,000 men, which upon the calculation of 3000 men per annum, the number now found necessary to keep up the full force, would take a period of six or seven years. He could see no reason for a process so tedious, to accomplish an object so desirable; nor why it should not be declared at once,

that parliament had, in its wisdom, decreed the immediate reduction to 40,000 necessary. The surplus might then be accepted as volunteers to the line. By this means 20,000 disciplined men might be immediately added to the regular army, instead of waiting the slow progress of recruiting in the ordinary way for men for limited service, and afterwards depending on the mere chance of their enlisting for general service. The most speedy and effectual mode of recruiting would, in his mind, be the plain, simple, and customary manner which had been so strongly recommended by Mr. Windham. The plan proposed by this bill, he was convinced, would do nothing; but if the complexity of the measure were simplified, and the obstacles to recruiting removed, a sufficient number of men might certainly be procured for the regular army. The hon. member then adverted to the necessity of erecting works for the defence of the weaker points of our coast against the enemy, upon which he had upon several occasions already laid considerable stress. He would engage to construct works of this description in such a manner as to render those parts of our coast most exposed to attack, almost unattackable; or even should an enemy land, they should be calculated so effectually to obstruct his march from the coast to the capital, as to render his defeat certain in one or two engagements. The magazines of the country he would undertake to fortify in such a way as to resist every mode of attack, but a regular siege, which no enemy would be able to maintain in this country; and even the capital itself he would fortify so as to render it perfectly defensible by its inhabitants, without chain-

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ing down the general force of the country from other great operations. He recommended the training and disciplining, to the utmost practicable extent, the irregular force of the country, in which he solely included the volunteers and the peasantry ; and, in conclusion, expressed his thorough conviction, that the present bill was utterly inadequate to its proposed objects. He should therefore oppose it in every stage.

Several members spoke after col. Craufurd, but no one replied to him at considerable length. The question, with respect to the speaker's leaving the chair, being called for, the house divided, with a majority of 50 votes in favour of ministers.

In a subsequent discussion of this important measure, a very long and animated debate arose, in which almost every argument that experience or ingenuity could suggest was urged against its adoption. The very long statement we have already given of the degree of interest which this subject excited in parliament, precludes us from exhibiting a detailed account of this spirited discussion. We must confine ourselves to a very brief analysis of a few of the leading speeches. Mr. Harrison, Mr. W. Elliot, general Maitland, colonel Mitford, Mr. Somers Cocks, Mr. serjeant Best, and lord Temple, having expressed their decided disapprobation of the measure, Mr. Canning rose, and in a very able, argumentative, and comprehensive speech, combated the most forcible objections of its opponents.

Adverting to the situation of the country at the period of the return of his right hon. friend (Mr. Pitt) to power, and the opinions which prevailed, as to the measures most immediately necessary for improv-

ing it, he observed, that it was the sentiment, and the repeatedly declared conviction, of gentlemen on every side of the house, that our regular army was too small, and that the process of ordinary recruiting was of itself insufficient to insure, as speedily and to as great an extent as was desirable, the augmentation that was required. To this was added an opinion that our limited force was more extensive than necessary ; that its existence on so large a scale was an obstacle to the increase of the regular army ; and that the mode in which that limited force was raised and kept was liable to many objections. The only means, therefore, at the disposal of his right hon. friend for the improvement of the military system of the country were, a regular army confessedly much too small, a militia force much larger than could be maintained in strict conformity to the principles of that institution, and an intermediate force consisting of the army of reserve. If his right hon. friend, by mere arrangement and transposition, had made these same materials produce a greater disposable force than had hitherto been derived from them ; if, merely by altering the respective proportions of the militia and the army of reserve, he had contrived at once to increase the number of troops destined for the protection of our whole European empire, and, at the same time, to afford a new recruiting fund to the regular army ; if he had done this with a view to the emergency of the present times only ; if there had been no question in his plan of a positive addition to the general aggregate of our military force, and no project for a permanent aid and augmentation of it : still, Mr. Canning contended,



his right hon. friend would have gone a great way towards redeeming his own specific pledge, and satisfying any expectation which he might himself have been instrumental to excite. The task of the last ministry was the same with that which the present administration was endeavouring to accomplish—to augment the disposable force of the country. The means in their hands were precisely the same; a regular army wanting augmentation; a militia overgrown, and not convertible into a regular force; and the army of reserve, capable of relieving the regular army of part of its duties in the first instance, and, in the second, of furnishing an increase to its numbers. In order to obtain out of two limited forces the greatest possible aid to that which was unlimited, they hit upon no better method than that of augmenting the militia, the most limited of the two, confessedly too large already, and unconvertible to any purpose either of relief or supply to the regular army; at the same time, they proposed the abolition of that which was least limited, and which had proved itself a source of supply, and was, by its constitution and terms of service, a substitute and partial relief to the regular army. Those who were desirous of contrasting the measures of the late and present administration should compare what was now done with what was then proposed; and if they complained that the present plan was too simple and obvious, they should blame the predecessor of his right hon. friend for having missed it, rather than him for its adoption.

When the general outline of the plan was first submitted to the house, a number of objections were stated to certain parts of it, and in particular

to the retention of the ballot. As this was now suspended, it was expected that the concurrence of those would be secured, who had represented the ballot as their only insuperable difficulty. But the ballot, so long the object of unqualified censure, was no sooner dispensed with, than it found advocates and panegyrists! It was, however, to be remembered that the ballot would still be applicable to the support of the old militia. With respect to the apprehension that the memory of the high bounties would still operate to deter men from entering into either service, he conceived it a sufficient answer, that it did not apply solely to this bill; for, notwithstanding the entire abolition of high bounties, it was impossible, whatever efforts might be made to prevent it, to obliterate the recollection of their former existence. Mr. Windham having insisted on the propriety of leaving the business of recruiting to the officers of the crown, Mr. Canning maintained that this would necessarily throw away at once all chance of local exertion and parochial supply to the limited service; that it would break up all the channels through which the militia and the army of reserve have derived their numbers. The bill, on the contrary, would take advantage of this chance; if it failed, recourse might then be had to recruiting for limited and unlimited service by the officers of the crown. But it was not merely to the raising men by the parishes that objections were stated. The parish-officers were represented to be the most improper instruments that could be employed for such a purpose: why, was not precisely explained. That they have been the instruments for carrying into effect the regulations



of the militia acts, and of the army of reserve act, was not denied. In their place it was proposed to substitute crimps, not in their present depraved and reprobate state, but under certain restrictions and modifications, corrected in their dispositions, softened in their feelings, and restrained from their usual enormities: in short, honest, humane, well meaning, benevolent crimps were after all the only instruments to be relied on for carrying on the recruiting service. It was perhaps a sufficient defence for the employment of the parish-officers, that those who decried them could suggest no better substitutes. As to the argument of compulsion, he asserted, that it must be allowed to be mitigated by the suspension of the ballot, however highly might be rated the influence, the authority, or the powers of rhetorical persuasion which the parish-officer may be supposed to employ. But then, if not compelled, men were at least to be inveigled into the service, and the whole plan was described as a fraud and cheat upon the country. Mr. Canning affirmed there was no deceit in it; for the whole plan of service was laid at once before the public, and it was known that those who enlisted for limited service, were exposed to the temptation of extending that service to a larger range. With regard to the project of limiting the time of service in the regular army, he felt inclined to give it his hearty concurrence. But it was to be objected, that by changing enlistment for life for a term of years, the army might be deprived of the service of a soldier precisely at the period when he became most valuable by experience and knowledge of his profession.

Great stress having been laid upon the burthen which this bill

would bring upon the country, first, as to the immediate pressure in raising the force; and, secondly, as to the continuance of it in peace as a permanent establishment; Mr. Canning combated the objection, by representing, that the immediate operation of the bill would be to afford relief, by remitting the enormous fines which had been incurred by the parishes which had not raised the number of men required by the army of reserve act. The moderate fine of 20*l.* per man would only be imposed, not cumulative and reduplicable at every quarter sessions, but as a complete quittance and atonement. With regard to the second point, he affirmed, that the burthen compared with the object would be inconceivably small. It was not intended to keep this force on foot and embodied in time of peace. It was to be dissolved like the militia, but not disbanded, and liable like the militia to be called together for a month in each year, in order to keep up its military discipline. The call upon the parishes would only be to supply occasional vacancies; the burthen upon the public would be a month's pay; the officers, being regular officers on the half-pay, would be no way additionally burthensome to the country, beyond what they would be if this force were not in existence, except that during the month for which it is embodied they too would receive full pay. He regarded it also as a point gained, upon a constitutional view of the establishment, that the force to be kept up would be, in part at least, of a description so much less expensive than the regular army, and, with respect to its peculiar character, so much less objectionable. For, taking it for granted that a considerable force must be kept



kept up in time of peace, that which the present bill went to constitute would have the great advantage, at the breaking out of war, of setting free in the first instance the greater part of our regular army—an advantage with which this country never yet began any war, and the want of which at this moment was the subject of our unanimous regret and anxiety. Believing that, by the means proposed by the bill, we should have a force as little burthensome as the militia, but of more extended application; capable in a great measure of partaking the duty of the regular army, in the first instance, and of feeding and augmenting its ranks as occasion might require, but not equally with the regular army an object of constitutional jealousy; a force which may lie dormant in the bosom of the country in time of peace, and easily be called forth and speedily developed in time of war:—conceiving that the present state of Europe rendered such a force necessary, and seeing no other mode by which it could be so advantageously obtained, he should give the measure of his right hon. friend his most sincere and cordial support.

Mr. Addington advanced a number of objections to the bill, and defended at length the measures to which he and his colleagues had formerly resorted, in order to organize and augment the various branches of military service. He had always contended, he said, that it was inconsistent to state constitutional objections upon any great emergency. No such case, he maintained, had now been made out; and nothing could be more dangerous, when we looked to the public occurrences of the last twelve years, than to forget that we

had a constitution to defend, and which no overstrained idea of danger should ever induce us wantonly or unadvisedly to infringe. The militia, the constitutional force of the country, should always keep pace with, and serve as a corrective of, our regular military force. In proportion, therefore, as our regular army was increased, our militia should be augmented. Mr. Addington strongly objected to the union of two such opposite characters as the civil officer, and the recruiting serjeant, in the same person. He objected also to the temptation which the bill would hold out for giving large bounties; for every man, by means of the parish-books, would become so well acquainted with the state of the recruiting market, that he would keep himself back in order to make the most money possible, and thereby injure the service in general. Besides, if we were in want of a militia force, the militia was preferable; if we required a force for foreign service, that which was to be raised by the bill would never materially promote that object. Above all, he objected to the bill upon the table, because it acknowledged a principle that was inconsistent with the spirit of the British constitution; namely, that of keeping up a vast standing army, at the time the militia, the constitutional force of the nation, was to be reduced.

Mr. Sheridan, after making a variety of comments upon the political circumstances attending the dissolution of the old and the formation of the new administration, proceeded to state the grounds upon which he opposed the bill. He denied that it would have the effect of procuring men for the army; on the contrary, to him its only object



appeared to be to raise a tax upon the landed interest, to inflict penalties, and to enact forfeitures. Even supposing a considerable number of men could thus be recruited, it appeared to him to be impossible to find persons properly qualified to officer them. A connection between a battalion of the regulars and one of the new levies would have no tendency to promote and to preserve discipline. For it was ridiculous to talk of discipline in a corps, where, as in the new levies, the officers would be urged to ask favours of their men. From an army so constituted and so employed, very great evils were to be apprehended; and he was so fully convinced of the mischief that must result from it, that, if the bill should be adopted, the most appropriate title for it would be "a bill for the destruction of military discipline."

In considering the means of providing for the defence of the country, Mr. Sheridan said that he regretted so much stress had been laid upon the necessity of extending the regular army. He wished, however, to observe, that men should be enlisted for that service upon terms limited as to time and place; the latter regulation would tend to save the lives of many soldiers, while the policy of the former was so generally acknowledged, and had been so often discussed, that it was matter of surprise it had never been adopted. Upon the question of augmenting the regular army, he could not forbear to say, that he should regard it with much jealousy; he would not risk the liberties of the country by its undue enlargement. The volunteers and militia should be aided by a just proportion of regular force. This was all that should be required; for the people of this

country were competent to their own defence, and ready to receive the tone from those above them. They have that regard for the high station which freemen may be supposed to feel; they looked up to their superiors with confidence, because these did not look down upon them with insult. If such a people received proper example and encouragement, there would be no necessity for a large standing army to defend the country. The people of England know the value of the objects for which they have to contend. They feel, that from the constitution of the society in which they live, there is nothing of honour, emolument, or wealth, which is not within the reach of a man of merit. The humblest peasant would put forth his endeavours in the national struggle, to defend his son's title to the great seal of England. Satisfied of the fact, that, in this important conjuncture, which so strongly demanded the valour of the brave, the vigour of the strong, the means of the wealthy, and the counsel of the wise, we could obtain all that is requisite by operating judiciously upon the character of the people, he objected to the frequent call for an increase of the regular army, since it would invest the executive government with a power dangerous to civil liberty.

The chancellor of the exchequer, in a most masterly reply to the general arguments of those who had opposed the bill, particularly adverted to the objection founded upon a view of the subject as it affected the constitutional rights and liberties of the people. In the present convulsed state of the world, when the example of France must compel the nations of Europe to be on a footing with her, or bend beneath her military superiority,—in justice



to the people of this country, upon whom Mr. Sheridan had just bestowed such eulogiums, a large military force, he maintained, must be raised, in order to ensure their safety and preserve their political existence. The species of force which the bill recognised were three: the regular troops; the militia; and an intermediate force, which may serve for the security of the country in case it be necessary to send any considerable numbers of the regular troops abroad, and to augment the standing army by recruiting. The proportion which these three should bear to each other had been a subject of consideration. But the times in which we exist do not permit us to attend so strictly to such principles as these; for we are first to provide men who may fight our battles, and preserve the constitution from perishing with the political existence of the people; and then we are to consider how a force necessary for this purpose may be so regulated as not to afford any just grounds of alarm that the liberties of the subject will be invaded. It had been asserted that it was impossible to procure officers of the proper description for the militia, when their number was raised beyond the antient establishment of 40,000 men. With this admission, could the militia, he asked, be with any advantage carried beyond these limits? He acknowledged that the bill of rights provided that no standing army should be kept up in time of peace without the consent of parliament. But he denied that he could be accused of violating that principle by augmenting the standing army in time of war, and with the consent of parliament; especially when the force proposed to be raised was to be disbanded at the close of the

war. Again, it was impossible to look at the present situation of Europe, without being convinced that it would be necessary for this country to become a more military nation than at any former period of our history.

He proceeded to observe, that in their objections to this bill, gentlemen seemed to argue as if 74,000 men were to be raised for this force; but it was to be recollected that only 16,000 were wanting, the rest being already very nearly procured. Nor was this force to be raised all at once. It would no doubt require time; but as there were good grounds for confiding in the efficiency of the measure, it deserved, at all events, to have a fair trial. With respect to the difficulty of procuring a sufficient number of officers for the men proposed to be raised, this was equally an objection to the former plan, and applied to any mode of recruiting the regular army to any considerable extent. It amounted, therefore, to nothing as a particular objection against this bill. On the means of recruiting the army, he stated that there were only four modes of proceeding: 1st, the usual mode of recruiting for bounty by the officers of the regular service; 2d, recruiting by limited bounty and local influence, as pointed out by the plan; 3d, recruiting by ballot and compulsion, now generally exploded as an oppressive system; and 4th, recruiting by personal ballot, without the possibility of substitution—a mode still more objectionable. In times of great emergency, this latter mode might doubtless be resorted to; but, in general, it had a rigour not suited to the habits and feelings of the country. Supposing, therefore, that the first of these modes was not sufficiently productive,



recourse must of necessity be had to the second; the third and fourth being in most respects objectionable. In adopting the second mode, it was also evident, that the first, that of mere simple recruiting, remained wholly unmolested, and had a concurrent operation.

Having defended at considerable length the general provisions of the plan, and exposed the invalidity of the objections urged by opposition, which he thought more stimulated by hostility to his majesty's ministers than by any defects or errors in the system proposed to be adopted, he proceeded to vindicate the measures of government, and represented the calling out into actual service of not less than 140 or 150,000 volunteers as an instance of necessary vigour, in which the late administration appeared to him to be extremely deficient. This measure, in addition to the present plan for an increased and permanent establishment of military force, for limited and unlimited service, embraced every object for the army which he had stated as desirable. The navy also was in other, and, in his opinion, more able hands.—With respect to the animadversions which had been made on the present administration, Mr. Pitt conceived it strange that they should be arraigned with such acrimony on their very first measure, and before its general character had assumed any distinctive shape. This eagerness to condemn and arraign pointed out, in pretty intelligible terms, the object and motives by which the opposition were actuated, and left the house and country in no doubt as to its true character.—The formation of the new ministry having been alluded to, in the course of the debate, and in terms

expressive of disapprobation, Mr. Pitt felt it incumbent on him, notwithstanding the extreme delicacy of the subject, not to suffer it to pass without observation. He reminded Mr. Fox of an opinion which he had recently delivered in parliament; namely, that although the house had a right to exercise its judgment on the conduct of ministers, and on just grounds to withhold its confidence from them, yet the appointment of their successors the constitution left wholly in the choice and decision of the crown. This having been his opinion openly and unequivocally pronounced, was it not strange, Mr. Pitt asked, that on the first appearance of that minister, and before he had carried into effect any one measure to characterize his administration, the hon. gentleman should associate with parties to produce his resignation? a step which the opposition of that night was avowedly intended to produce. Although he thought and trusted that the bill would pass with large and increasing numbers; yet, should he be mistaken in that opinion, he should only consider that circumstance as arising from a mere difference of opinion, and far from containing any declaration of the sentiments of the house, or country, concerning the conduct of the present administration. Whatever might be the result of this question, he assured those who opposed it, that he should take no hint of resignation, but maintain that station in which his majesty had thought proper to place him. Sincere as he was in his wishes for an extended administration, the radical variance of associates which this question had discovered, led him to doubt whether it would have been achieved to any permanent or beneficial effect.



effect. A union of elements so discordant might have had an effect the very reverse of what was hoped and intended; and might have been productive of weakness, instead of bringing an accession of strength to the government of the country.

Mr. Fox took a general view of the different provisions of the bill, and of the various arguments of those who had given it support. He represented, in terms of pointed ridicule, that the force to be created by it would merely resemble a species of militia, which, although supposed to be attached to a particular place or district, would undoubtedly be raised in very different parts of the country. He denied that any material advantages would result from insisting upon the men going into particular battalions; and, upon considering the very great variety of objections to which the bill appeared to him to be exposed, he was of opinion that it was calculated to cramp and not to improve the military resources of the state. Adverting to what had fallen from Mr. Pitt in defence of the formation of the new ministry, he felt himself bound to declare, in answer to what he termed the insinuations which had been thrown out, and in justice to himself, in justice to his hon. friends, and in justice to what he believed to be the prevailing opinion among all thinking men throughout the country, that if ever there was a time at which more than another it was required that the passions of all men should be stifled, not irritated; that their minds and tempers should be conciliated, not thwarted and provoked; and, in short, that the government of the country should consist of men universally respected, and distinguished for talents,

energy and zeal,—it was the present moment. Of the right of his majesty to choose his own ministers, no person, he believed, entertained the least doubt; but it was a maxim equally recognised in the constitutional practice of the country, that, whenever the house of commons found that a minister was either weak and inefficient, or corrupt and profligate, they had an undoubted right to express their disapprobation of his conduct. If his majesty should not think proper immediately to displace him, it was expected that he should take the hint himself, and give in his resignation. Notwithstanding the extraordinary talents of Mr. Pitt, it was not to be denied that the country has at present an inefficient administration. Mr. Fox defended the conduct of those members who had refused to accede to Mr. Pitt's proposals to form a part of the new administration. Their refusal, on the ground of attachment to a political principle which was generally admitted to be founded in justice, was highly honourable to their characters as political men—nothing could be more so. Alluding to the changes which had taken place in various branches of the administration, and the retention of some of the members of the former cabinet, Mr. Fox said that he was surprised to find any set of gentlemen could possibly act so perfectly in unison, without any system of co-operation, either expressed or understood, having ever been laid down or agreed upon between them. With respect to the personal observations in Mr. Pitt's speech, Mr. Fox observed that these were topics upon which he had himself determined never to say one word. He was, perhaps, less eager than the right hon. gen-



tleman for the objects of political pursuit, and age had diminished his propensities to contest.

Lenit albescens animos capillus  
Litium et rixæ cupidos protervæ.

In other times, and in other circumstances of the country, the latter part of the quotation might have better suited his disposition:

Non ego hoc ferrem calidus juvenâ,  
Consule Planco.

The question being loudly called for, the house divided, and the motion was carried by a majority of 42 votes; 265 members having voted in its favour, and 223 against it. At five o'clock in the morning the house adjourned.

In the house of lords the bill met with considerable opposition. But the very long account we have already given of the debates on this important and distinctive measure of the new administration, prevents us from extending an analysis, into which we have endeavoured to introduce every material argument resorted to in the progress of the discussion. It may here be sufficient to observe, that it ultimately passed through the house with the support of a larger proportionate majority than in the commons; and on the 29th of June it received the royal assent.

## CHAP. VI.

*Discussion relative to the Corn Laws—Mr. Whitbread's Motion to pass a Vo'e of Censure upon the Conduct of the Lord Advocate of Scotland—Discharge of the Arrears of the Civil List, and a permanent annual Addition to the same—Resolutions of the Committee on the Middlesex Election—Parliamentary Aid granted to the Civil Establishment at Sierra Leone—Annual Statement of Accounts relating to the Affairs of India—Resolutions moved by the Chancellor of the Exchequer respecting the Finances of the Country—Prorogation of Parliament—General Remarks on the Proceedings of the House during the Session.*

**T**HERE are few subjects more complex in their nature, or more difficult in discussion, than the corn laws in general. It has been maintained by many respectable authorities, that the whole system is materially defective, and that it would be preferable to repeal these laws altogether, leaving the trade free, and the prices to find their own level. But in consequence of a report of a committee of the house of commons, it was deemed expedient to have recourse to new legislative regulations. From the report of this committee, it appeared that the

price of corn from 1791 to the harvest of 1803 had been very irregular; but, although increased in a great degree by years of scarcity, had upon an average yielded a fair profit to the grower. The high prices had produced the effect of stimulating industry, and bringing into cultivation large tracts of waste land; which, combined with the two last productive seasons, and other causes, had occasioned such a depreciation in the value of grain as might greatly tend to the discouragement of agriculture, unless maintained by the support of parliament.



liament. For this purpose, although within the period of the last thirteen years no less than thirty millions sterling had been paid to foreign countries for supplies of grain, it was proposed to have recourse to a bounty upon exportation, after having in a great measure abandoned it for a period of nearly thirty years. With this view a bill was brought into parliament. Exportation was to be admitted when the price of wheat was at or below 48s.; and importation was to be allowed when the average price of the twelve maritime counties should exceed 63s. These alterations in the existing laws, which it was maintained did not, from the alteration in the value of money, sufficiently encourage the farmer to grow corn, would, it was expected, produce many beneficial effects. The bill, indeed, was conceived to be of importance in many points of view. It was deemed necessary, in order to encourage the agriculture of the country, to prevent many thousands of acres being diverted from the plough, and to guard the country from the recurrence of famine—a calamity against which the most unlimited power of importing from other countries had been found to be an insufficient protection. It was, besides, presumed, that the bill would render corn permanently cheap, by combining the interests of the growers with that of the consumers. One material object of the measure was to fix the import price at such a rate, that the home corn should be diffused so as to supply partial wants from the redundancies of other parts, before recourse was had to foreign markets. The facility of conveyance by canals was an additional reason for adopting this plan. Upon the whole it was argued, that the true

way to prevent the recurrence of scarcity was to remove the danger of such a depreciation in the value of corn, as might discourage the farmer from producing full crops.

It was however objected to the bill, that it was not fair to take an average price of the last four or five months as a standard for a maximum by which the corn trade should be regulated. Upon an average for the last thirteen or fourteen years, the price of wheat was between 61 and 62s. per quarter. It was also observed, that the mode proposed of taking the average prices of grain from the aggregate average of the twelve maritime counties of England, and four of Scotland, would have a double effect. Wheat being, according to documents upon the table, 5s. cheaper in Scotland than in England, such general average would keep the ports of Scotland longer open for exportation than those of England. It would also advance the prices in the counties where a surplus prevailed, by the necessity of sending such surplus to the counties where a deficiency existed. The latter, however, would not be benefited by these supplies, which might be received in the first instance by importation from foreign countries. In this manner, the rise in the counties possessing a surplus of grain would be effectually prevented. The bill, notwithstanding these and other objections, passed through both houses of parliament.

In the beginning of June, Mr. Whitbread moved for certain papers relative to an irregular proceeding of the lord advocate of Scotland, in order to establish a ground for parliamentary censure of his conduct. The papers were granted; and on the 22d of June a motion



tion to this effect was made by the hon. member. The circumstances of the case are these: Mr. Morison, a farmer of respectable character, whose loyalty, it appears, had never been questioned, had a servant of the name of Garrow, whom he discharged from his service. The cause of this discharge was, that Garrow, having, contrary to his master's consent, entered into a volunteer corps at a distance of about seven miles from Morison's residence, and having in opposition to his orders continued to go out with the corps, was directed by Morison not to absent himself from his work; in which case he informed him that he should dismiss him from his service. Garrow was at the time employed in thatching a barn. After this intimation he did absent himself; and the consequence was, that he was accordingly discharged. Upon this he made application to the lord advocate of Scotland, and laid before his lordship a memorial, stating, that he had been engaged for six months, at six guineas; and, after entering into a volunteer corps without the permission of his master, had been suffered to attend drill every evening after his work, from the month of August to the 13th of October, the day he was discharged for having the preceding day, without his master's leave, absented himself from his work to attend an inspection by the marquis of Huntley. The memorialist then proceeded to inquire, whether or not his lordship thought him well founded in demanding his wages from the 13th of October till the month of March, the period when the engagement with his master would expire; or whether he should restrict his demand for wages only to the 13th of October. Upon this applica-

tion, the lord advocate transmitted to the sheriff substitute of Banffshire the following opinion, with the letter accompanying it:

*Opinion.*—However unprincipled and oppressive Mr. Morison's conduct seems to have been, I am afraid that the memorialist has no claim against him, except for wages up to the day that he was dismissed from his service; to which he is certainly entitled.

The opinion of  
(Signed) C. HOPE.  
Edinburgh, Dec. 30, 1803.

Edinburgh, Dec. 30.

Sir,

I return you the memorial, with my opinion; and in the circumstances of this case I decline taking any fee, which I also return to you. The case in the memorial is one of those for which, unfortunately, no provision is made in any of the volunteer acts; and therefore, of course, a person who neglects his master's work, on account of drills or reviews, is, I am afraid, in the same situation with a servant doing so from any other cause. The conduct of Morison, however, is most atrocious; and every possible means ought to be taken to stigmatize him, and to punish him by the scorn and contempt of all the respectable men of the country, who ought to enter into a resolution to have no dealings with him whatever. And further, as I consider that Morison's conduct could only have arisen from a secret spirit of disaffection and disloyalty, it is my orders to you, as sheriff substitute of the county, that on the first Frenchman landing in Scotland, you do immediately apprehend and secure Morison as a suspected person, and you will not liberate him without a communication with me; and you may



may inform him of these my orders ; and further, that I shall do all I can to prevent him from receiving any compensation for any part of his property which may either be destroyed by the enemy, or by the king's troops to prevent it from falling into the enemy's hands.

I am, sir, your most obedient  
humble servant,

(Signed) C. HOPE.

George Forbes, esq. sheriff  
substitute of Banffshire.

These public documents having been produced, in pursuance of the accession of ministers to Mr. Whitbread's former motion, he proceeded to observe, that the house was required, by every consideration of duty, of honour, and of justice, to determine whether the charge which he meant to found on them was or was not well established. A decision must then be pronounced, whether his proposition was false and groundless, or whether it was substantiated. In the latter case, it would appear, that the people of Scotland had been exposed to a species of gross injustice and oppression, against which it was incumbent on the house to shelter them. His first motion, to which he did not intend to confine himself, should it meet the approbation of the house, was, that the conduct of the right hon. the lord advocate of Scotland, in writing the letter respecting James Morison, which had been read and entered that evening on the journals of the house, was oppressive, illegal, and contrary to his professional duties. Without even the slightest ground of reasonable accusation, without even deigning to consider that, by the law of this country, defence was allowed to the accused, he had not only endeavoured to cut

off Morison from all the comforts of society, but had ordered him to be apprehended, and not to be released in the ordinary course of law, but to be detained in close custody till his own pleasure on the subject should be expressed. Not satisfied with carrying his power thus far, but anticipating invasion as an event near at hand, and knowing that property was liable, in such an event, to destruction, he actually declared that he should take special care to prevent Morison, in any case whatever, from receiving compensation for any loss of property which he might sustain, from whatever cause that loss might arise. Without calling any person to explain Morison's general character for loyalty and respectability, in both which respects he had no right to assume that it was not unimpeachable ; in total ignorance of any one ground by which criminality could be attached to his conduct, he, without the slightest delay, consigns him over to pains and penalties. Mr. Whitbread said he was not disposed to go into any detail on the laws of Scotland, but took permission to state that the liberty of the subject in Scotland is guarded by a variety of statutes, of which it was impossible for a person of the right hon. gentleman's professional talents and experience to be ignorant. One of these statutes in particular expressly declared, that no man should be imprisoned without having the grounds of his arrest explained to him. In the case of Morison, the whole business was conducted in a way fatal to the very existence of personal liberty. It was to be remembered that the law of Scotland vested in the lord advocate the powers granted in this country to grand juries and coroners' inquests,—



quests,—the value and importance of which our ancestors so properly estimated. If a matter of accusation be ever so grave and serious, it remained with the lord advocate to determine, whether it was a subject fit to be brought before a court for legal investigation. Invested with such extensive and almost unparalleled powers, he felt it needless to enlarge on the importance of the person being actuated by the soundest discretion. Mr. Whitbread particularly complained that the letter to the sheriff substitute, which could not be defended on the ground of its legality, was sent forth to the public as perfectly legal, constitutional, and expedient. With respect to the motives which had given rise to the proceeding, he admitted that they might have originated in great strength of zeal, inflamed by the particular situation of the country. But they betrayed the strongest indiscretion in a great public officer, whose mind ought to be kept wholly free from all impressions of prejudice, partiality, or want of due reflection. Under all the circumstances of this case, he thought it the duty of the house to mark the conduct of the right hon. gentleman in terms of severe reprobation.

The lord advocate entered into a very long and elaborate defence of his public conduct. He assured the hon. member who had charged him with injustice and oppression, that such an accusation was altogether new to him in the history of his public life. It also appeared to him an extraordinary circumstance, that the charge preferred against him should have been delayed six months after the letter, which had been made the ground of so much animadversion, had been publicly known in the part of the country

most interested in the subject. He did not, however, mean to convey any insinuation with respect to the motives or cause of this delay; but, on the contrary, believed that the hon. gentleman had acted in a fair, manly, and honourable manner. Before entering at large into the subject, he conceived it proper to say, that he had refused to retract the sentiments contained in the letter to the sheriff substitute of Banffshire, because Morison had made no apology for his conduct, which appeared to him to be previously and indispensably requisite. Proceeding to the merits of the case, he stated, that in the circumstances under which the letter was written, he felt it his duty to act under the gravest responsibility. At that period the military force in Scotland was totally inadequate to the public defence. He appealed then to the candour of the house to conceive what his feelings must have been, when called upon to offer an opinion respecting the conduct of an individual, whose proceedings went to the direct discouragement of the exertions of the volunteers, upon whom the safety of the north of Scotland totally depended. He asked, whether he was severely to be condemned for not having guided himself wholly by the cold formal terms of law? In the answer which he gave to the memorial submitted for his opinion, as well as in the letter to the sheriff of Banffshire, he certainly did deliver his sentiments under the impression that the enemy might have landed in Scotland, even before his letter reached its destination.

Having made a number of observations on the manifold and complicated duties of the office of lord advocate of Scotland, which comprehend at present the duties of the



the lord high chancellor, the lord justice general, the lord justice clerk, and the lord privy seal, formerly distinct departments, he required that, in judging of his public conduct, the house should bear in mind the scene in which he was called upon to act. It was to be recollected, that, with the exception of the legislature, Scotland is still, to all intents and purposes, a separate kingdom. Its laws, its customs, and its manners, have undergone no change. In the application of general acts, much local explanation is required, and therefore the lord advocate of Scotland must frequently act upon his own responsibility. For cases sometimes occurred, when nothing but responsibility could enable him firmly and honestly to do his duty to the public. His lordship cited many instances of critical emergency, in which such an assumption of responsibility had been productive of the happiest effects. With respect to the alleged difference in his opinion and in his letter, he stated that they were founded on very different circumstances. The one was an opinion delivered to a client, the other was a letter written in consequence of an official communication made to him in his official capacity. Justice to Mr. Morison required him to declare, that he had no cause to impute any improper conduct or motives to him, further than was communicated to him by the sheriff substitute, with respect to this affair. Feeling the bad effects of Morison's conduct upon the public service, the sheriff substitute on his own part, and on that of the other magistrates of the county, had stated to him the nature of the transaction. He informed him, that the servant had not entered against the will,

but without obtaining the consent, of his master. His master had seen him attend drill for four months without objecting to it; he having done it at extraordinary hours. Having thus qualified himself for the service, and entitled himself to the exemptions, he asked leave of his master to go to the quarterly inspection, but was refused; and a particular piece of work was given him to perform. So great was his zeal for the public service, and at the same time his desire not to neglect his master's work, he rose during the night and completed his task. He then asked permission to attend the inspection, and was again refused. He did however attend it, and was for that reason dismissed his master's service; notwithstanding his offer to work extra hours, or any additional day at the expiration of his agreement. The circumstances of his dismissal were peculiarly hard. He and his family were turned to the door, without a single farthing of wages, even for the time he had actually served; which he at last recovered only through a decree of the sheriff. Dismissal of a servant in Scotland, it was to be observed, was very different in its effects from a similar line of conduct in England. In Scotland servants are not engaged by the day or week, but by the half-year, at two stated terms, when every servant necessary for that half-year's work is engaged. It was, therefore, not to be expected that he should get a place for the remainder of the winter. Besides, as there are no poor rates, he was exposed to the alternative of begging or starving. These circumstances, his lordship said, had been communicated to him, not through any private channel, but officially by the magistrate of the



the county, who was impressed with a conviction of the mischievous effects which such conduct had produced on the public service. To whom then, he asked, would any member of that house hesitate to apply the terms injustice and oppression? So unjust and so oppressive the conduct of Morison appeared to him, that, on mature deliberation, if he doubted of any part of his conduct in the business, it was how far his legal opinion, that he was warranted in dismissing his servant, was well founded.

With respect to that part of the letter in which he stated Morison's conduct to have been so atrocious, that the gentlemen of the county should enter into a resolution not to associate with him, he declared that he still retained the same sentiment. To an action for damages, if he had libelled Mr. Morison, he was sensible that he was exposed, and that his official situation might be a ground for enhancing them. But such a question was entirely foreign to parliamentary investigation. If Mr. Morison brought his proper action, he should be ready to answer it. He then proceeded to justify his recommendation, that, in case of invasion, Morison should be apprehended. Unless the apprehension were followed by detention, it would be of no avail. He admitted that the act of 1791, which had been referred to with allusion to this subject, established the liberties of Scotland upon as solid a foundation as those of England by the habeas corpus act; but times of invasion or rebellion, he maintained, were therein expressly excepted. It was, however, to be remarked, that the warrants are directed to be issued under the orders of five members of the privy-council. As there are none in Scotland, and as

the whole weight of the privy-council of that country devolved upon himself,—if he was not entitled to exercise such authority, Scotland would be placed in the unhappy situation of possessing no remedy against this evil. Having thus laid the case before the house, stated the danger of the country at the period when the letter was written, and pointed out the responsibility of his own situation, his lordship left it to parliament to determine, whether or not the case which he had made out was such as to afford satisfaction.

The attorney-general defended the conduct of the lord advocate, and moved the other orders of the day. Mr. Grey then arose and replied both to the arguments of the learned gentleman, and to those which his lordship had urged in vindication of his conduct. The only point for the decision of the house appeared to him to be simply this: whether the lord advocate of Scotland had in the exercise of his office been guilty of oppression and illegality? In the instances to which his lordship had alluded, he could discover no precedent at all analogous to that of which he was accused; for in each of them a necessity appeared to call for the line of proceeding which had been adopted. He represented it to have been the duty of the learned lord, when he received the information respecting Morison, to have waited until he had made full inquiry, and given the accused that of which his lordship had that night availed himself—an opportunity to resist the charge. If it be said that the conduct of Morison was reprehensible, as it tended to impede the progress of the volunteer system, the conduct of a public officer is much more so, who,  
by



by an abuse of power, by oppressive and illegal acts, damps and discourages the spirit of the people, which cherishes and sustains that system. The principal use and object of power is the protection of popular liberty; when it is employed for a contrary purpose, its existence is an evil, and the people living under it cannot be interested in its security. The defenceless state of Scotland, instead of extenuating the conduct of the learned lord, only served to place it in a more aggravated point of view; for it had a direct tendency to check exertion, and to disgust public feeling. With respect to the observation, that Morison might have his redress for any private injury by appeal at law, he wished to ask how that redress was to be obtained? If the application be to the criminal law, it should be remembered, that in Scotland the lord advocate is the only criminal prosecutor, and there is no grand jury to whom a bill of indictment can be preferred. In the person of the lord advocate centres the power of criminal prosecutor and grand jury. How then was Morison to proceed? If an action for damages were recommended, what success was a man likely to have, who should be described to a Scotch court as Morison has been, and who should stand forward as the adversary of the lord advocate? That a case had been made out in this instance to call for parliamentary interference, and that it was the duty of the house to notice it, he entertained not the least doubt; for the house must be aware, that its first study is to watch the conduct of public officers, in order to prevent them from abusing their authority; and, whenever the disposition to such abuse appeared,

immediately to interfere. Under all the circumstances of the question, he hoped the house would not suffer it to go abroad that it sanctioned the principle of punishing a man upon the presumption of his criminality, and upon mere *ex parte* evidence. The order of the day, which had been proposed to get rid of the motion, did not appear to him consistent with decency. He could not approve of the motive or tendency of such an evasion; for he was of opinion that the purity of public justice, the liberty of the subject, the protection of private character, the defence of loyalty, and the due encouragement of the volunteer spirit, depended upon the original motion. The debate was continued till a late hour, when the previous question was carried by a majority of 77 votes.

On the 2d of July, the house, upon the motion of the chancellor of the exchequer, resolved into a committee of supply, to which several accounts relative to an augmentation of the civil list were referred. It appeared that the arrears of the civil list amounted to the sum of 591,815*l.* 3*s.* 10½*d.* This excess, it was stated, had arisen from a variety of expenses incurred by services which could not be foreseen. As this explanation had been deemed satisfactory in the year 1802, when the house voted the discharge of the arrears then due, which amounted to about 230,000*l.*, it was expected that the present arrears would, upon the same ground, be readily discharged. With respect to the future state of the civil list, it was proposed that several charges upon it should be annually discharged by parliament. The charges intended to be transferred amounted to the sum of 135,000*l.*

They



They related to fluctuating expenses; principally to printing for the court of exchequer and for parliament, to the police and incidental improvements, and to various other public services. A positive grant was also proposed to be given, as an addition to the civil list. When the increasing expense upon private bills, and upon household necessities, was considered, it was conceived that the sum of 60,000*l.* would not be thought an extravagant augmentation of the civil list; particularly as the ease and comfort of the royal family were objects to which the house had always attended. In the memory of many persons in parliament, the household expenses had increased 60 per cent. The arrears of the civil list had grown out of the necessities of the times, or unforeseen political events. The civil list was stated to be about 921,000*l.*; the expenditure upon it, at an average, was 975,000*l.* The annual deficiency, therefore, was 54,000*l.* But it was proposed, instead of the 54,000*l.*, to make the more liberal addition of 60,000*l.*

When the last application was made to 'parliament for a discharge of the debts of the civil list, it was believed that measures would be taken to prevent the recurrence of a similar application, by guarding against the accumulation of arrears. This effect, it was stated, might have been produced, if the provisions of Mr. Burke's bill had been duly attended to. It was, however, asserted that the provisions contained in Mr. Burke's bill had been found to be impracticable. In reply to the argument that a time of war ought not to have been selected for an application of this nature, it was said that it was become necessary to do one of two things;—either to refuse

the throne an adequate allowance, or to break in upon the establishment of royalty. But it was not imagined that any man, merely for a saving of 50 or 60,000*l.*, would consent to an abridgment of that dignity which formed a necessary part of the monarchy, and therefore formed a necessary part of the constitution. It was represented that the proposed arrangement had no view to any advance in the quantum of magnificence, or the indulgencies which should belong to the royal family, as the only intention was to enable that illustrious family to maintain the rank which, according to the grant of 1786, it was admitted it ought to hold. The only effect of the proposed addition would be to equalize their revenue to the change of circumstances which had taken place. The œconomy, therefore, would be extremely misplaced, which, under such circumstances, should call upon his majesty's family to retrench their necessary expenses, or refuse assent to this additional grant; particularly when it was recollected that the civil list was but a commutation which his majesty had accepted, on his accession to the throne, for a large hereditary revenue. The branch of hereditary revenue which had been enjoyed by his majesty's predecessors, and in lieu of which he had thought proper to accept the civil list, had so far advanced, that it now amounted to between 1,400,000*l.* and 1,500,000*l.* a year. The addition of only 60,000 to 900,000*l.* a year consequently left a considerable balance in favour of the public. It is almost needless to observe that the house readily assented to the two propositions of the chancellor of the exchequer; namely, to discharge the existing arrears, and to make



make a permanent addition of 60,000*l.* to the civil list.

We have already had occasion to state the material points of the important debate which preceded the reference of the Middlesex election petition to a committee: we have now to report that, according to the opinion of the committee, Mr. Mainwaring, and not sir Francis Burdett, was duly elected; but as it appeared that Mr. Mainwaring had, by his agents, committed acts of treating, he was incapacitated to serve in parliament upon such election. Lord viscount Marsham reported to the house the following resolutions:

“Resolved, That it appears to this committee, that on the 13th, 14th, and 15th days of the poll, on the first of which there was a considerable majority of votes in favour of William Mainwaring, esq. the sheriffs, Robert Albion Cox, esq. and sir William Rawlins, knt. wilfully, knowingly, and corruptly, did admit to poll for sir Francis Burdett, upwards of three hundred persons claiming to vote under a fictitious right, as proprietors of a mill, purported to be situate in the parish of Isleworth, and called “The Good Intent Mill,” by which means a colourable majority was obtained in favour of sir Francis Burdett, who was thereby returned as having the greater number of legal votes.

“Resolved, That it appears to this committee, that on the 15th day, towards the close of the poll, after such majority was established, they rejected persons tendering their votes under the same circumstances.

“Resolved, That it appears to this committee, that the sheriffs, at the poll, acted in a judicial capacity, by admitting counsel to argue

the validity of votes, and by deciding, in some instances, on the validity of such votes; that, in other instances, they refused to decide on the validity of votes which were objected to; and stated, that they would admit any persons to poll who would take the oaths, declaring themselves to be only ministerial officers; thereby acting in a manner contradictory to their practice in other cases, and in flagrant violation of their duty.

“Resolved, That it appears to this committee, that the obvious tendency of their conduct was to admit persons having no right to poll, and to afford the greatest encouragement to perjury.”

The report was ordered to be printed, and to be taken into consideration on the 17th of July: but as the minutes of the evidence taken before the committee, relative to the conduct of the sheriffs, were not then printed, and as it was impossible that they could be ready in due time, at so late a period of the session, to enable the house fully and fairly to examine this important subject, lord Marsham moved the postponement of the further consideration of it, till the next session.

About this time, the sum of 28,000*l.* was voted by parliament to support the civil establishment of Sierra Leone. During the preceding year, the usual grant of 10,000*l.* had been withheld. The investigation of the affairs of the company had been referred to a committee, who, in their report, recommended an addition of 4,000*l.* to the accustomed annual grant. The construction of forts for the defence of our settlements was deemed essentially necessary, under the circumstances in which that settlement was placed in the pre-



sent crisis. To carry this object into execution, another sum of 4,000*l.* was requisite. It was recommended to the house to direct its attention to the nature of the institution of this colony, and to the effects which were likely to result from it, with respect to the civilization of the natives of Africa. Whatever opinions might be entertained of the merits of the proposition for the abolition of the slave trade, it was expected that every man would be anxious to establish a connexion with the natives of Africa, more congenial to the principles of justice and humanity, and to the character of this country. From the report of the committee, such a connexion appeared to be practicable. The colony might thus become the basis of many and more extensive establishments for the melioration of the state of the unhappy Africans. The introduction of this system among them might also tend to the annihilation of the slave trade. But to promote this undertaking, the encouragement of parliament was indispensably requisite. As the Maroons and Americans settled in Sierra Leone were sent thither by government, the claims of the colony on the support of the house were materially strengthened. One very important fact was stated, relative to the beneficial effects likely to result from this colonial establishment. It had been urged, as an argument against the abolition of the slave trade, that negroes would never work for hire; but the contrary was now completely ascertained; for great numbers of them were in the habit of coming from a considerable distance, in order to labour for hire in the colony. This fact alone was represented as worth almost the whole expense that had

been bestowed on the settlement. Notwithstanding this appeal to the feelings and judgment of the house, it was maintained, that the settlement was not likely to promote its object; and in one instance the subject was considered in so narrow, limited, and selfish a point of view, as to produce the observation, that while there was so much distress among the people of this country, every proposition to grant their money for the support of visionary schemes of philanthropy was to be condemned. To soften the resistance of those who were so sensibly alive to the prodigal appropriation of a few thousand pounds to the object of establishing a system, which might possibly tend effectually to alleviate the miseries of a large proportion of the human race, to emancipate them from cruel bondage, and diffuse among them the valuable blessings of civilization, it was stated, that although the preservation of the settlement was deemed advisable, it was not to be understood that parliamentary aid was to be permanent. The grant of such aid, it was proposed, should always depend on the case made out upon each application.

In the statement usually presented of the affairs of India, it has hitherto been customary to enter very minutely into specific financial details, which, however interesting to those who make the concerns of the East India company their peculiar study, are of much less importance than the general results, from which alone the decline or prosperity of this vast establishment is to be determined. Instead, therefore, of entering into a tedious minuteness of financial statement, we shall confine ourselves to such observations as may best



best explain the actual situation of the affairs of the company.—When lord Castlereagh submitted to the consideration of the house the statement of the affairs of India for the year preceding the last, his lordship expressed a very sanguine expectation of general improvement, which unfortunately was not realized, in consequence of a variety of unforeseen circumstances having occasioned a material increase of expenditure. The war in Europe, as well as the very extensive war in India, had very greatly contributed to produce this effect. The total increase of debt for the year 1803-4, it appears, amounted to 1,229,821*l.* and the net increase of assets, to 1,959,396*l.* The net improvement was consequently 729,575*l.*; but from this sum it is necessary to deduct the amount of the cargoes arrived in India, previous to the 30th of April 1803, and included in the quick stocks there, which formed part of the cargoes afloat, outward, in the assets at home. This sum amounted to 417,000*l.*, which being deducted from the above-mentioned amount left 312,575*l.*, liable to further adjustments, when the final arrangements of the claims of the company upon government shall be completed.

Such is the result of the statement which lord Castlereagh on the 10th of July submitted to the committee. His lordship then proceeded to make a few general observations. He wished to call the attention of the committee to the estimates which he had brought forward for 1802-3, when his lordship expressed a firm conviction, not only that the public would receive a participation of 500,000*l.*, but that the company would be able to establish a sinking fund for the extinction of their debt, to the

amount of two millions a year. But it was in the contemplation of the continuance of peace, that this declaration was made. In order, however, to show that he had not proceeded on light and trivial grounds, his lordship adverted to the estimates which he had laid down, and compared them with the real amount of the revenues and charges. The estimate of the revenue was 12,693,000*l.*, whereas the actual amount of the revenue was 13,427,000*l.*, leaving a large surplus above the estimate. The charges had been estimated at 9,998,000*l.*, but the amount was above the estimate, being more than 10,000,000*l.* But the excess in this case was to be accounted for without difficulty. Sums to the amount of 800,000*l.* had accumulated from causes which, at the time the estimates were formed, could not be anticipated. On the item of military expenses alone there was an excess of 600,000*l.*, which could not be foreseen when the estimates were produced. The calculations, however, which his lordship had made, rested, he said, upon a solid foundation. From territorial revenue he had expected an excess of considerably more than a million, and he had calculated the surplus on the net produce and assets at 400,000*l.* In consequence of the causes to which he had alluded, this last calculation, founded on an average of three years, had not only failed, but there had been an actual deficiency of upwards of 200,000*l.* This being the state of the case, the public had no claim on the first 500,000*l.*, which were to form the stipulated participation. Of the expected surplus of a million, the first 500,000*l.* were to be appropriated to the payment of interest. The deficiency of 200,000*l.* would con-



sequently render any claim of the public, for the present, invalid; not from want of funds to meet it, but because payment could not be demanded, under the peculiar circumstances of the company's affairs. With respect to the establishment of the fund for the liquidation of the debt, the grounds on which his lordship had proceeded appeared to him quite conclusive. He had calculated that the company possessed the means of employing four millions in investments, and would be able to apply two millions to the liquidation of the debt. Of these six millions, he had conceived that one million might be obtained abroad, and the other five millions in this country. The resumption of hostilities had interrupted this system; but still, even during the continuance of war, he was not at all convinced that some progress might not be made towards the reduction of the debt. The noble lord concluded these observations with a few remarks on the contract for a loan to the amount of 1,200,000*l.* in India, and affirmed, that although every exertion was made to have all loans necessary for the service of the company negotiated in Europe, the loan in question had arisen out of local and unavoidable circumstances.

It was contended by several members, that the affairs of the company were by no means in the prosperous state in which they had been described. On the contrary, it was asserted, that in the course of the five last years the company's debt had increased upwards of eleven millions; and that in general their affairs were exposed to a constant accumulation of embarrassments. Assurances had formerly been held out, that

the whole India debt would speedily be extinguished, and that considerable relief would be afforded to the financial demands of the empire at large. For in 1793, when the charter of the company was renewed, it was stipulated that, after a certain period, five hundred thousand pounds should annually be paid to the public. Of this sum, however, nothing either had been or was likely to be received. And the debt of the company, which last year was stated to be eighteen millions, now amounted to nineteen, with every prospect of further accumulation. The debt, indeed, was represented to have been trebled within the last ten years; and it was expected, that, if the same system were pursued during the remaining ten years of the charter, the present debt would augment in a similar ratio. It was admitted, that the revenues abroad for ten years past, had, as represented by lord Castlereagh, exceeded by eleven millions every foreign expense whatever. The directors had assumed a profit on their trade, for the same period, of ten millions. Twenty-one millions were therefore to be accounted for. Seven, and something more, were disposed of in dividends; one million had been paid to government, and the other out-goings had been inconsiderable. The difference, it was observed, ought, by every rule of business, to appear in an improvement of the stock by computation, which professed and ought to demonstrate the true state of the company's affairs, at the period when it was made up: a comparison, therefore, of this account in the different years, would show every improvement and deterioration of the whole concern. The difference between the balances of 1795 and 1804 was only 180,000*l.*; which



which could not be the case if the directors' estimate were correct. Notwithstanding the measures which had been taken to prevent the competition of foreigners in the carrying trade and commerce of India, it appeared by the Calcutta port list of August last, that only fourteen English ships were loading at Calcutta, while not fewer than twenty Portuguese and Americans were taking in cargoes then for Europe. It was acknowledged that the latter were neither of the burthen, nor laden with commodities equally costly with the com-

pany's investments; but they were profitable, while those of the company's were losing, adventures.

These observations were advanced chiefly by Mr. Prinsep. Their application was disputed by Mr. Grant, who entered into a number of elaborate details, in order to prove that our commercial affairs in India are in a state of considerable improvement. From one of the most material statements which he produced upon this occasion, it appears, that by an account made up for the last fifteen years, the profits of the company amounted to

£.15,759,734

From which dividends have been paid to

the amount of	-	-	-	£.10,216,901
For various aids to government	-	-	-	285,259
To commanders of ships, &c.	-	-	-	355,190
				<hr/>
				10,857,350
				<hr/>
There was realized in England	-	-	-	4,902,384
Deduct balance due to India	-	-	-	388,084
				<hr/>

England better from profit at home 1804, in fifteen years £.4,504,300

With respect to the commerce carried on by the Parsees, Arabs, and Armenians, it was represented, that we had no right to exclude them from the trade of their own shores, which they had possessed for centuries before us, and which they now prosecuted with advantage to our settlements, where only they found protection, and where they and their riches must at length settle. But the manner in which the Americans conducted their Indian trade, it was allowed, was a proper subject for investigation. The commercial treaty with them established the privilege of a direct trade between America and our Indian possessions: but, not contented with the fair enjoyment of this advantage, they carry on a circuitous trade between India and

Europe. It was not denied that this was an abuse which ought to be corrected. After some further observations, the motion of lord Castlereagh, that the proper officer be directed to lay before the house an account of the revenue and charges of India for the last ten years, from 1793 to the year 1803, distinguishing each year, and the accounts relating to China from those of India, was carried without a division.

On the 21th of July, a number of important resolutions relative to the finances of the country were moved by the chancellor of the exchequer, and agreed to without opposition. In the course of the sitting, the right hon. gentleman took occasion to affirm, that there was a power in this country to meet and to



surmount difficulties beyond what has been possessed by any nation in the history of the world. It was truly surprising that the last war, which had continued for ten years, under extraordinary difficulties, while it necessarily increased considerably our public debt, did not at all impair the sources of our wealth and prosperity. During hostilities, as well as in peace, the national wealth had been progressive, and had kept pace with our debts. The sinking fund had not only kept pace with it, but constantly gained upon it; insomuch that, although it was but in the proportion of 1 to 77 of the capital of the debt the year before the war, it had increased its proportion last year to 1 to 73.—Mr. Addington, upon the same occasion, dwelt upon the advantages of raising the supplies as much as possible within the year. As a proof of the increase of the resources that might be applied to this purpose, he stated, that in 1803 the war taxes had been calculated at ten millions; but the return amounted to nearly twelve millions. From the flourishing state of the finances, if the expenses were not more than at present, the war might be prosecuted, not only without an increase, but with a diminution of the public debt; for the expenses of the first years of warfare were necessarily greater than those afterwards incurred. The increase of the sinking fund, therefore, must continue, unless some unforeseen calamity should arise.

We shall now proceed to select a few of the most important of the resolutions moved by the chancellor of the exchequer, and principally those which serve to ascertain the prosperity and resources of the empire,

From these resolutions, it appears, that the total amount of the public funded debt of Great Britain was, on the 1st February 1804, 583,008,978*l.*; of which 77,698,467*l.* had been purchased by the commissioners for the reduction of the national debt; and 21,147,888*l.* had been transferred to them on account of the land tax redeemed; leaving a funded debt unredeemed of 484,162,622*l.* A further debt, amounting to 18,200,000*l.* capital stock, has been created by sums borrowed in the present session of parliament. The total amount of the public funded debt created in Great Britain for account of Ireland was, on the 1st of February 1804, 25,548,000*l.*; of which there had been purchased by the commissioners for the reduction of the national debt, 1,595,671*l.*, leaving a funded debt of 23,952,329*l.* A further debt, amounting to 8,190,000*l.* capital stock, has been created by sums borrowed in the present session, in Great Britain, on account of Ireland. The unfunded debt, exclusive of the anticipation in the usual form of certain duties annually voted, and of exchequer bills provided for by aids 1803, amounted, on the 5th of January 1804, to 16,305,607*l.*; exclusive also of 3,000,000*l.* advanced by the bank, without interest, for the renewal of their charter, to be repaid in 1806; of which sum of 16,305,607*l.* 2,768,300*l.* has been paid off, or provided for in the course of the present session. The amount of the outstanding demands unprovided for on the 5th of January 1804, exclusive of unfunded debt, and of the anticipation of certain duties annually voted, was 2,024,085*l.*; but the surplus of ways and means for the year 1803, being



being 1,370,664*l.*, reduced the amount of these demands to 653,421*l.* The annual charge on account of the public funded debt of Great Britain, after deducting the charges of management on loans redeemed by the commissioners for the reduction of the national debt, and the interest on stock transferred for the redemption of the land tax, was, on the first of February 1804, 24,110,475*l.* A further charge of 736,190*l.* has been incurred on account of the sum borrowed in the present session. The sum annually applicable to the reduction of the national debt of Great Britain, in pursuance of the several acts relating thereto, was, for the year 1803, 6,311,626*l.*; being about 1-77th part of the unredeemed debt existing in 1803, and may for the year 1804 be estimated at 6,851,192*l.*; being about 1-73d part of the unredeemed debt existing in 1804. The total net produce of the permanent taxes, in the year ending the 5th of January 1804, including 43,977*l.* for bounties on corn and rice imported in the year 1803, amounted to 30,754,724*l.*

The official value of all imports into Great Britain in the year ending the 5th January 1804, supposing the imports from the East Indies, of which no account was at that time made up, to be the same as in the preceding year, was 27,441,874*l.*, and on an average of six years, ending the 5th January 1804, was 29,490,945*l.* The official value of British manufactures exported from Great Britain in the year ending the 5th January 1804, was 23,834,340*l.* But the real value of British manufactures exported in the same year, may be estimated at 40,100,870*l.* This sum, however large it may appear,

is more than 8 millions less than the amount of the real value of British manufactures exported in the preceding year. The official value of foreign merchandize exported from Great Britain in the year ending the 5th of January 1804, was 11,537,148*l.*, being about 7½ millions less than the preceding year.

In the year ending the 5th of January 1804, the number of British ships entered inwards, in Great Britain, was 11,396; their tonnage 1,614,365; and the number of men employed to navigate them 93,004. The number of British ships cleared outwards was 11,072; their tonnage 1,444,840; and the number of men employed to navigate them 92,940. In the same year, the number of foreign ships entered inwards in Great Britain was 4,252; their tonnage 638,034; and the number of men employed in them 33,660. The number of foreign ships that cleared outwards was 3,662; their tonnage 574,542; and the number of men employed 30,414. The increase, therefore, in the year 1803, as compared with the year 1802, of British vessels entered inwards, was, 1049 ships, 235,745 tons, and 4,969 men. The increase of British vessels cleared outwards amounted to 790 ships, 99,219 tons, and 5,636 men. The diminution, in the year 1803, compared with the year 1802, in the number of foreign vessels entered inwards, was 1,245 ships, 142,121 tons, and 6,860 men; and the diminution of foreign vessels cleared outwards 1,964 ships, 230,338 tons, and 12,000 men. The number of registered vessels belonging to the British dominions, and employed in trade in the year 1803, was 21,445; their tonnage 2,238,249, and the number of men



155,445; being an increase, compared with the year 1802, of 877 ships, 110,194 tons, and 915 men.

The total sum to be provided by Great Britain, for the year 1804, amounted to 66,998,431*l.*; and the funds applicable to the discharge of this sum were estimated at 66,807,278*l.*

On the 31st of July, his majesty proceeded to the house of lords for the purpose of proroguing parliament. In obedience to the king's command, the house of commons attended, and the speaker, advancing to the bar, addressed his majesty in a short and appropriate speech. He adverted to the large supplies granted by parliament in the course of the session, and the various important objects to which they had been applied. Alluding to our perseverance in the system of raising a large proportion of the supplies within the year, he stated that we at the same time had the satisfaction to perceive a diminution of the national debt, and a multiplication of the resources of the country. "Contemplating the war in which we are engaged, the character and the means of our enemy, and the possible duration of the contest, although fearless of its issue, we have nevertheless," he observed, "deemed it our indispensable duty to deliberate with unremitting solicitude upon the best system for our military defence: and the voluntary spirit of your people, seconding the views of parliament, has at the same time animated all ranks of men with an active desire of attaining to such a state of discipline in arms, as may enable them successfully to co-operate with your majesty's regular and veteran forces. Thus formidably armed, and powerfully sustained, we trust that, with the

blessing of God, we shall victoriously maintain your majesty's throne, and transmit unimpaired to our descendants the most perfect form of government which the world has ever experienced for the practical happiness of mankind; firmly persuaded that this empire will long outlast the storms which have overwhelmed the continent of Europe, and earnestly hoping that other nations now fallen, may witness the destruction of a tyranny founded on fraud and violence, and cemented with innocent blood; and again recover their antient power and independence; as the best guarantees for the future welfare and tranquillity of the civilized world."

His majesty was then pleased to address both houses in a most gracious speech from the throne. He expressed his entire approbation of the zeal and assiduity with which they had applied themselves to the great objects of public concern which had come under their consideration, and of the measures which they had adopted for the improvement of the volunteer force, and the regular military establishment of the empire. The house of commons received his majesty's warmest acknowledgments for the liberal provision made for the exigencies of the public service, and for an addition to the civil list, to meet the increase which had unavoidably taken place in different branches of his majesty's expenditure. He recommended to their lordships, and to the gentlemen of the house of commons, to carry into their respective counties the same zeal for the public interest which had guided all their proceedings; and to inculcate on the minds of all classes of his subjects, that the preservation of all that is

most



most dear to them requires the continuance of their unremitted exertions for the national defence. Notwithstanding the daily augmentation of the preparations of the enemy to invade this kingdom, his majesty, relying on the skill, valour, and discipline of his naval and military force, aided by the voluntary zeal and native courage of his people, looked with confidence to the issue of this great conflict; and he doubted not, that, under the blessing of providence, it would terminate, not only in repelling the danger of the moment, but in establishing the security of this country on a basis never to be shaken. In addition to this first and great object, he entertained the animating hope, that the benefits to be derived from our successful exertions would not be confined within ourselves; but that, by their example and their consequences, they may lead to the re-establishment of such a system in Europe, as may rescue it from the precarious state to which it is reduced, and finally raise an effectual barrier against the unbounded schemes of aggrandisement and ambition, which threaten every independent nation that yet remains upon the continent. The lord chancellor, by his majesty's command, then informed their lordships and the gentlemen of the house of commons, that it was his majesty's royal will and pleasure, that this parliament be prorogued to the 4th day of the ensuing September.

We have now completed our analysis of the proceedings of parliament. A fair and candid statement of the arguments which have been advanced to support or to oppose the important measures submitted to the consideration of the house, has been the object which

we have endeavoured to keep steadily in view. No decided preference has been marked for one side of a question, in order to suppress any just or strong grounds of opposition which have been stated on the other. It has, however, been impossible to avoid giving a reasonable preference to that distinguished superiority in reasoning and in eloquence, to which several members of the British senate have established an almost exclusive pretension.

It must strike the attention of the most careless observer, upon a review of the various measures which came under the consideration of parliament, that the defence of the country was an object in which all parties, however divided in political opinions, felt and expressed the most anxious solicitude. Far the greater part of the grand and interesting discussions which arose in the house, related to the various means necessary to be resorted to, in order effectually to provide for the national security. Never, perhaps, were military subjects so thoroughly canvassed at any former period; but upon no former occasion has the necessity of maturely considering the most efficient means of public defence been felt to the same extent. Even the spirit of party was instrumental to the establishment of the general safety. For, independently of the danger to which the country was exposed, during a considerable period after the recommencement of the war, and which was alone sufficient to rouse the energy and stimulate the vigilance of the late administration, their attention was incessantly directed to the security of the country by the proceedings of a zealous and active opposition. But if parliament was never before



so fully engaged with the discussion of the means of averting the danger with which the country was menaced, it must be admitted, that these debates had frequently two distinctly different objects in view: to promote the improvement of our defensive resources; and to ascertain the strength of administration. It would be unjust to suppose that the latter was the chief incitement to constant opposition; but it cannot be denied that it did not entirely arise from patriotic motives. Patriotism and party-spirit contributed to form and cement an opposition, the strength of which the late administration found it impossible to withstand. The present ministry has more successfully contended with their powerful oppo-

nents: but although these trials of ministerial strength were frequently resorted to, and, notwithstanding the influence of parties, was at times very sensibly felt, yet it must be confessed, that more public business has seldom been transacted in a session. Upon the whole, it may be affirmed, in justice to the general conduct of parliament, that, during a long period of public difficulty and alarm, they reposed a just confidence in the energy and spirit of the nation; and while they differed with respect to the mode in which the resources of the country should be employed, they exhibited a firmness and resolution not unworthy of the representatives of a great and powerful people.

## CHAP. VII.

*State of Parties previously to the Change in Administration—New Ministry—Character of Mr. Addington's Administration—Events arising from the Prosecution of the War—Capture of Goree by the Enemy—Recapture of that Settlement—Surrender of Surinam—Continuance of the System of Blockade—Movements in the Enemy's Ports indicative of Invasion—Preparatory Measures to meet this Event—Admiral Lord Keith's Attack upon a Part of the Enemy's Flotilla in the Bay of Boulogne—Relaxation of the Blockade of the Elbe and the Weser—Capture of the Spanish Frigates—Observations on this Event—Appointment of Lord Leveson Gower Ambassador to the Court of Petersburg—Indications of an approaching Rupture between France and the Courts of Petersburg and Stockholm—Causes of political Dissension between these Powers—Prospect of a continental Alliance—Correspondence between Lord Redesdale and the Earl of Fingall—Observations on the Subjects of this Correspondence.*

WE have already taken occasion to observe, that the military and naval arrangements of Mr. Addington's administration were conceived, by the leading members of the opposition, to furnish abundant materials for public

dissatisfaction. The constant attention which ministers directed to the improvement of the volunteer system, and the great variety of measures proposed for this purpose, had contributed to establish an opinion, that the regular force, upon



upon which the security of the country must chiefly depend, was far from being placed upon that extended establishment which the circumstances of the times seemed imperiously to require. The small extent of our regular army, and the many difficulties which obstructed its augmentation, which appeared mostly to arise from the formation of the other branches of our military force, may be regarded as the principal ground of the discontent that began to prevail. Defective as the military resources of the empire were represented to be in point of efficiency, the mode in which they were distributed was supposed to be no less a subject of complaint. The organization and distribution of the public force were thus converted into topics of frequent censure, and consequently tended to increase any existing dissatisfaction. The state and distribution of the naval force were equally exposed to animadversion. From the recommencement of hostilities, the time and attention of government had been almost exclusively engaged in defensive preparations, while those of the enemy appeared to increase in an accelerated proportion, and were besides destined for offensive hostility. Engaged in a doubtful contest with a powerful and active enemy, upon whom we had hitherto made no important impression, we were left to prosecute the war, without any expectation of successfully employing our offensive resources, and without a continental ally to assist us in accomplishing the great object of checking the inordinate ambition of France. The general measures of government were described as having assumed such a character of indecision, that ministers were sup-

posed no longer to enjoy that degree of public confidence, without which no administration can maintain its ground. Such was represented to be the state of things in the early part of the present year. About the middle of February, some traces were perceptible of a coalition which was forming for the express purpose of producing a change in the ministry. Mr. Fox, lord Grenville, and Mr. Windham, were supposed to have agreed upon an union of parliamentary exertions, in order to effect this object. It is not, however, to be imagined, that their opinions upon political topics entirely coincided: but with respect to the necessity of producing a change in the administration of affairs, their coincidence was entire. It does not appear, that, at this time, the efforts of Mr. Pitt were in perfect unison with their exertions. That he was decidedly adverse to the ministry was undoubted; that he was desirous of a change in the cabinet was equally manifest; but that he was disposed uniformly to co-operate with this new opposition, is a point upon which it is difficult to have recourse to positive assertion. Judging of the strength or weakness of an administration by the divisions in parliament, it appears, that in the month of April the stability of the ministry was radically shaken. For, upon a variety of occasions, their majorities in both houses were very inconsiderable. It is about this time that the opposition was strengthened by the accession of Mr. Pitt's powerful talents. To effect a change, generally, seems to have been the sole aim of their exertions. All arrangements for the formation of a new ministry appear to have been at this time deferred for  
ulterior



ulterior consideration. One object, however, seems to have been understood by all parties; namely, the formation of a ministry upon comprehensive and liberal principles, in which the talents, character, and influence of the leading members of both houses were to be united, without any distinction as to party, and without any personal exception.

The first public intimation that a change in his majesty's government was in agitation, was indirectly communicated to the house of lords by lord Hawkesbury. On the 30th of April, the marquis of Stafford intended to submit to their lordships a motion relative to the defence of the country. Lord Hawkesbury requested that the noble marquis would consent to postpone his motion for a few days; stating, at the same time, that the reasons which had induced him, on the part of his majesty's government, to make this request, were of so peculiar a nature, that his duty would not then permit him to enter into any further explanation. It is supposed that on this day a resignation of part of the ministry took place, and that a communication from his majesty was made to Mr. Pitt, on the 3d of May, through the medium of the lord chancellor. The high office of chancellor of the exchequer was at this time offered to Mr. Pitt; but the tender is reported to have been made with express stipulations against the revival of the catholic question, and the admission into the cabinet of the great leader of the old opposition. On the 7th of May an interview took place between his majesty and Mr. Pitt, upon which occasion his majesty is said to have expressed no objection to lord

Grenville, earl Spencer, Mr. Windham, or indeed to any of their friends, with one exception. Upon this point his majesty's resolution was unalterably fixed. A few hours after the interview, Mr. Pitt communicated the result to lord Grenville. His lordship, it has been stated, immediately observed to Mr. Pitt, that without including Mr. Fox in the administration, and without a complete abandonment of the principle of exclusion, not a single member of the new opposition would accede to any new ministerial arrangements. It may be proper to mention, that the leading members of the new opposition were, the lords Grenville, Minto, Fitzwilliam, Carlisle, and Spencer; Mr. Fox, Mr. Windham, Mr. Grenville, and Mr. Elliot. When the personal objection to Mr. Fox was stated to him, and the firm determination of those with whom he had lately acted, not to form any part of an administration from which he was to be excluded, his conduct is reported to have been equally magnanimous and disinterested. He professed his desire to see his majesty surrounded by a strong administration, and wished the members of the old and new opposition not to be influenced by any personal feeling, but to consult only the good of the country. He requested them to regard him, since it was his majesty's pleasure not to accept of his services, as an individual whose exclusion should have no influence upon their conduct, at a crisis when all personal considerations ought to give way to those immediately connected with the safety of the country. Notwithstanding this liberal and disinterested advice, they refused to accept of power without the support of his official co-operation; conceiving



conceiving that, at a time when the cordial union of the greatest public talents seemed to be alone competent to an able direction of public affairs, no essential benefit could result from the formation of a ministry upon any other than the most liberal and comprehensive principles. An explicit declaration of the sentiments of those with whom lord Grenville acted was formally made to Mr. Pitt, in a letter dated the 8th of May 1804, of which his lordship is universally believed to be the author. It was circulated for a considerable time in manuscript, before it appeared in print. In this state, the letter was put into our hands, with an assurance of its authenticity. Indeed, its authenticity has never been disputed, much less denied. We shall transcribe the whole of it, as it may be justly regarded as a document of importance, so far as it explains the actual opinions, views, and determination of a party, which was established upon enlarged and general principles, and which cannot fail to command, during its existence, an extensive and even powerful influence. It is as follows:—"I have already apprised you that all the persons, to whom, at your desire, I communicated what passed between us yesterday, agree with me in the decided opinion, that we ought not to engage in the administration which you are now employed in forming. We should be sincerely sorry if, by declining this proposal, we should appear less desirous than we must always be, of rendering to his majesty, to the utmost of our power, every service of which he may be graciously pleased to think us capable. No consideration of personal ease or comfort; no apprehension of responsibility,

nor reluctance to meet the real situation into which the country has been brought; have any weight in this decision: nor are we fettered by any engagement on the subject, either expressed or implied: we rest our determination solely on our strong sense of the impropriety of our becoming parties to a system of government which is to be formed, at such a moment as the present, on a principle of exclusion. It is unnecessary to dwell on the mischiefs which have already resulted from placing the great offices of government in weak and incapable hands. We see no hope of any effectual remedy for these mischiefs, but by uniting in the public service 'as large a proportion as possible of the weight, talents, and character, to be found in public men of all descriptions, and without any exception.' This opinion I have already had occasion to express to you in the same words, and we have for some time past been publicly acting in conformity to it; nor can we, while we remain impressed with that persuasion, concur in defeating an object for which the circumstances of the present times afford at once so strong an inducement, and so favourable an occasion. An opportunity now offers, such as this country has seldom seen, for giving to its government, in a moment of peculiar difficulty, the full benefit of the services of all those who by the public voice and sentiment are judged most capable of contributing to its prosperity and safety. The wishes of the public on this subject are completely in unison with its interests; and the advantages, which not this country alone, but all Europe, and the whole civilized world, might derive from  
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the establishment of such an administration, at such a crisis, would probably have exceeded the most sanguine expectations. We are certainly not ignorant of the difficulties which might have obstructed the final accomplishment of such an object, however earnestly pursued. But when, in the very first instance, all trial of it is precluded, and when this denial is made the condition of all subsequent arrangements, we cannot but feel, that there are no motives, of whatever description, which could justify our taking an active part in the establishment of a system so adverse to our deliberate and declared opinions."

The sentiments of Mr. Pitt on the subject of the formation of the ministry may, in some measure, be collected from what fell from him in the course of the debate on the measure which he proposed for the augmentation of the public force. The choice of ministers, he said, rested wholly with the crown. It was the undisputed prerogative of his majesty to select and leave out whom he pleased. This was one of the essential fundamental points of our monarchical constitution. With a direct reference to lord Grenville, and several persons for whom he had great affection and esteem, he expressed his regret that they had declined the assistance and co-operation which he had wished to obtain. He reminded them of the favourable opinions they had lately entertained of him, when, thinking higher of him than he did of himself, they had called for his return to office, singly and unconditionally, and said that circumstance alone would re-inspire them with confidence, and command their support. His allusion to Mr. Fox was marked with less

personal and public regret; for it seems Mr. Pitt doubted whether his admission into the cabinet would, at the same time that it might communicate energy to his majesty's councils, contribute to produce that decided unity of operation which appeared to be so exceedingly desirable. Sincere as he was in his wishes for an extended administration, Mr. Pitt said, that the radical difference of associates which this question had discovered, led him to doubt whether it could have been achieved to any permanent or beneficial effect. An union of elements so discordant might, he conceived, have produced an effect very different from what was hoped and intended.

The following are the principal changes which took place in the administration. Mr. Pitt returned to the high office of chancellor of the exchequer, and Mr. Addington, promoted shortly afterwards to a peerage with the title of viscount Sidmouth, succeeded the duke of Portland in the presidency of the council. Lord Hawkesbury became secretary of state for the home department in the place of the right hon. Charles Yorke, and the foreign department, which his lordship had quitted, was filled by lord Harrowby. Earl Camden succeeded lord Hobart, as minister at war, and the appointment of secretary at war, held by the right hon. Charles Bragge, was given to the right hon. William Dundas. In the very high and important office of first lord of the admiralty, earl St. Vincent was succeeded by lord Melville; and the right hon. George Canning was appointed treasurer of the navy, in succession to the right hon. George Tierney.

With respect to the character of Mr.



Mr. Addington's administration, very different opinions have been entertained. A mild and constitutional exercise of ministerial power secured it the approbation of a very considerable number of independent supporters; while the advocates for public energy and decision loudly expressed their disapprobation of a system of government, which they conceived to be little adapted to meet the exigencies of extraordinary times. The prominent and leading features of many of the late important political events in this quarter of the globe, may be said to have been traced by the late ministry. They re-established peace; they recommenced hostilities. By a kind of paradoxical fatality, the peace was reprobated as a national calamity, and the renewal of war regarded as a national benefit. To the former state, an apprehension of public insecurity was attached; to the latter, the safety of the empire was ascribed. But the war was represented to have arisen out of the peace. Hence the foundation of the obloquy, to which, since the resumption of hostilities, the peace of Amiens has been exposed. A part of this censure has unavoidably been applied to the administration by which the peace was concluded. If the relative circumstances of France and Great Britain fully justified the conclusion of a treaty more favourable to our political interests and to our national security, it should at the same time be remembered, that the character of one of the contracting parties was not then so fully developed as at present. Had the chief of the French government wisely tempered his ambition with principles of moderation, the peace of Amiens might have long secured the tran-

quillity of Europe. That new and dangerous vices would develop themselves in the character of Bonaparte; that his hatred to this country was totally incapable of suppression, much less of extinction; that he possessed a turbulent restlessness of soul which disdains the quiet of repose; that his ambition would immeasurably expand, and menace the general interests of Europe; are circumstances which it is difficult to conceive the late ministers were bound to foresee. This, however, is not intended as a complete justification of the peace, which was certainly liable to some objections. But, even in this respect, the peace of Amiens stands upon an equality with most treaties which have terminated the wars in which this country has been engaged; for seldom have we availed ourselves of those advantages which the conquests we have made, and the resources we have always been able to command, have entitled us to receive.

On the subject of the charges of imbecility, and vacillation, it may be asserted, that if there was any foundation for either, it should be in a great degree confined to the latter. If there was any want of vigour in the administration, particularly in bringing into action the various resources of the country, the deficiency was fully supplied by the zeal and energy of the people. The organization, arrangement, and disposition of these resources constituted perhaps some ground for blame. But the credit of collecting an immense mass of materials for active and defensive purposes, and of establishing the groundwork of the future organization of our resources, cannot with justice be withheld. Nor can it be denied, that the measures taken



for the reformation of abuses give them a considerable claim to public approbation, however objectionable the mode in which this has been prosecuted. For it is certainly to be lamented, that the reformation of general evils has been attempted to be carried into effect with a precipitancy productive of some injury to the public service.—In the cultivation of continental relations, it is true that the administration does not appear in a very advantageous light. That the establishment of such connections, however, is attended with much difficulty, is sufficiently evident from the relation in which this country stood with the continent, during a few years previously to the conclusion of the late peace. In general, it may be observed, that a very great degree of credit is due to the late administration for the manner in which they collected the great resources of the empire for future application. It is even questionable, whether what is usually understood by a vigorous administration, would have succeeded to the same extent. But in preparing for war, and in the conducting of hostilities, there is a wide distinction. While we cheerfully give our approbation to the late ministers upon the former ground, we cannot deny that a successful prosecution of the contest is more likely to attend the exertions of their successors. For public integrity, and all the amiable virtues of private life, there have been no administrations of which the members have more justly commanded and deserved the esteem and attachment of the country.

Notwithstanding the change in the cabinet, from which the public naturally expected a more vigorous administration of affairs, the pro-

secution of the war was still mostly confined to defensive measures, and preparations for future projects of annoyance. The only captures of any material importance were those of Goree and Surinam. The former was taken by the French in the month of January, and recaptured by the British forces in April. Notwithstanding the great superiority of the French in point of numbers, colonel Fraser, with the little garrison under his command, assisted by some of the inhabitants, made a very spirited resistance. The enemy's force consisted of four schooners, which had been fitted out at Cayenne, and supplied with soldiers for the purpose of attacking this little settlement. They touched at Senegal, where they were furnished with additional boats, pilots, a reinforcement of soldiers, and another schooner. The squadron altogether carried upwards of sixty guns and six hundred men, of whom about 240 were landed to storm the settlement. The whole was under the command of Mons. Mahe. On the first approach of the vessels, the commodore fired a gun, and hoisted a red flag at his fore-mast head. This was intended as a signal, that in case of attack during the night, no quarter would be given. Such measures, however, were taken, as appeared most likely to prevent the enemy from landing in the night. All the arms that could be procured were issued to the inhabitants, who, with the garrison, were stationed at the different posts round the island. While a part of this force was engaged in keeping up a strong and well-directed fire of great guns and musketry upon a schooner which was standing directly for the beach, eight of the enemy's boats, full of troops, effected



fect a landing at three o'clock in the morning on the rocks to the east side of the town, where the surf happened to be unusually low. Having overcome the force which was opposed to them, they penetrated through the town as far as the main guard, of which, after being once repulsed, they gained possession. The inhabitants having given way nearly on all sides, and the enemy being in full force to their right, colonel Fraser determined to form a junction with the soldiers in the North Point battery, in order to retain the command of the beach, and to be ready to check any further attempt to land, until information could be received of the strength and situation of the enemy, with a view to enable him to judge what ought to be done. The firing continued until nearly six o'clock; when, being yet uncertain what number had landed, and in hopes that the main guard was the only post held by the enemy, the gallant colonel directed it should be attacked by the few soldiers immediately under his command. These orders were executed with great alacrity, and the post carried, with considerable loss on the part of the enemy. At day-break, the enemy appeared in such numbers as to leave no hopes of successful resistance. Under these circumstances, the inhabitants proposed to colonel Fraser to treat with the enemy. He felt it his duty to comply with their request, and sent an officer with them to propose terms of capitulation for the garrison. Our loss amounted to 19 in killed and wounded; that of the enemy exceeded 70. In the articles of capitulation, the interests of the inhabitants were consulted, and the honour of the garrison preserved.

In the month of March this island 1804.

was recaptured, rather by the address of captain Dickson, commanding his majesty's ship the *Inconstant*, than by the small force at his disposal. Having intimated to the enemy that the force under his orders was such as to render all resistance useless, and expressing at the same time a sincere desire to prevent an unnecessary effusion of blood, he summoned the garrison to surrender. The enemy, trusting to the accuracy of the statement, capitulated. Captain Dickson landed a small part of his force, and the French, in conformity to the articles of the capitulation, laid down their arms. Thus rendered incapable of resistance, the remainder of the British force was disembarked, and took possession of the settlement. By this address the recapture of Goree was effected, under circumstances which, if the enemy had been aware of their precise situation, might have enabled them to make an obstinate if not a successful resistance.

The very rich and important colony of Surinam surrendered to the forces under the command of major-general sir Charles Green, in the beginning of May. Although the capture was an enterprise of considerable difficulty, this valuable acquisition to the British dominions was fortunately made with very little loss on the part of his majesty's troops. On the 25th of April, the fleet conveying the British forces came to anchor about ten miles off the mouth of the river Surinam. Having succeeded in securing the entrance of the river, major-general sir Charles Green sent a summons to the governor of Surinam, with proposals for the surrender of the colony. On the 28th, the governor's answer was received, conveying a  
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refusal to capitulate. The general then determined to lose no time in endeavouring to make some impression on the enemy's posts. To effect this, many obstacles were to be surmounted. The coast of Surinam is of very difficult approach, shallow and full of banks. A landing is practicable only at full tide, and at particular points. The coast is uncleared; and, from wood and the marshy nature of the soil, it is impossible to penetrate into the interior, except by the rivers and the creeks. The shores on both sides of the river Surinam are equally difficult of access, from the same causes, as far at least as the battery Frederici, with the exception of one spot on the eastern shore, where a plantation, called Resolution, has been established. The enemy, by means of their forts, ships of war, and other armed vessels, were completely masters of the navigation of the river Surinam, above fort Amsterdam.

On the 29th, lieutenant-colonel Shipley, commanding engineer, went on shore, below the enemy's batteries, to endeavour to procure intelligence. On his return, he reported that he had every reason to believe there was a practicable way through the woods, by which a body of men might be conducted to the rear of the forts Leyden and Frederici. A small detachment of about two hundred men landed, between the hours of ten and eleven at night, at Resolution plantation, and proceeded through the woods with negro guides. A great quantity of rain having recently fallen, it was found that the path, at all times difficult, had become almost impassable; but no obstacle could damp the enterprising spirit of the seamen and

soldiers who composed the detachment, and who, with persevering courage, arrived, after a laborious march of five hours, near the rear of Frederici battery. The alarm having been given, a considerable fire of grape-shot was made upon the troops before they quitted the wood, whilst forming for the attack. As they approached the battery, they were exposed to a brisk discharge of musketry; but their assault with fixed bayonets was so animated and vigorous, as to prevent any further resistance. The enemy fled to fort Leyden, after setting fire to a powder-magazine, by the explosion of which several of our officers and men were severely wounded. Fort Leyden was attacked with the same success. The enemy after some firing called for quarter, which was generously granted by our troops, although the feelings of exasperation excited by the conduct of the Batavians in blowing up the magazine at fort Frederici, after it was in our possession, had not yet subsided. A position was thus secured, by which a heavy fire could be directed against fort New Amsterdam. From the 29th of April to the 4th of May, the rest of the troops were disembarked, and preparations made to attack this fortress. But on that day a flag of truce was received from the commanding officer of the Batavian troops, with proposals to surrender on terms of capitulation. Orders were in consequence issued to suspend hostilities until the conditions should be finally agreed upon. Lieutenant-colonel Shipley, and captain Maxwell of the royal navy, were employed to settle the terms; and on the 5th of May, the articles of capitulation being signed, the advanced corps, under the command



mand of brigadier-general Maitland, marched in and took possession of fort New Amsterdam. A Batavian frigate, and a sloop of war, also fell into our possession. It may be proper to mention a circumstance, which materially adds to the importance of this acquisition; namely, that the inhabitants, according to the representation of major-general sir Charles Green, appeared to rejoice at an event which restored to them the powerful protection of the British government. The loss we experienced in killed and wounded was very inconsiderable, in proportion to what might naturally have been expected from the dangers and difficulties attending the execution of the enterprise.

The other hostile operations against the enemy, with the exception of a few single actions at sea, which reflected their usual lustre upon the British navy, consisted almost entirely in exertions rigorously to enforce the system of blockade, and in attacking the enemy's boats, which either ventured out of the harbour of Bologne, for purposes of exercise or menace, or were proceeding from other ports to that dépôt. To the system of blockade many strong objections have been urged. It may however be regarded as a system uniting the two-fold advantages of vigilance and restriction. Any other system would probably possess only the former of these advantages. The question, therefore, appears to be reduced to the terms, whether the benefit which results from the plan of blockade is equivalent to the wear and tear of the ships employed on this service; making, at the same time, due allowance for the disadvantage which arises from the im-

practicability of continuing the blockade without occasional interruption? This question has been differently supported by great naval authorities. The late lord Howe, whose splendid naval achievements have given immortal lustre to his name, although not a decided adversary to the system of blockade, laid apparently less stress on its importance, than it has received since the commencement of the present war. At the time his lordship commanded the channel fleet, his frequent return to Torbay exposed him to much severity of animadversion. It was, however, his lordship's decided opinion, that this position was favourable for the pursuit of the French fleet, should they leave the port of Brest. In this conviction he was confirmed, by the explicit opinion of a naval officer of distinguished merit and considerable experience, who was then a prisoner of war in England; and the transmission of this opinion to his lordship, at a time that his conduct was frequently arraigned by the public, afforded him much satisfaction, and induced him to persevere in the practice of occasionally returning to port. The result showed that his opinion, founded upon a consideration of the effects of winds, tides, and currents, and of the geographical points of the harbour of Brest and of Torbay, was not to be lightly questioned. The brilliant victory which lord Howe obtained over the French fleet, convinced the enemy that his vigilance was not suspended by his returning to port.

Although these observations may apply to the relative positions of Brest and Torbay, and to a variety of circumstances peculiar to these ports, it is not to be understood, that they are intended to establish



a fundamental objection to the system under review. The opinions of earl St. Vincent must, upon subjects connected with naval affairs, command an almost implicit acquiescence. But the former remarks merely show that the blockade of the most important port on the enemy's coast may be suspended, without however involving a material suspension of necessary vigilance. It may, therefore, be regarded as a question of some utility, how far it is possible to station our ships of war in such a manner as, without exposing them to the injury of continuing as far as possible to blockade the enemy's ports, may enable them to take advantage of early information of the sailing of their fleets? That many very great advantages have resulted from the blockade of the enemy's ports, is not to be denied. To deprive such formidable instruments of war, as powerful navies, of all opportunities of hostile application; to prevent the enemy, notwithstanding the constant augmentation of the number of their ships of battle, from forming and improving the most essential part of a marine establishment,—the habits, discipline, skill, and experience of the men by whom their navy must be manned; to protect, less by convoys than by rendering them in a great measure unnecessary, the numerous commercial fleets which are constantly proceeding from Great Britain to every part of the world, and arriving in our ports from every quarter of the globe; to thwart and check the fitful menaces of invasion, by which, from a thorough knowledge of the effects produced upon commercial credit by the propagation of alarm, the enemy vainly hoped to injure the resources

of the country:—these beneficial consequences, which arise out of the system of blockade, are assuredly, whatever objections may be advanced against it, sufficient to afford a strong justification of the propriety of its continuance.

It was, however, impossible entirely to obviate the effects of occasional rumours of invasion. Every particular movement in the enemy's ports revived the opinion, and without affecting concealment we venture to say the apprehension, that the enemy were determined to execute the adventurous project. No doubt remains in our minds with respect to the issue of such an enterprise; but we are far from being so sanguine as to conclude, however glorious to British valour the contest might prove, that it would be decided without a dreadful effusion of blood. It was in the month of August that the general movements on the enemy's coast exhibited every appearance of an approaching attack upon some part of the British empire. At Boulogne, in particular, a very extraordinary activity prevailed. Of the various descriptions of craft and armed vessels collected in that immense depôt, a much greater number were brought out into the bay of Boulogne than on any former occasion. Disposed in hostile array under the protection of their numerous batteries on shore, they were attacked in the most spirited and vigorous manner by our squadron upon that station. The firing was tremendous, and its duration such as to increase the apprehension that the invasion was at this time to be certainly executed.

The most serious exertions were made for the safety of the country. Military cars, horses, and carriages,



riages, were directed to be held in a state of readiness for the use of government. Officers were named to be employed on the staff, with a view to be placed under the general officers of districts, in order to be disposed of at their discretion in the command and superintendence of the different brigades of the volunteer force. Each general officer, or other officer to whom a command of volunteers was intrusted, was directed to reside in a situation central and convenient to the corps under his orders. He was desired to make himself acquainted with every particular relating to them:—the nature and extent of the service for which they were respectively engaged; their effective strength; the characters and military information of the commanders; the state of the corps in regard to their internal œconomy; their horses, arms, ammunition, and every species of military equipment. He was also ordered to ascertain their degree of forwardness in discipline and field movements, and whether or not they were competent to act with troops of the line. The routes were directed to be fixed, by which the corps were to arrive at the general place of rendezvous of the brigade, and every precaution taken that no obstacle should occur to prevent the regularity and certainty of their movements at the critical moment of actual service. Arrangements were also to be made for the conveyance of every article of camp equipage.

One very material point in the directions given to staff officers commanding volunteer corps, related to the conduct which it would be proper for them to observe. They were reminded that the corps under their command were composed of

men unused to a military life, over whom they had no direct control until placed on permanent duty; that they had voluntarily enrolled themselves with the generous purpose of sharing with the regular troops in the labours, difficulties, and honours, presented to those engaged in the defence of their country by the present arduous contest. It was therefore presumed that they would feel the force of these considerations, and conduct their command, on every occasion, with all the urbanity, mildness, and indulgence, consistent with military discipline; without compromising or impeding the important primary object of rendering the corps effective and fit for actual service. In every instance also, where it might be deemed expedient, the officers were promised the assistance of a brigade adjutant, who was to be selected from the experienced and well-informed officers on the half-pay of the regular service, beneath the rank of field officer, or even from the volunteer corps themselves, if such officers were in every respect competent to the duty, and had been educated in the regular service. They were to receive the pay of adjutants of infantry, in addition to their half-pay, and forage for two horses.

In addition to these arrangements, preparatory to the actual service in which there was reason to expect the volunteers would be shortly engaged, regulations for the preservation of good order were transmitted to the lords lieutenants, to be adopted, in case of actual invasion, in every county of Great Britain. The magistrates of each division were to remain at home, and to sit daily at a place to be appointed for that purpose. The trust-worthy house-keepers and



others were to be encouraged to enrol themselves to serve as special constables under the orders of the magistrates, who were also to be attended by an officer of the volunteer force, if any should remain in the division, in order, with the chief or superintendant of the special constables, to receive and execute the orders of the magistrates, in preventing and quelling disturbances, in taking up and conveying offenders to prison, in supplying escorts for all military purposes required by the general or other officer left in command of the district, and in furnishing a guard for the county gaol or prisons, if required. Should any impediments occur in the regular supply of the different markets, every assistance was to be afforded to the persons who were accustomed, or who might offer, to supply them; and escorts were to be granted, if necessary, for the secure passage and conveyance of cattle and provisions. The public-houses were to be inspected, and, if thought proper by the magistrates, shut up at such hours as they might direct, and all persons incapable of giving a satisfactory account of themselves were to be brought before the magistrates. Different rounds were to be performed in the night, by the constables and volunteers in rotation, and their report was to be made in the morning to the magistrates. The magistrates of each division were ordered to report daily to the lieutenant or deputy lieutenant of the county, upon whom it was incumbent to report all matters of importance immediately to the secretary of state for the home department, and to the officer left in command of the district, to whom, in case of necessity, they were to apply for further military aid.

These regulations for the preservation of internal order were certainly calculated to produce many good effects; and the measures which we have described to have been taken for a judicious disposition and employment of the volunteer force, were well suited to the object of necessary precaution. But they discover the apprehension which prevailed, of the invasive designs of the enemy. In the early part of September, the general alarm subsided. Either the brave and destructive attack which they had sustained from our blockading squadron, deterred the enemy from appearing in considerable numbers in the bay of Boulogne, or the season and other circumstances were become less favourable to the execution of menacing movements. One hundred and fifty of the flotilla, however, ventured on the outside of the pier, about the beginning of October; upon which admiral lord Keith had recourse to a new species of attack, in order to discover the most effectual mode for annoying them while at their anchorages, in front of their port, and under the protection of their land batteries. The instrument employed for this purpose has been named a catamaran. It consists of an oblong machine framed in such a manner as to float near, or upon, the surface of the sea, without being easily perceivable. The machine contains a large quantity of gun-powder, which is ignited by a lock, of which the discharge may be fixed for any given time, by means of clock-work.

This new instrument of warfare is the invention of a gentleman, a native of America, who has distinguished himself by a number of useful mechanical discoveries. Its employment has, however, been reprobated



reprobated upon the grounds of its supposed inefficiency, and as objectionable as an unfair instrument of warfare. The position of the enemy's vessels, at the time of the attack, was unfavourable to success, in consequence of the distance at which they were anchored from each other. But, should the boats and vessels of the flotilla be brought up in considerable numbers, and form in close array, there can be no doubt, that, as an instrument of attack, the catamaran may be employed with great effect. In combination with other means of attack, it may, under certain modifications, be rendered very destructive. That it has been used with no success, is by no means a fair representation of lord Keith's experiment. For, during the remainder of the year, it certainly had the effect of preventing the enemy from bringing into the roads of Boulogne any considerable number of their flotilla. With regard to the objections made to the catamaran, as an instrument of hostility, of which the employment is in opposition to the laws of war, it may be replied, admitting this to be true, that we are not engaged in contest with an enemy by whom the laws of nations and of war are at all respected. But we may venture to say, that there is no ground for disputing the legitimacy of such an instrument of offensive operation. The principle which justifies resorting to mines, surprises, and *ruses-de-guerre*, sanctions its employment. Any assertions, therefore, relative to the unauthorised employment of such weapons of hostility as the catamaran, must equally apply to the rest. We are ready to admit that such modes of annoyance do not completely come within the range of the least

exceptionable means of warfare. Open and manly hostility, where superior skill, courage, and heroism, decide the conflict, is certainly much to be preferred. But with an artful insidious enemy, whose declared object in the present war is to subvert all the ancient and excellent institutions of the British empire, and to annihilate our existence as a nation, it cannot but be fairly presumed that all means are justifiable, which are calculated to defeat such malignant and iniquitous designs. The violator of the universally acknowledged rights of nations is not to be treated as a common enemy; and if any question is started with respect to the illegitimacy of this offensive operation, with what justice is it demanded by him, who has dared to violate the neutrality of neighbouring states by the seizure of princes and ambassadors? acts sufficiently unjustifiable in themselves, but rendered infinitely more so by the crimes which succeeded them, of pillage and of murder.

In the official account which admiral lord Keith transmitted of this attack upon the enemy's flotilla, his lordship stated, that on the afternoon of the 1st of October he arrived off Boulogne, and finding that the weather promised to be favourable, and that about one hundred and fifty of the flotilla were on the outside of the pier, he resolved to make an experiment, on a limited scale, of the new means which had been provided for the annoyance of the enemy. Having previously completed the final arrangements for this purpose, and appointed the officers who were to execute this perilous duty, the armed launches, and other boats of the squadron, were appointed to



accompany and protect the vessels ordered on this service. His lordship directed the *Castor*, *Greyhound*, and some smaller vessels, to take up an advanced and convenient anchorage for covering the retreat, giving protection to men who might be wounded, and boats that might be crippled; and for towing off the boats in general, in the event of the wind freshening and blowing upon the coast. These orders having been executed, the attack commenced about nine o'clock at night, and terminated about four in the morning, during which time several vessels, prepared for the purpose, exploded either amongst or very close to the flotilla.

His lordship acknowledges that no very extensive injury appeared to have been sustained by the enemy, although much confusion had arisen among their vessels. Two of the brigs, however, and several of the smaller vessels were missing after the commencement of the attack.—One equally remarkable and fortunate circumstance attended this attempt upon the flotilla: notwithstanding a very heavy discharge of shot, shells, and musketry, was kept up by the enemy throughout the night, we sustained no casualty whatever. The enemy made no attempt to oppose their rowing boats to ours. Although less was achieved than expectation had anticipated, yet his lordship was of the decided opinion, that, in the event of any great accumulation of the enemy's force in their roadsteads, an extensive and combined operation of a similar nature would hold forth a reasonable prospect of a successful result. Lord Keith dwelt in terms of high and just commendation on the conduct of the officers and men em-

ployed on this occasion. The service was undertaken, not only in the face of, but immediately under, the whole line of the enemy's land batteries, and their field artillery and musketry upon the coast, exposed too, at the same time, to the fire of upwards of one hundred and fifty armed vessels, ranged round the inner side of the bay. The officers and men, who could so deliberately and resolutely advance into the midst of the flotilla, under such circumstances of extraordinary danger, must, his lordship very justly affirmed, be considered worthy of being intrusted with the performance of any service, however difficult and hazardous. It is almost needless to observe, that such gallantry as we have described entitled the officers and men to his lordship's recommendation to the protection of the admiralty.

These are the only hostile events of any importance which arose out of the prosecution of the war, during the whole of the year 1804. With respect to the blockade of the *Weser* and the *Elbe*, it may be proper to observe, that it was in a great measure relaxed, in compliance with the earnest solicitations of the merchants of *Hamburgh* and *Bremen*. The permission to navigate lighters, barges, and other small craft, between the *Weser* and the *Elbe*, was signified to them by lord Harrowby, his majesty's secretary of state for the foreign department, in a letter addressed by his lordship to P. Colquhoun Graf, esq. It was at the same time required that these vessels should carry unexceptionable goods for neutral account, and that they should confine themselves to the navigation of the Danish side of the *Elbe*, through the *Watten*, between



between Tonningen and Ham-  
burgh. His lordship also expressed  
his majesty's expectation, that this  
permission would not be abused,  
and that no unfair advantages  
would be taken of it. In this case,  
it was his majesty's determination  
to order the blockade to be resumed  
with greater strictness.

The only important act of ho-  
stility which it remains for us to  
notice, is the capture of the Spanish  
frigates. This proceeding was re-  
presented to be only a measure of  
precaution; and in the event of the  
relations between this country and  
Spain becoming more satisfactory,  
it was believed to be equally the  
wish and the intention of his ma-  
jesty's government to deliver up  
the treasure which thus fell into  
our possession. As the documents  
calculated to explain the relative  
situations of Great Britain and  
Spain, previously to and about  
the time the order was issued for  
the detention of the frigates, are  
not yet laid before the public, we  
must decline, in the absence of this  
important information, expressing  
any decided opinion upon this trans-  
action. At present, it may be  
sufficient to observe, that the ar-  
maments fitting out in the Spanish  
ports; the subserviency and appli-  
cation of the great pecuniary re-  
sources of that kingdom to the  
views of the French government;  
the unlimited influence of that  
power in the councils of the cabinet  
of Madrid; and the great proba-  
bility, or rather certainty, that the  
specie on board the frigates would  
be partly, if not principally, ap-  
propriated to the use of the power  
with whom we were already at war;  
were the chief inducements to the  
adoption of this vigorous, though,  
in some respects, questionable  
measure.

The four Spanish frigates, La

Medée, La Clara, La Fama, and  
La Mercedes, were intercepted by  
captain Graham Moore, command-  
ing the four English frigates, the  
Indefatigable, the Medusa, the  
Lively, and the Amphion. On  
the fifth of October, Cape St. Mary  
bearing N. E. nine leagues, the  
Medusa made the signal for four  
sail W. by S. Captain Moore im-  
mediately made the signal for a ge-  
neral chase. At eight in the morn-  
ing, they were discovered to be  
four large Spanish frigates, which  
formed in line of battle a-head on  
the approach of our frigates, and  
continued to steer in for Cadiz, the  
van ship carrying a broad pendant,  
and the ship next to her a rear-ad-  
miral's flag. Captain Gore, being  
headmost, placed the Medusa on  
the weather beam of the commo-  
dore; the Indefatigable took a  
similar position along-side of the  
rear-admiral; the Amphion and  
Lively each taking an opponent in  
the same manner, as they came  
up. After hailing the Spanish  
frigates, without effect, to make  
them shorten sail, captain Moore  
fired a shot across the rear-admiral's  
fore-foot, on which he shortened  
sail: upon this he sent lieutenant  
Ascott of the Indefatigable, to in-  
form him that his orders were to  
detain his squadron; that it was his  
earnest wish to execute them  
without blood-shed; but that the  
determination must be made in-  
stantly. After waiting some time,  
he made a signal for the boat,  
and fired a shot a-head of the ad-  
miral.

Lieutenant Ascott returning with  
an unsatisfactory answer, captain  
Moore fired another shot a-head of  
the admiral, and bore down close  
on his weather bow. At this mo-  
ment, the admiral's second a-stern  
fired into the Amphion, and the  
admiral fired into the Indefatigable.

A signal



A signal was then made for close battle, which was instantly commenced with all the alacrity and vigour of English sailors. In less than ten minutes, *La Mercedes*, the admiral's second a-stern, blew up along-side the *Amphion*, with a tremendous explosion. Captain Sutton having with great judgment placed himself to leeward of that ship, the escape of the admiral's ship was rendered almost impossible. In about half an hour she struck, as well as the frigate to which the *Lively* was opposed. Perceiving at this moment the Spanish commodore was making off, and seeming to have the heels of the *Medusa*, captain Moore made the signal for the *Lively* to join the chase, having before noticed the superior sailing of that ship. Captain Hammond, without losing an instant, obeyed the signal; and long before sun-set it was discovered from the mast-head of the *Indefatigable*, that the only remaining ship had surrendered to the *Medusa* and *Lively*. As soon as the boats of the British squadron had taken possession of the rear-admiral, sail was made for the floating fragments of the *Mercedes*; but, except the second captain and forty-five men, who were picked up by the boats of the *Amphion*, all on board had perished.

The Spanish squadron was commanded by don Joseph Bustamente, knight of the order of St. James, and a rear-admiral. They had proceeded from Monte Video, Rio de la Plata, and contained considerably more than four millions of dollars, of which about eight hundred thousand were on board the *Mercedes*. The tin, copper, seal-skins, and merchandize of various kinds, on board the frigates were also of very great value. The

loss we sustained was very trifling. The *Indefatigable* did not lose a man. The Spaniards suffered chiefly in their rigging.

The object of this detention or capture was manifestly to bring the doubtful political relations between this country and Spain to a determinate issue. A peace which enabled the latter power to furnish the French government with extensive means for the prosecution of hostilities, could not be regarded with indifference by his majesty's ministers. Nor was the concealment of the existing treaties with France calculated to induce the British government to desire the prolongation of a peace, which enabled Spain to pursue a line of conduct extremely injurious to the interests of Great Britain, while she sustained no injury but what arose from the fulfilment of the public and secret stipulations with the power at war with this country. Such a state of things was not to be permitted to exist. But whether it was such as to justify the measure under review, is a separate question, upon which, with the materials before us, it would be premature to enter into any examination, for the purpose of attempting to pronounce upon it a serious and deliberate decision. The discussion of this subject must therefore be postponed, in order that it may receive its due place in the next volume of this work. We shall, at present, dismiss it with the observation, that it is a question of the highest importance to the future character of this country. Should it appear, that we were capable of acting from such selfish and inglorious motives, as a determination to enrich ourselves by an act of unjustifiable violence, we shall not fail to draw down upon us the censure and indignation



tion of the world. If, on the contrary, it shall be established, that the relations of Spain with France, and with this country were such as to authorise us to seize the treasures of a power still honourable in its sentiments, but degraded in its councils; independent in its principles, but subordinate in its measures; and that, at the same time, we had chiefly in view to cripple the operations of the common enemy of Europe, and, by the example of successful war, to induce the states of the continent, without even excepting Spain herself, to exert a general effort for the assertion of their rights and the maintenance of their independence; our acquittal will be complete. Spain herself may see grounds for satisfaction that we had recourse to a vigorous and decisive measure, which disabled her from supplying France with the means with which she would have attempted to exercise an uncontrolled dominion over the states of Europe. When this great question shall become the subject of strict and rigorous scrutiny, we confidently hope the documents submitted to the public will supply the most ample means of honourable justification.

With respect to the unhappy event which occurred during the engagement with the Spanish frigates, we take upon ourselves, with the fullest conviction, to declare, that even in Spain it could hardly be deplored with more sincere sorrow than in this country. Had such a disastrous accident happened in combat with our less generous enemy, it would have been a subject of compassionate regret. But, that so many valuable and innocent lives should have been sacrificed in the execution of

a duty, which, it was hoped, would be performed without bloodshed, and that those who perished were the subjects of a power, which from its accustomed generous, honourable, and magnanimous conduct, had inspired the British nation with sentiments of attachment and esteem,—will ever constitute a melancholy feature in the history of the war, in which, with mutual reluctance, Spain and England are unhappily engaged.

During the year 1804, the necessary documents fully to explain the grounds of the war with Spain were not laid before the public. It would therefore be idle to speculate upon the policy or justice of a war with that country, without being supplied with every sort of information which may be collected from the official correspondence between the two governments. The policy or justice of the war must entirely depend upon the facts stated in this correspondence. To this discussion it may also be proper to assign its due place in the succeeding volume of this work. We shall then endeavour to state correctly every thing that has transpired relative to a subject, in which the interests and the honour of the nation are so deeply implicated.

Thus far hostilities were prosecuted, during the present year, by Great Britain and France, without giving rise to a single event by which a material impression was made upon either power. Great expenditure was occasioned in both countries by the extensive scale of their hostile preparations; but no capture of importance, no brilliant victory, no signal defeat, marked the success or failure of the measures of either of the belligerent powers. A menacing attitude was assumed



assumed and maintained by both. The navy of Great Britain was constantly hovering upon the coast of the enemy; and the armies of France incessantly threatened the invasion of this country. With a kind of awful suspension of active warfare, these great powers, upon the issue of whose exertions depends the extinction or the maintenance of the liberties of Europe, seemed conscious of mutual inability to execute any grand plan of hostile operations, and appeared to wait for events that might favour their respective views. The dispute with Spain was considered by France to be propitious to her designs. The French government expected, from a rupture between that power and Great Britain, a very material accession of physical strength. The Spanish navy, and large supplies in specie, were regarded as very important acquisitions; and the extensive line of coast which the enemy would thus command, was represented to be of infinite importance to a successful prosecution of the war, in as much as it enabled them to threaten invasion from a greater number of points, and compelled this country to incur a great additional expenditure by augmenting the number of our blockading squadrons.

On the other hand, these advantages were counterbalanced by the prospect of new enemies, which the capricious, arbitrary, and insolent conduct of the French government was likely to create. Sweden and Russia had many reasons to be dissatisfied at the proceedings of Bonaparte, and fresh circumstances were constantly arising, which tended to convert this dissatisfaction into hostile dissension. To avail themselves of this opportunity of

forming an alliance upon the continent, was an object to which the new administration did not fail to attend. The appointment of lord Leveson Gower as ambassador to the court of Petersburg increased the public expectation of the probability of an immediate continental alliance, and encouraged the hope that was cherished, of many general advantages resulting from a political connection with that powerful empire. Sir John Borlase Warren was recalled. Without meaning to convey any imputation upon his diplomatic talents, it may be observed, that the appointment of his successor was regarded as more favourable to the cultivation of those political relations, which it was at this time material to establish with the court of Russia.

Notwithstanding the acknowledged importance of a connection with that power, for the purpose of prosecuting the object of repressing the boundless ambition of the French government, it was however perceived, that, from the immense distance of the Russian forces from the probable theatre of war, there was no chance of their annoying the enemy effectually, except by a co-operation with England in the Mediterranean. The joint aid either of Austria or of Prussia was therefore infinitely desirable; but both seemed determined to persist in the maintenance of neutrality. If then no immediate benefit was likely to accrue to this country, and to Europe in general, from an alliance with Russia, during the existence of neutrality in the north and south of Germany, which unfortunately would thus present to France an extensive boundary of defence, yet there was a more than problematical



blematical chance, that the declared sentiments of the emperor of Russia might eventually incline and determine one of the leading potentates of Germany to accede to the alliance. In this point of view, it was of material importance to attempt to establish an interest upon the continent, which might become susceptible of considerable extension.

With respect to the cause of the coolness which had arisen between the court of the Thuilleries, and those of Stockholm and Petersburgh, it is to be discovered in circumstances partly of a private and partly of a public nature. That which subsisted between Sweden and France probably arose, in the first instance, from the convention concluded between this country and Sweden, on the 25th of July 1803. When the dispute with the northern powers was happily terminated, a convention between England and Russia was concluded at Petersburgh on the 17th of June 1801, to which Sweden and Denmark acceded in the following year. By this convention, the principle that neutral flags constitute neutral property, for the enforcement of which the powers of the north had united, was modified to the satisfaction of the contracting parties. But, by a subsequent convention with Sweden, Great Britain was authorised to bring in Swedish vessels proceeding to the enemy's ports with certain articles necessary for the equipment of ships of all descriptions; and to exercise the right of purchasing them, upon condition of paying a profit of ten per cent. upon a fair invoice price, or the fair market price in England or in Sweden respectively, at the option of the owner, with an indemnification for detention and

necessary expenses. Towards the end of October, some observations upon the convention appeared in the *Moniteur*, stamped with the character of official remonstrance. They represent it to be a lamentable circumstance, that the powers of the north should thus be obliged to abandon a principle, which had appeared to them of so much importance to the interests of commerce, and the navigation of neutral states—that by which the flag covers the merchandize. But with respect to Sweden in particular, it is asserted, that she was compelled to grant an additional benefit, by authorising Great Britain to retain, not upon the terms which we have already stated, but according to her caprice, a part of the maritime supplies, which certain states of the continent might endeavour to procure by the channel of Swedish vessels. Such remarks evidently betray the discontent with which the French government viewed the conduct of the court of Stockholm, in entering into a treaty with Great Britain, which definitively adjusted every former point of dispute. The gross misrepresentation which they contain is not entitled to the least notice.

The king of Sweden, on the other hand, as a member of the Germanic body, viewed the interference of France in the affairs of the empire, with reasonable jealousy and distrust. A dispute having arisen between several princes of the empire, and the equestrian order, relative to the immediate dependence of the latter upon the chief, and not upon the princes of the empire; this subject, and some other grounds of dissatisfaction, led to a serious misunderstanding between the emperor and the elector of Bavaria, brother-in-law to the king  
of



of Sweden. Bonaparte is said to have directed M. Otto, French minister at Munich, officially to declare to the elector his displeasure at his conduct, and his expectation that his imperial majesty would take measures to inflict on him a suitable punishment. In the mean time, the first consul proposed to march a few regiments into the neighbourhood of the electorate. This threat is represented to have caused more uneasiness at Vienna than at Munich, and to have been intended to remind the states of Germany of their state of vassalage. To such unjustifiable interference the king of Sweden appears to allude, in a note, dated 26th January 1804, delivered to the diet of Ratisbon, by his majesty's minister, the baron de Belt. After expressing the lively solicitude with which his majesty has always been animated for the welfare of the German empire, and alluding to the illegal and unconstitutional proceedings of several of the princes, the note proceeds to state his Swedish majesty's persuasion, that the emperor and the empire, when they shall have been requested by the interested states of the empire, will cause these abuses to be inquired into with the most rigid severity, in order that justice may be done to each, and that in future they may not afford room for discussions which might be attended with more dangerous consequences. The note also expresses his majesty's conviction, that the deliberation which may be opened for this purpose between the emperor and the empire, will take place with the reciprocal harmony and good understanding so necessary to the general welfare; and that, in consequence, the mediation of foreign powers in an affair which exclusively

relates to the internal concerns of the empire, will be declined, as such mediation would be contrary to the independence and the dignity of the empire, and might give birth to an idea that the emperor and the empire are two different powers, while, in fact, they form but one and the same power, and are united by the most sacred and inviolable duties. No other mediator therefore was, according to his majesty's conviction, required, but the maintenance of the constitution, and the application of the laws of the empire.

About seven months after the presentation of this note, it was made the foundation of a flippant and impertinent attack, inserted in the *Moniteur*, upon the conduct of his Swedish majesty. As these observations occasioned the cessation of all diplomatic intercourse between the French legation at Stockholm and the Swedish government, and as they discover in some degree the subsisting relations between the German states and the French government, it may not be improper to introduce them in this place, in the precise words in which they appeared. It is also to be observed that they are drawn up in a style expressly adapted to establish an insidious distinction between his Swedish majesty and his subjects. After asserting that nothing could be more striking than the inconsistency of the steps which the king of Sweden had taken, if the stamp of folly which is impressed on them did not strike still more forcibly, and dwelling upon the former and present state of Sweden, with respect to the relations of that power with France, the observations proceed in the following style of indecorous address: "How does it happen, that



that you are the only power that does not perceive how disagreeable are your proceedings at Ratisbon, even to the Germanic body itself? Whilst you sell your cities, you engage in a fantastic discussion of concerns in Germany; whilst you enjoy hospitality at Baden, you insult your father-in-law. There has not been a day of your residence at Carlsruhe, in which you have not given just cause of complaint to that prince. Lastly, during your abode with your brother-in-law, (the elector of Bavaria) you sign and date from Munich a note contrary to his interests. This prince was then weakened by the war; he was surrounded by armies; he was on the point of being invaded: he would have wanted your assistance, if your arm could have given him any; and it is at that moment, and in the very heart of his capital, that you write against him! You are yet young; but when you shall have attained the age of maturity, if you read the notes you issue as impromptus when travelling post, you will surely repent of not having followed the advice of your experienced and faithful ministers; you will then do that which you ought always to have done; you will regard only the welfare of your subjects and the good of your country; what it has done for you, and for your ancestors, requires that you should not sacrifice its interests to vain and irregular passions. You will attempt no more than you can perform; and you will not drive the Germanic body into a war, to the success of which you could contribute nothing; and in which your father-in-law and your brother-in-law would probably make a common cause with France. And then, if the interest of the Baltic

induces you to unite with Denmark, you will feel that this interest is truly yours; that it is connected with the safety of your states, with the dignity of your crown, and the glory of your nation. You would have taken your precautions so as not to have left your coast unprotected, or to have suffered an enemy's fleet to pass with impunity, within half a cannon shot from your shores, to bombard Copenhagen. It is not by such trophies that your ancestors acquired glory, and adorned the page of history. In short, you will not make, from the inducement of a pitiful subsidy, what no nation in Europe has yet made,—a treaty so unworthy of your rank, as to be nearly tantamount to an abdication of your sovereignty. We really think that if you read this advice it will be lost upon you; but we believe, at the same time, that you will not receive any other lesson from France. She is very indifferent to all your steps; indeed she does not call you to account for your conduct, because she cannot confound a loyal and brave nation, and a people who, being her faithful ally for centuries, were justly called the French of the north; nay, she does not confound them with a young man led astray by false notions, and unenlightened by reflection.—Your countrymen will be always well treated by France; your merchant-ships will be well received by her; even your squadrons, if they are in want, will be victualled in her ports; she will see in your flags none but the ensigns of Gustavus: and when the fire of your passion shall be extinguished; when you shall have learnt the true situation of Europe, and appreciated your own, France will always be ready to regard the true interest



interest of your nation, and to shut her eyes upon what you have been, or what you shall have done."

Incensed at the publication of these insidious remarks, his Swedish majesty immediately ordered an official note on the subject to be transmitted to M. Caillard, the French chargé d'affaires at Stockholm. The note states, that a report had been made to his majesty of the improper, the insolent, and the ridiculous observations, which monsieur Napoleon Buonaparté had allowed to be inserted in his *Moniteur*. In the language of spirited remonstrance, it is observed, that "the tone, the style, and even the subject of this article, are all of so extraordinary a nature, that his majesty has hardly yet been able to comprehend the object of such an act of political extravagance. If it has been done in the hope of misleading the public as to the conduct of his majesty, as it appears from the uncommon pains taken to draw a line of separation between his majesty and his subjects, let the world understand that any instigation to that effect never could have been less likely to succeed than at this moment, or than it always will, with a people whose interests are inseparably interwoven with those of a sovereign who has never separated his prosperity from theirs, and who never feels so happy as when he contributes to the glory and to the happiness of his subjects. As his majesty cannot, consistently with his own dignity, or the honour of his crown, permit, after such an insult, the continuance of any official intercourse, all diplomatic communication of every kind, both private and public, is immediately to cease between the French legation at

Stockholm and his majesty's government. But, as a sentence in the article above mentioned seems to imply, that the French government is disposed to admit that the continuance of the commercial intercourse between Sweden and France would be attended with some advantages, his majesty, on his part, is willing to permit the same, from those sentiments of esteem which he has always entertained for the French people; sentiments which he has inherited from his ancestors, and which owe their origin to far happier times."

Remonstrance, accusation, and recrimination, are frequently, indeed mostly, the forerunners of hostility. The dissensions, therefore, which had arisen between France and Sweden, might, it was expected, very probably lead to a rupture with some of the northern powers. However dissatisfied the king of Sweden might have been with the conduct of the military chieftain of France, or whatever apprehension he might have entertained of consequences injurious to the interests of the German empire, resulting from the influence, intrigues, and actual interference of the French government in the internal concerns of Germany; still, it is much to be questioned, whether his Swedish majesty would have assumed this decisive tone, unless supported in his views, if not prompted in his measures, by his very powerful neighbour, the emperor of Russia. As duke of Anterior Pomerania, it does not appear that the king of Sweden has been accustomed to take a very active and prominent interest in the affairs of the Germanic body. But a just sense of the danger to which the constitution of the empire was exposed from the views of France,



France, and a presentiment of a general subversion of all the ancient established forms of government in Europe, if the immeasurable ambition of the court of the Tuilleries were not effectually restrained, might well induce his Swedish majesty, especially when convinced that his sentiments were in perfect unison with those of the Russian cabinet, to express himself in the language of firmness, dignity, and decision.

The coolness between Russia and France seems to have arisen from the representations of count Markow, on the subject of the fulfilment of the articles of a secret convention between the two powers, concerning the affairs of the several states of Italy. This produced a serious dispute between the Russian ambassador and Bonaparte, who publicly and insolently reproached count Markow at a levee, in terms of personal insult even more gross than those with which lord Whitworth was formerly assailed. The departure of the Russian ambassador was the consequence of this indecorous proceeding. M. d'Oubril was left at Paris in the capacity of chargé d'affaires. He availed himself of the first opportunity of publicly alluding to this unjustifiable treatment; and, in a note conveying an answer to M. Talleyrand's circular letter relative to the supposed intrigues of Mr. Drake and Mehée de la Touche, he merely acknowledges the receipt of the letter, without in any shape expressing an opinion on the subject of the communication. On the contrary, he affects to regard this communication solely as an instance of the first consul's desire to do justice to the diplomatic body accredited to him, and of their care to observe, on all occa-

sions, the most rigorous principles of the laws of nations being honourably appreciated by the chief of the government. This answer was returned on the 25th of March 1804, immediately after the unfortunate and amiable duke of Enghien had been seized and put to death. Upon count Markow's return to Petersburg, he met with a most gracious reception; and in order the more strongly to express his disapprobation of the proceedings of the French government, and his satisfaction with the conduct of his ambassador, the emperor Alexander conferred on him, by a public rescript, an annual salary of 12,000 roubles, promoted him to the high post of minister in the College of Foreign Affairs, and honored him with the expression of imperial thanks for the manner in which he had performed the duties of his important mission. It is proper to observe, that M. d'Oubril was apparently acquainted with this distinguished reception of count Markow; for the instrument conveying these gracious expressions and provisions is dated about five weeks previously to the time the answer was returned to M. Talleyrand's official communication. He was, therefore, sensible that the coolness which the terms of his note were calculated to express, would meet with the approbation of his court.

The disposition to come to an open rupture with France appeared still more evident, at the time the news of the seizure and execution of the duke of Enghien reached St. Petersburg. M. d'Oubril, on the 22d April 1804, presented a note to the French minister of foreign affairs, in which he complains of the violation of the rights of nations, committed by the French, and



notifies that the emperor of Russia had caused his sentiments on the subject to be made known to the diet of Ratisbon. M. de Kluppel, the Russian minister to the diet, repeats the complaints conveyed in the note of M. d'Oubril, and expresses the conviction of the emperor his master, that the diet and the head of the empire will do justice to his disinterested and manifestly indispensable care, and that they will transmit with him their just remonstrances to the French government, to prevail on it to take such steps and measures as the violation of their dignity may require, and the maintenance of their future security may render necessary. This note of M. de Kluppel was presented to the diet on the 6th of May.

That the breach between the two governments was widened, and that little disposition remained on the part of either to adjust existing differences, appears decidedly manifest from the instructions which M. d'Oubril had received from his court in the month of July, to demand a categorical answer to the following demands. 1. That conformably to the 4th and 5th articles of the secret convention of the 11th of October 1801, the French government shall order its troops to evacuate the kingdom of Naples, and that it shall engage to respect the neutrality of that kingdom during the present and any future war. 2. That in conformity to the 2d article of the said convention, the French government shall promise immediately to establish some principle of concert with his imperial majesty, for regulating the basis upon which the affairs of Italy shall be finally adjusted. 3. That it shall engage, in conformity to the 6th article of the con-

vention, and the promises so repeatedly given to Russia, to indemnify, without delay, the king of Sardinia for the losses he has sustained. Lastly, 4. That in virtue of the obligation of a mutual guarantee and mediation, the French government shall promise immediately to evacuate and withdraw its troops from the north of Germany; and enter into an engagement to respect, in the strictest manner, the neutrality of the Germanic body. M. d'Oubril was also ordered to declare, that, unless these demands were granted, he could not prolong his stay in Paris. This is the substance of the note presented by him in the month of July.

The mutually hostile disposition of the two courts is strikingly apparent both in the regular and irregular official intercourse which was maintained between Russia and France. Resorting to his favourite mode of questioning, and commenting upon, the policy of the measures about to be adopted by the Russian government, the first consul caused to be inserted in the *Moniteur* a long political article on the conduct of this power. It was drawn up in a style similar to that of the observations upon the proceedings of the king of Sweden, but with less personality, and with less indifference to the measures of the Russian cabinet. A demi-official answer to these observations was published on the part of Russia, and circulated upon the continent. This answer states, that the attention of the political world should not be partially directed to an expedition of a few thousand men to the Seven Islands, but to the whole system pursued by the Russian government. The army of the empire is represented to have been



been augmented, within the short period of twelve months, to upwards of 400,000 men, exclusive of 60,000 seamen, and 50,000 irregular troops. The facility of raising with expedition 100,000 more is also mentioned. It states further, that the prominent position occupied by Russia may be dated from the commencement of that system of tyranny and injustice which France has established: a system, which demonstrates that its ambitious views are directed to no less an object than universal monarchy. Russia has since become the shield of the weak, and Alexander has assumed the character of the protector and arbiter of empires. Whether Russia unites herself to Prussia or to Austria; whether she attaches herself to England, or stands alone; she must always be among the first order of powers respectable, as long as she shall follow a system of justice and disinterestedness; and, confident in her strength, shall openly resist a plan of universal despotism.

Alexander, naturally mild, is decided almost to obstinacy in whatever concerns the principles of justice; and they know him but little, who imagine that the note to the diet of Ratisbon was suggested by Markow, and his adherents, inveterate as their hatred is supposed to be. Will it be said that the commerce of Russia will be affected by a rupture with France? Certainly not. For she supplies that country with no articles of importance, and imports from thence nothing with which she cannot dispense. Will it be asserted that the intriguing emissaries of France will be able to do Russia any material injury? Of all the errors in political calculation, this would be one of the greatest. The people of Russia

know no government but their own, which they fear and respect. They honour their sovereign. They have no other civilization but the practical and useful arts. They regard the strangers who reside in Russia as leeches who come to absorb their wealth. Let the emissaries and instigators of France then attempt to excite divisions, the government will eradicate them with a single blast. The Russian force at this moment actually under arms, is even more than sufficient to encourage their sovereign to declare war. It is said that the military strength of this country is embattled on the Persian and Tartarian frontiers. The fact is quite otherwise. Between the Caspian and the Black Sea, there may be at present about 25,000 men, on account of the hostilities carried on in that vicinity. There are, moreover, 25 or 30,000 troops on the frontiers of Sweden; and notwithstanding all these deductions, there are still 300,000 well-disciplined and hardy troops between the Black Sea and the Baltic. One hundred thousand of such gallant and hardy men, if once landed in Italy, would not be so easily conquered as some of the French politicians are apt to suppose. Let them bring to their recollection the gallant achievements of a handful of Russians, who, in the last war, in one campaign, drove all Italy and Lombardy before them, and they will find that the most renowned French generals were successively defeated; and that, even at Zurich, Russia gained admiration, notwithstanding the faults of her chiefs, and the backwardness of her allies.

All this serves to prove, that a declaration of war on the part of Russia against France would be



sufficiently formidable to encourage the German empire, now crushed by the latter power, to occupy the troops of France, and by that means to afford an opportunity to Italy, Switzerland, Spain, Portugal, Holland, and Hanover, to shake off the Gallic yoke. As to the project of invading England, it is an absolute chimera—a wild project, which can never be successful; and even were it so, it must prove destructive to the rest of the world. England is at this moment at the highest point of elevation. But how can England, existing only by her industry and her trade, preserve her present situation, unless by upholding the balance of the world? It is then the obvious interest of Russia to assist England, who by her system should be friendly to all nations, and to repress France, the selfish principles of whose government are inimical to the greater powers of Europe, and oppressive to the smaller states.

Such is the substance of this important paper. It affords more information, and indeed of an authentic character, with respect to the disposition and sentiments of the Russian cabinet, than could at that time be collected from any other source. The liberal views of the emperor Alexander may here be advantageously contrasted with the insidious policy of the French government. While invasion, rapine, and oppression, characterize the system pursued by France, Russia organizes her immense resources for the protection of the weak, and in defence of the violated rights of nations. The apparent indecision of Austria and Prussia seemed, more than any other cause, to prevent Russia from assuming offensive operations. About

the same time, however, that the sentiments of the Russian cabinet were thus made known to Europe, M. d'Oubril was instructed to demand the necessary passports to enable him to quit France, after having transmitted to the minister for foreign affairs a recapitulation of the conduct of his august master, and the proceedings of the French government. In order to state more distinctly the political grounds of disagreement between Russia and France, it may not be improper to give the substance of the two last notes which passed between the Russian chargé d'affaires, and the French minister for foreign affairs.

The first note is dated the 29th of July, and is intended as an answer to M. d'Oubril's note of the 21st of the same month. It declares, that whenever the court of Russia shall fulfil the articles of its treaty with France, the latter will be ready to execute them with the same fidelity; and claims in particular the execution of the third article of the secret convention, by which the contracting parties engage not to suffer their respective subjects to maintain any correspondence, direct or indirect, with the enemies of the two states. It then proceeds to accuse Russia of having given protection and encouragement to such emigrants as were the declared enemies of the French government, and charges count Markow with having constantly encouraged, during his residence in Paris, every kind of intrigue which could disturb the public tranquillity. The mourning of the Russian court for the duke of Enghien is also cited as an instance of the determination of this government to disregard the fulfilment of the third article of  
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the secret convention. The French government then demands the execution of the ninth article of this convention, which relates to the independence of the republic of the Seven Islands, and accuses Russia of an open violation of this article. It then requires the execution of the second article of this convention, by which it appears that Russia was engaged to unite its endeavours with those of France, to consolidate a general peace, to re-establish a just balance in the four parts of the world, and to procure the liberty of the seas. The cabinet of Russia is represented as expecting that France should fulfil the stipulations to which she is engaged, without executing, on her part, those which it is bound to perform. Such a proceeding is described to be that of a conqueror towards a vanquished power; upon the supposition that France could be intimidated by menaces, or that she would acknowledge the superiority of any other power. The note concludes with the declaration, that the emperor of the French wishes for the peace of the continent; that he has made all possible advances to re-establish it with Russia; and that, with the assistance of God and his arms, he is not in a situation to fear the consequences.

The note which M. d'Oubril presented, upon demanding the requisite passports to leave the French territory, specifically states the distinct grounds of dissension between Russia and France, and represents the subsisting relations to be such as to render the continuance of any further diplomatic intercourse entirely unnecessary. After stating the desire of his imperial majesty to establish a permanent and solid understanding between the two governments, and

the scrupulous fidelity with which his engagements with the French government had been fulfilled, the note proceeds to observe, that his majesty had an equal right to expect, that the stipulations which France was bound to perform would have been executed with the same punctuality. But so far from showing any disposition to fulfil them, considerable exertions had been made to retard their accomplishment.—The king of Sardinia, who has been wholly deprived of his possessions in Italy by the union of Piedmont to France, has still to look for that indemnity which the cabinet of the Tuilleries had solemnly pledged itself to Russia to allow him, and which the latter has continually demanded.—The king of Naples, who was freed for a short time from the presence of a French army in his kingdom, beholds it again occupying his provinces, under a pretext, the nature of which is not known to his imperial majesty; and he is consequently placed out of the line of the independent states.—The whole of Italy has been changed by the innovations which the government of the republic has caused it to undergo since the conclusion of the peace between Russia and France, without any preliminary concert with his imperial majesty; although it had been agreed upon by the two powers, at that period, that there should be an understanding between them as to the political arrangements that were to be adopted in that country.—Hostilities having been renewed between England and France, the integrity of the territory of the German empire was violated, notwithstanding France had very lately engaged to protect it in common with his majesty the emperor. The cabinet of St. Cloud thought pro-



per to assert, that the dignity of king of England, and that of elector of Brunswick Lunenburgh, being united in the same person, were not distinct, though such distinction was never disputed by the republican government during the last years of the late war. It was, therefore, contrary to every notion of right and justice, to make war upon a country which, by the constitution of the Germanic empire, of which it was a part, and the public proceedings by which it was guarantied, should be totally exempt from such a visitation.—The possession of Cuxhaven, which under no pretext could have been considered as English property, was, notwithstanding, effected by French troops, and the Hans Towns have been compelled to advance forced loans to avoid a similar fate.—To these numerous causes of dissatisfaction, connected with the higher interests of Europe, the government of France has thought proper to add all those which it could directly offer to Russia, by the offensive assertions which it advanced and circulated against ministers honoured with the confidence of his imperial majesty; by the scenes which the Russian envoy was compelled to witness at the Thuilleries; by the improper perseverance which the cabinet of St. Cloud displayed, in persecuting, in foreign countries, persons who were employed by the court of Russia; and, lastly, by that unexampled proceeding which it took the liberty of committing, when it compelled the pope to deliver up a naturalized Russian, without paying any regard to the representations and claims of his imperial majesty on that point. The recent act of violence committed by the French troops in the territory of the elector of Baden,

having roused the anxiety of the emperor for the security and independence of the states of Europe, which are within the reach of France, his majesty expressed his opinion as to the necessity of tranquillizing them on that point; and that the French government should make such satisfaction as the empire had a right to demand, and adopt such measures as might tend to calm the uneasiness and alarm of Europe.

The note then proceeds to state that France, instead of availing herself of the good offices of the emperor of Russia, seemed to have taken an invariable resolution to adopt for her conduct a line absolutely contrary to the principles of justice and the laws of nations, and which, consequently, could not harmonize with the sentiments and principles professed by his imperial majesty. It justifies the presence of the Russian troops in the republic of the Seven Islands, and asserts that, so far from this measure having been adopted without the concurrence of France, the minister for foreign affairs must be sensible that the island of Corfu, which had been first evacuated by the Russian troops, was occupied by those drawn from the state of Naples, with the consent of the Porte, by the request of the inhabitants, and in consequence of a previous arrangement with France. All correspondence between Russia and France is then declared to be perfectly useless, and must therefore cease; and his majesty the emperor is said only to wait for intelligence of the departure of his chargé d'affaires, to signify to the French mission that it should quit his capital. A desire to avoid a rupture with France is, however, conditionally expressed. The blame of having caused the present discordant



ant state of things is imputed to France alone, and upon the conduct of that power the great question of peace or war is represented to depend. In case it shall compel Russia, either by fresh injuries, or by provocations aimed against her or against her allies, or by still threatening more seriously the security and independence of Europe, his majesty, the note declares, will then manifest as much energy in the employment of extreme but justifiable measures, as he has given proofs of patience, in exercising all the moderation consistent with the honour and dignity of his crown.

We have felt it necessary to explain, at considerable length, all the public grounds of political discordancy between the two courts. It was the more expedient to do this, in order, should hostilities result from the cessation of all intercourse between Russia and France, that the motives by which the proceedings of these powers are regulated, and the views with which such distant nations grasp the destructive sword of war, may be publicly known. Independently, however, of these general grounds of mutual complaint, it appears highly probable, that the dissatisfaction with which the emperor Alexander viewed the proceedings of the cabinet of St. Cloud, was in some measure influenced and aggravated by personal considerations. It is evident, from a passage in M. d'Oubril's note of the 21st of July, that the first consul had resented in the most indecorous, if not in the most cruel, gross, and barbarous terms, the official animadversions of the emperor of Russia, on the seizure and execution of the gallant and unhappy duke of Enghien: in proof of

which we insert the following passage from the note of the Russian chargé d'affaires. "It does not appear how it could be easily proved in the present dispute, that Russia, by protesting against a manifest violation of the law of nations, committed beyond the limits of the French republic, on a neutral territory of the German empire, by a guarantying and mediating power, has thereby interfered in the internal concerns of France; and to interfere in which the emperor never had the most distant idea. Every state is indeed competent to outlaw a person within its own limits; but no state has a right arbitrarily to place any person out of the protection of the law of nations; because the latter does not depend upon the decrees of any single state, but is grounded upon the unanimous will of the commonwealth of sovereign states. Thus the French government could at most demand of the princes of the German empire, in conformity to the treaty of Luneville, that the emigrants in their states, who had not yet made choice of a country, and against whom authentic proofs could be produced, should be removed. But the French government was by no means justified in the invasion of those states, sword in hand, to carry off such persons by main force. It will hardly be credited, that the French cabinet, to maintain its erroneous principle, could deviate so far from every requisite decorum and the regard due to truth, as to allege examples which were altogether improper to be mentioned; that, in an official document, it should recall even a father's death to the recollection of his illustrious son, in order to wound his tender feelings; and



that, contrary to all truth and to all probability, it should raise an accusation against another government, whom France, because she is at war with it, never ceases to calumniate."

Had the original French note never been laid before the public, it would probably have been questioned, whether the polished intercourse of diplomatic communication had ever been disfigured by the employment of such offensive insulting terms. However undeserving the actions of the late emperor may be of grateful remembrance, however destitute his memory of every claim to filial respect, still, had his character merited the universal censure or even execration of mankind, the established forms of common delicacy required, that the son should never be reminded of the assassination of his father. The act alone of such dreadful and sanguinary violence, independently of all considerations of kindred or regard, could not be wantonly brought to the recollection of the emperor Alexander, without exciting feelings of horror and distress. But it is strikingly observable, that of late the civil, military, and diplomatic proceedings of the French government have been stamped with features of violence and barbarism. The subversion of the French monarchy appears to have involved the extinction of the forms of polished intercourse which formerly prevailed. As the official note to which M. d'Oubril alludes, blends with the language of personal insult, the monstrous and totally groundless charge of this country being implicated in the assassination of the late emperor, and at the same time attempts to justify the violation of the rights of neutrality, by a kind

of specious illustration drawn from the circumstances attending this horrid transaction, it may be proper to quote the passage in which the feelings of Alexander are insulted, and the character of this country calumniated. It is as follows.

"In the note, sir, which you have delivered, you require—'That France should employ the most efficacious means to tranquillize the different governments, and to let an order of things cease in Europe, which is too alarming for their security and independence.'—But is not this independence of the states of Europe attacked, if it appears that Russia protects and maintains, at Dresden and at Rome, authors of plots, who seek to abuse the privilege of their residence, for the purpose of disquieting the neighbouring states? and if the Russian ministers at most of the courts of Europe pretend to place under the protection of the law of nations, persons who are natives of that very country where those ministers reside, as M. de Markow wanted to do at Paris with a Genevese? These are real infringements of the independence of the states of Europe; these are the very infringements which ought to excite their vigorous remonstrances. The circumstance against which an outcry is raised, is of a very different nature. By the treaty of Luneville, Germany and France had mutually engaged to allow no asylum to any of those men who could disturb their respective tranquillity. The emigrants who resided at Baden, at Friburg, at Dresden, &c., were by that treaty not to be suffered in the German empire; and this circumstance shows what real impropriety there was in the conduct of Russia.

France



France requires of her to remove emigrants who were in the employment of Russia, from countries where they rendered themselves conspicuous only by their intrigues; and Russia insists upon maintaining them there; and the remonstrance she now makes leads to this question:—If, when England planned the murder of Paul I., intelligence had been received that the authors of the plot were at a league from the frontier, would not pains have been taken to arrest them?"

All comment upon the indecorum of such language, and any attempt to exculpate the British cabinet from having been a party to the assassination of the late emperor, are equally unnecessary. The impropriety and the injustice of both are glaringly manifest. The former must strike the most untutored feelings, and the latter is refuted by the universally acknowledged humanity which tempers the proceedings of this government. It is also evident, that such relations as those which we have represented to exist between France and Russia, are but little calculated to re-establish a permanently good understanding between the two powers. If general recrimination be likely to terminate in hostilities, this probability loses almost all its uncertainty, when public grounds of dissatisfaction are aggravated by circumstances of personal insult. Between arbitrary monarchs, war is almost sure to result from such a combination of causes of dissension. Not that we mean to impute to the emperor Alexander the indiscretion of suffering his judgment to be determined, upon a question of such magnitude as peace or war, by mere personal motives. We only mean to assert, that as human nature

is constituted, such considerations have much influence upon the decisions of the mind; and although they may not be so powerful as to produce any particular determination by themselves, still, in conjunction with other motives, they may materially contribute to fix the waverings of irresolution, by leading to the immediate adoption of decisive measures. It requires no argument to convince us, that the emperor of Russia possesses too much magnanimity of character, to allow any decision which may sensibly affect the interests, the happiness, and the prosperity of his own subjects, or of Europe in general, to be prompted by feelings of personal resentment or disgust. On the contrary, his conduct appears to be regulated and determined by principles of justice and moderation; and should his imperial majesty resort to arms, it will be in defence of the general interests of Europe, and not for the promotion of any objects connected with a narrow and selfish system of policy. What advantage, but that which is necessarily comprehended in the establishment of the general security and permanent tranquillity of Europe, can Russia expect to derive from taking any share in a contest with France? To assist in rescuing the states of the continent from impending subjugation, to assert in arms the rights and the law of nations, to restrain the ambition and check the spirit of aggrandizement which impel the French government to menace the safety and disturb the repose of the neighbouring powers:—these are the great objects for the accomplishment of which alone, should Russia take an active interest in the present dispute, she will have recourse to arms. The  
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immediate security of her own dominions is no where endangered: she can desire no new acquisitions of territory, for her dominions more than doubly exceed the extent of the Roman empire in the most flourishing period of its existence. From France she has nothing to apprehend; and from any impression which she may be able, in conjunction with Austria, to make on the possessions of the common enemy, she has no expectation of any advantage, but that of participating in the glory of establishing the general safety of Europe upon a firm and durable foundation. Such disinterested and liberal views naturally increased the desire which the British government was known to entertain, of obtaining, if possible, the co-operation of Russia, in order to bring the present war to a just and honourable issue.

M. d'Oubril's request to be supplied with passports to quit Paris, and the formal declaration of a cessation of all diplomatic intercourse between Russia and France, naturally gave rise to an opinion, that the hostile disposition manifested by the court of Petersburg was favourable to the views of this country, with respect to the formation of a continental alliance. The conduct pursued by the king of Sweden also contributed to strengthen this opinion. It was not, however, till the commencement of September, that the rumour of an alliance became the subject of general discussion; and about the middle of October, all uncertainty with regard to the negotiation of an offensive and defensive treaty with Russia, was supposed to be removed. Although an alliance with this cabinet acquires a great degree of importance, when ren-

dered subsidiary to an alliance with one of the two great powers of Germany, yet, as the establishment of such relations with the court of Petersburg might eventually lead to a more intimate political connection with Prussia or Austria, it seemed to be in every respect desirable. But the first proceedings of Russia, instead of appearing to be conducive to this object, created some uneasiness at Vienna. The augmentation of the number of the Russian troops in the republic of the Seven Islands was at first viewed by the Austrian cabinet with some degree of jealousy. Hopes were, notwithstanding this circumstance, entertained by the British government, that an alliance with Russia might be productive of the greatest advantages, by encouraging the continental powers to resist the encroachments of France. It was expected, that if they united for the accomplishment of an object so essentially connected with the prosperity and independence of their respective dominions, all suspicion and jealousy would be laid aside; and that their co-operation would be distinguished by disinterestedness and zeal. With these views, the present ministry ardently desired the establishment of more intimate relations with the cabinet of St. Petersburg; and towards the conclusion of the year, it was the general opinion that they had fully succeeded in the negotiation of a treaty of offensive and defensive alliance.

With respect to occurrences more immediately of a domestic nature, it does not occur to us that any arose, within the year, of very prominent importance. It may not, however, be altogether improper to make a few observations



tions on the letters of the lords Redesdale and Fingal. These letters, it appears, were published without the concurrence of the parties; at least without the authority of lord Redesdale. Their contents excited a very considerable degree of interest; but, it is to be apprehended, that the impression which they produced had not the effect of strengthening the attachment of the catholics to his majesty's government. A want of confidence in their loyalty is expressed in the letters of lord Redesdale. How far grounds for such suspicion may really have existed, it is exceedingly difficult to determine. Facts may have been communicated to his lordship which might fully justify a partial distrust. But those who have witnessed the loyal and patriotic exertions of the great body of the catholics of Ireland, in circumstances of critical emergency, will hesitate, or rather refuse, to believe that they are deservedly exposed to general distrust. When, however, it is recollected, that his lordship was the mover of the bill which gave the catholics a participation of some of the valuable privileges of the British constitution, it cannot be imagined that he would at once suspect the sentiments and proceedings of a very numerous class of individuals, whose views and interests he had exerted himself to promote, without some strong grounds of dissatisfaction: in the absence of the documents upon which the distrust expressed by lord Redesdale is probably founded, it is quite impossible to say to what extent such opinions might, at that time, have been reasonably entertained. But as this correspondence has been the subject of much severe animadversion, we are desirous, without assuming the character either

of zealous apologists, or of acrimonious censors, to offer upon these letters a few temperate observations.

In attempting to form an impartial judgment on the merits of this case, it is material that the political situation of Ireland, when the correspondence originated, should not be overlooked. Although many months had not elapsed from the period of the recommencement of hostilities, yet the alarm of invasion was perhaps at no period of the war more general than in the month of August, in the preceding year. Ireland was more especially supposed to be the part of the British empire most liable to attack; and one of the strongest grounds for this opinion was the known existence of partial discontent. It was, therefore, in Ireland, where an attack was thought most likely to be attempted; for it was there, if any where, the enemy had some chance of co-operation. The lamentable insurrection of the 23d of July furnished an additional argument in support of this belief, and could not fail to give occasion to suspect that many of the catholics were disposed to effect a change in the government of Ireland. Shortly after this abortive attempt, which was marked by the commission of many horrible atrocities, lord Fingal, in conformity to his lordship's request, was appointed by the Irish chancellor a magistrate for the county of Meath. When lord Redesdale transmitted the warrant for this purpose, his lordship, impressed with the importance of the duties which a nobleman of the Roman catholic religion had undertaken to perform, and giving him ample credit for very extensive influence among the members of the Romish persuasion, ap-  
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pears to have conceived it a fit opportunity to point out to lord Fingal the expediency of exerting himself for the preservation of the public peace. His lordship, at the same time, entered very fully into explanation of the reasons which, in his opinion, particularly required the most active vigilance. But in stating to lord Fingal the nature of the very important duties which his lordship had voluntarily undertaken to discharge, lord Redesdale particularly dwelt upon the necessity of most strongly inculcating and enforcing the great duty of allegiance. After establishing it as a principle, that no duty of religion was contrary to the duty of allegiance, his lordship proceeds to observe, that many of the highest ministers of the Roman persuasion inculcate, that all who differ from them in religious opinions, are to be considered as guilty of defection from the see of Rome; in other words, guilty of rebellion. It cannot, therefore, be expected that vulgar men should think themselves bound by any tie of allegiance to his majesty, who is thus represented to them as guilty of a breach of what is termed a higher duty of allegiance.

When lord Redesdale, actuated without doubt by the purest sentiments of patriotism and religion, addressed these observations to a Roman catholic nobleman, it did not occur to his lordship, that, without some qualification, they might easily be construed into an aspersion upon the faith and the loyalty of the whole body of the catholics of Ireland. Nor, to an individual attached to any particular persuasion, could any radical objection to his fundamental tenets be stated, without either wounding his feelings, or provoking a reply. A very important distinction, too,

between spiritual and temporal allegiance, seems altogether to have escaped the attention of his lordship; or, at least, if it be admitted that such a distinction exists, his lordship does not appear to allow the catholics the merit of regulating their actions accordingly. On the contrary, those who profess the Roman religion consider, apparently in lord Redesdale's opinion, that their allegiance to the see of Rome absolves them from temporal allegiance to his majesty. There is, however, the strongest presumption that this is by no means the case. For the Roman catholics of Ireland, so far as we have had it in our power to collect any information respecting their religious and civil opinions, profess only a spiritual allegiance to the pope, but acknowledge a temporal allegiance to his majesty. Indeed, in lord Fingal's answer, it is expressly stated, that the doctrine of allegiance is perfectly understood, and unceasingly preached by the clergy; and that the loyalty and allegiance of the catholics would oblige them to resist even the head of the see of Rome, if it were possible that he should land in Ireland with an invading army.

This assurance, however, did not appear to satisfy lord Redesdale; and as the correspondence with the earl of Fingal proceeded, his lordship expressed his persuasion, that the want of true christian charity had been the real cause of all the unfortunate events which of late had disgraced that country; that the Roman catholics, instead of being taught to live in charity with all men, were unfortunately instructed to exercise a very confined charity, being told they are exclusively members of the church of Christ; and that doctor Troy and doctor Hussey had strenuously



ly insisted on the exclusive doctrine. From this, his lordship infers, that as long as the priests of the see of Rome shall think fit to hold up to their flocks, that all who do not yield obedience to that see are guilty of rebellion against it; are not to be considered as members of the church of Christ; and therefore are not, in the eyes of the vulgar at least, to be considered as Christians; they never will bear christian charity towards those who are so represented; and will never be loyal and dutiful subjects of a king, thus held out to them as himself a rebel.

It must be confessed, there appears to have been some foundation for apprehending that the principles of exclusive charity and allegiance might, in some instances, have been inculcated by the clergy. For the earl of Fingal acknowledges that he cannot attempt to vindicate all those who, at different times, have addressed the catholics. The late exhortations, however, his lordship says, were intended and calculated to inspire sentiments of loyalty, obedience, and christian charity. Such instructions he had constantly heard given by the catholic clergy to their flocks; nothing to excite ill-will or dislike to any person on account of his religious belief, but the most perfect brotherly love and affection to all. But even if the principles of exclusive charity were occasionally preached to the catholics, objectionable as such principles are; if they were inculcated only generally and speculatively, they were not likely to produce any very material injury. The consequences which they involve are not so apparently obvious, as they are represented to be in his lordship's inferences. Before an ignorant catholic

discovers a rebel in the august head of the British empire, a long process of false and sophistical reasoning is necessary to conduct his mind to so absurd a conclusion. The tenets of every religion may be divided into those which are purely speculative, and those which peremptorily dictate a certain line of conduct. The maxim of exclusive charity may belong to the speculative tenets of the Romish faith; but the adaptation of moral conduct to such a principle, in the present enlightened period, is altogether impracticable. The common interchange of services, which constantly takes place in the intercourse between catholics and protestants, sufficiently demonstrates, that exclusive charity is not a practical tenet of the Roman church. Far otherwise is the fact; even the language of the pastoral letters of their bishops proves this to be the case. Besides, the fundamental principles of the christian religion, in which the fullest coincidence prevails among catholics and protestants, are in direct opposition to such a limitation of charity. The exclusive doctrine may sometimes be inculcated by the priests of the Romish persuasion; but this is not the general practice of the great body of the clergy. Some members of our own church do not always rigidly adhere to the practical tenets of the established religion of the country; but would it not be unjust, on this account, to accuse so respectable a body as the clergy of this country, of the folly of attempting to inculcate many of the absurdities of speculative theology?

It is unnecessary for us to enter more fully into this subject. We have already stated the fundamental points upon which lord Redesdale



dale and the earl of Fingal are at issue. The former conceives that the allegiance of the catholics to the see of Rome is regarded by them as paramount to their allegiance to his majesty; and that the doctrine of exclusive charity is so generally inculcated as to afford but little expectation, that the sentiments of those of the people of Ireland who adhere to the see of Rome, towards those who refuse obedience to it, may be conducive to their living together in peace. The earl of Fingal, on the contrary, represents the temporal allegiance of the catholics to his majesty, as considered by them, to be paramount to their temporal allegiance to the see of Rome, and declares, that the doctrines of the priests of the Romish persuasion, instead of impressing on the catholics the limited benevolence of exclusive charity, exhort them to the exercise of the most perfect brotherly love and affection to all mankind.

It is the more difficult to pronounce an impartial judgment on the statements before us, since the whole of the correspondence was not published. Where religious differences exist, and imaginary political grievances are endured, it is by no means uncommon to employ religion as an instrument to promote political ends. Upon this ground alone, lord Redesdale might readily suspect, especially at a time when an insurrectionary disposition was known not to have entirely subsided, that the disaffected amongst the catholic clergy might occasionally take advantage of the ignorance and credulity of the lower orders of their persuasion, and impress upon their minds sentiments unfavourable to loyalty. This suspicion might have been, in a great measure, confirmed by re-

presentations, whether true or false, made to his lordship in too general terms. The designs of a catholic enemy against that part of the British empire, might have had the effect of communicating a stronger apprehension of danger from the suspected dissemination of disloyal sentiments. In a situation of affairs in which every circumstance connected with public danger might have presented itself to the mind in the vivid colours of exaggeration, it was by no means surprising, that a nobleman holding a situation of such high importance and responsibility as that of chancellor of Ireland, should express the greatest anxiety to resort to every possible measure adapted to maintain the preservation of the public peace. It was, therefore, difficult, in conveying instructions to a catholic nobleman, who, from patriotic motives alone, had solicited to be appointed a magistrate, to avoid insisting on the importance of inculcating a paramount allegiance to his majesty, if his lordship had received certain information that a different doctrine was generally promulgated by the priests of the Romish church. That it was at the same time proper to enter into a religious discussion of various tenets of the catholic faith, and to express an apprehension of a general political disaffection among the adherents of the see of Rome, arising from the very principles of their religious creed, but few perhaps will be inclined to admit. Zeal, even in the best of causes, may sometimes exceed its proper boundaries; and whatever is objectionable in this correspondence may probably have originated solely from an unlimited anxiety to preserve entire the internal tranquillity of Ireland.



## C H A P. VIII.

*War in India—Immediate Cause of Hostilities—System of Policy formerly pursued by the Marquis Cornwallis adopted by the Governor-General—The Embarrassments of the Peishwah favourable to the Prosecution of this System—Alliance between the British Government and the Peishwah—Proceedings of Dowlut Rao Scindiah in consequence of the Conclusion of this Alliance—Scindiah's Views of Encroachment upon the Peishwah's Authority—Proceedings and Views of the Rajah of Berar—Statement of the Foundation of the Pretensions of Scindiah and the Rajah of Berar to the Supreme Authority in the Marhatta Empire—Concise Historical View of the Establishment of this Empire—Examination of the Independent Right of the Peishwah to conclude Treaties with Foreign Powers—Actual State of the Peishwah's Authority—Statement of the Combined Forces of Scindiah and the Rajah of Berar assembled on the Frontier of the Soubabdar of the Dekan—Discussions with Scindiah and the Rajah of Berar on the Subject of withdrawing their Armies to their respective Stations—Authentic Intelligence of the hostile Designs of these Chieftains—Statement of the Extent of Monsieur Perron's territorial Power;—and of the Forces of the Enemy—Amount and Distribution of the British Forces—Plan of the Campaign—Commencement of Hostilities in the Dekan—The Fortress of Ahmednuggur taken by Assault—The Fortress of Jalnapoor attacked and carried—Decisive Battle of Assye—Surrender of Boorhanpoor and the Hill-Fort of Asseergbur—Military Operations in the Province of Guzerat—Fort of Baroach stormed and carried—Surrender of Champoner and the Fort of Porwangbur—Invasion of the Province of Cuttuck—Surrender of Manickpatam, the Pagoda of Jaggernaut, Balasore and Soorong—Reduction of the Fort of Brabutty—Military Operations on the North-west Frontier of Oude—Battle of Coel—Ally-Ghur taken by Assault—Monsieur Perron's Resignation—Affair at Shekoabad—Battle of Debli, and Surrender of the City and Forts of Debli—Restoration of the Emperor Shah Aulum—Expulsion of the Enemy from the Province of Bundelcund—Surrender of the Town and Fort of Agra—Decisive Battle of Laswarée—Concise Recapitulation of the Achievements of the British Arms from the Commencement to the End of the Campaign—Statement of the beneficial Consequences likely to result from the successful Termination of the War, and Treaties concluded with the principal Marhatta Chieftains—Reflections on these Events.*

WHILE we were thus preparing for the prosecution of the war with France, information was received by his majesty's government of the termination of hostilities in India. The news of this

happy event diffused a more general satisfaction, in consequence of its entirely removing the apprehension which many were inclined to entertain, that we were engaged in an arduous contest with several of the



the most formidable of the native powers, without any well-grounded expectation of ultimate success. This apprehension seemed to derive its origin from an opinion, that the extension of our dominion in India must finally weaken our power in that distant quarter of the globe. As every victory is supposed to be purchased with a diminution of our military resources, so it is conceived that every new acquisition of territory, necessarily requiring an increase in our permanent regular force, must have the effect of rendering our possessions less secure; since our line of frontier is thus extended, while our means of preservation and defence are diminished. It cannot be denied, that such an opinion is not deficient in plausibility. But it should be remembered, that conquests are achieved by a destruction of part of the resources of the enemy. The question of political strength or weakness, therefore, is entirely relative. The conquering power must for a time preserve its relative superiority; and, upon the admission that this relative strength or weakness is not liable to any material fluctuation, the acquisition of territory is not accompanied with a proportionate insecurity of possession.

But whatever sentiments may prevail on this subject, or whatever difference of opinion may arise with respect to the expediency or justice of the war with the confederated Marhatta chieftains, no one can deny that it was conducted with extraordinary judgment and vigor, and that the events to which it gave rise, exhibit a series of brilliant achievements and splendid victories, which cannot be contemplated without emotions of national pride and glory. If,

upon inquiry into the immediate cause and objects of the war, it shall appear, that the sword has been unsheathed in India in vindication of the just rights of our allies, and for the preservation of the menaced security of the dominions of the company, we shall review with still greater satisfaction the rapid progress of the British arms in the splendid career of victory. To form a deliberate and impartial judgment on the origin of this contest, and to determine how far it supplied a sufficient and justifiable cause of war, it will be necessary dispassionately to examine the proceedings of the belligerent parties previously to the commencement of hostilities.

According to the statement of the marquis of Wellesley, the immediate cause of the war was the refusal of the confederated Marhatta chieftains to separate and to withdraw to their usual stations, within their respective territories, the armies which they had assembled and united on the frontier of our ally the soubahdar of the Dekan, after having declared, that the intention of that junction was to decide whether there should be peace or war with the British government and its allies. The determination of the chieftains to maintain this position was regarded by the noble marquis as a manifest indication of a design to frustrate by hostilities, or by the terror of their arms, the operation of the alliance concluded between the British government and the Peishwah, and to disturb the tranquillity of the dominions of the Nizam, and ultimately of those of the company. The union of the confederate forces, and their commanding and menacing position, afforded every advantage to the chieftains in prosecuting



secuting the hostile designs which they had manifested, and enabled them to hold in their hands the issues of peace and war, and to arbitrate the fate of the Dekan according to their interests or caprice. The position and state of Scindiah's forces, under the command of French officers in Hindostan, and the machinations of Monsieur Peron with the adjoining states, and with the subjects of the company and of the vizier, manifested additional proofs of the hostile designs of the confederates, and furnished those chieftains with additional means of prosecuting such designs.

Such are stated by the marquis of Wellesley to be the grounds which constituted a just, distinct, and lawful cause of war. If implicit confidence be placed in the accuracy and fairness of this representation, it would be difficult to dispute the existence of a legitimate object of hostility. It should, however, always be recollected, that in the investigation of the origin of the war in India, we are unfortunately obliged, in a great measure, to form our opinion upon documents supplied by only one of the belligerent parties. On the other hand, the wisdom and moderation displayed by the noble marquis in the late war against Tippoo Sultan, presumptively guaranty the correctness and fidelity of the representation. The judgment may be further assisted by an investigation of the discussions which took place antecedently to the rupture with the Marhatta chieftains.

It may be proper to exhibit, in a distinct and connected form, all the material circumstances which produced a dissolution of the relations of amity between the British government and the confederated chieftains, Dowlut Rao Scindiah,

1804.

and the rajah of Berar. But, in the first place, it is important that the system of policy pursued by the governor-general should be concisely explained. It differs, indeed, but little from the system formerly adopted by the marquis Cornwallis:—to weaken the Marhatta power, or, what produces the same effect, to strengthen the British dominion by a defensive alliance with some of the most considerable chieftains of that confederacy. In forming a defensive alliance with the Marhatta power against the sovereign of Mysore, lord Cornwallis formerly resorted to the acknowledged supreme authority of the peishwah, as the best foundation for such an alliance. His lordship, therefore, negotiated and concluded, on the 1st of June 1790, the treaty of Poohnah with the peishwah, without reference to any of the subordinate chieftains. It is to be observed, that the power of the peishwah has, for many years past, been acknowledged by all the feudatory states composing the Marhatta power, and universally by all the other states of India, to be the constitutional representative of the sovereign executive authority of the Marhatta empire. The principal chieftains have been regarded as the feudatory subjects and officers of the peishwah's government. But previously to the late hostilities in Mysore, the usurpation of Dowlut Rao Scindiah, of whose military power the most efficient part was under the command and influence of French adventurers, had in effect dissolved the alliance formed by lord Cornwallis with the Marhatta power upon the basis of the peishwah's paramount authority. The destruction of the hostile power of Mysore, in the year 1799, accompanied with the

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formation of an alliance with the court of Hyderabad, had left, among the native states in India, no power any way hostile to the British government, excepting the Marhattas. These states, however, without the assistance of an European ally, or without a general confederacy of the feudal chiefs of the empire, under the direction of a skilful, active, and enterprising leader, could scarcely ever become formidable to the British power in India.

In conformity to a system of policy, similar indeed to that which lord Cornwallis had formerly adopted, the marquis of Wellesley endeavoured to effect such an arrangement, as should prevent a general union of the Marhatta states, by which the tranquillity of our possessions, or of those of our allies, might be menaced. He therefore directed his attention to the establishment of a general defensive system. For this object the treaty concluded with the nizâm in 1800, appeared to lay a suitable foundation, and several of the Marhatta states were invited to enter into subsidiary engagements with the British government, in order that they might receive protection from a general alliance. Upon this principle, a subsidiary treaty was concluded with the guikwar. That chieftain, therefore, became attached to the company, and his alliance secured to them an important territorial acquisition in the maritime province of Guzerat. But the most efficient arrangement for the security of our possessions appeared to be an intimate alliance with the peishwah, the acknowledged sovereign power of the Marhatta empire; which, at the same time that it would render our influence and resources the main

support of that power, might have the effect of preserving a due balance between the several states composing the Marhatta confederacy, and would probably prevent an union dangerous to the safety of the British possessions. The policy of accomplishing such a system of alliances is manifestly confirmed, by the necessity of preventing the French government from extending its authority within the peninsula of Hindostan. It may preclude the occurrence of such internal convulsions, as would afford to France a favourable opportunity for effecting her ambitious designs. The views of the French government would, under such circumstances, be materially favoured by the strength and efficiency of the force of Monsieur Perron, whose territorial dominion extended to the most vulnerable part of our north-western frontier of Hindostan. Besides, the power and influence of Monsieur Perron became more important, from the circumstance of his holding the person and nominal authority of the unfortunate Shah Aulum, the deposed Moghul emperor, in the most abject and degrading subjection.

Under all these circumstances, the governor-general conceived it expedient to endeavour to establish such a connection between the peishwah and the British government, as might secure the stability and efficiency of the peishwah's authority, under the protection of the British power, but without affecting the interests or the rights of the feudatory chieftains of the Marhatta empire. Several efforts for that purpose had failed of success. Their failure was attributable to the ascendancy over the counsels of the peishwah, which was maintained by Scindiah, who, at the same



same time that he was jealous of the British power, was actuated by an inordinate desire of usurping the same authority at Poohnah, the capital of the peishwah's dominions, which Holkar was preparing to seize. It is remarkable that the peishwah, notwithstanding the many and evident advantages which he would derive from an alliance with the British government, obstinately persisted in refusing to accede to the moderate and salutary propositions which were offered to his acceptance, until his authority was subverted, his country and capital abandoned to devastation and plunder, and he himself expelled from Poohnah, by Holkar, his feudatory chieftain. But when Scindiah perceived that his separate dominions and hereditary interests would be exposed by the eventual success of Holkar, he no longer opposed the alliance of the peishwah with the company, but left his highness at liberty to embrace the British protection. It was not, however, before Holkar had actually arrived, at the head of a large army, in the neighbourhood of Poohnah, that he at all consented to the governor-general's propositions.

The combined army of the peishwah and of Scindiah marched from Poohnah for the purpose of encountering Holkar's force. On the 25th of October 1802, the two armies engaged; the combined army was totally defeated, and Holkar took possession of the peishwah's capital. On the same day, his highness sent his minister to the British resident, desiring the establishment of a subsidiary force of six battalions of sepoys, with the usual compliment of artillery, and conveying a sunnud, or grant, for territory to the annual amount of twenty-five

lacs of rupees, to be ceded in perpetuity to the company, for the payment of that force. The resident was at the same time assured of the peishwah's earnest desire to conclude, with the least possible delay, a general defensive alliance with the honourable company, upon the principles of the treaty concluded at Hyderabad in the month of October 1800. A treaty to this effect was concluded at Bassein the 31st of December 1802, or the 5th of Ramzaum, A. H. 1217.

The aid which the peishwah solicited was immediately granted. His highness was in consequence restored, by means of this assistance, to the exercise of his authority in his territorial dominions; and the engagements which he afterwards contracted with the British government were calculated to secure his rights and independence against the future designs of any foreign or domestic enemy. Nor did these engagements contain any stipulations injurious to the just rights of the feudatory chieftains of the Marhatta empire, but provided additional security for the unmolested exercise of those rights. It is of importance to remark, that three months after the conclusion of the treaty, Dowlut Rao Scindiah distinctly expressed his approbation of the measures which had been adopted for the restoration of the peishwah's authority; and upon a copy of the treaty of Bassein being put into his hands, with an assurance that it was merely of a defensive nature, he admitted that it was not injurious either to his own rights, or to those of the feudatory chieftains. After some discussion, he also admitted, that the peishwah possessed the right to conclude the treaty of Bassein, without the concurrence of the



feudatory Marhatta chieftains. It appears, however, that he was in some degree mortified at not having been consulted. As guarantee to the treaty of Salbye, he expected this mark of attention. Notwithstanding this acknowledgment of Scindiah's, with respect to the operation of the treaty of Bassein, he still persisted in soliciting the junction of the rajah of Berar, with the whole body of his forces, for the avowed purpose of deciding the question of peace or war; or, in other words, of eventually employing their united power and resources to invade our territories and those of our allies, and to subvert the arrangements concluded at Bassein between the British government and the peishwah. In compliance with the solicitations of Dowlut Rao Scindiah, the rajah of Berar commenced his march, in order to effect the proposed junction of their numerous armies, and to maintain a menacing position on the frontier of the nizam, the ally of the British government.

The marquis of Wellesley distinctly states, that the hostile measures of these chieftains were not adopted with a view either to defend their own rights and interests against any apprehended aggression, or to secure the protection and internal settlement of their own possessions in the vicinity of the nizam's dominions. Their measures, on the contrary, are stated to have been avowedly concerted to carry into effect their eventual resolution of undertaking a war of aggression against the British government and its allies, with a view to usurp the authority of the peishwah, and to destroy a treaty, the tendency of which they had not arraigned, and which the peishwah was acknowledged to be competent

to conclude, even by the direct admission of Dowlut Rao Scindiah. These and other indications of hostility induced the British government to require that Scindiah and the rajah of Berar should retire with their armies to their usual stations in Berar and the north of Hindostan. It was at the same time proposed, that the British army in the Dekan should also retire in a similar manner. But before we explain the nature of the discussions which took place relative to the withdrawing of all these forces to their usual positions, it may be necessary to state the precise views of Scindiah and the rajah of Berar, and the motives which induced them to assume a hostile attitude.

The proceedings of Scindiah, since his accession to the dominions of his uncle Madhaje Scindiah, have manifested a systematic design of acquiring an ascendancy in the Marhatta state. It was upon the ruins of the peishwah's authority that he intended to establish his supremacy. The government and person of the peishwah have long been subjected to the degrading control of Scindiah, who, for a considerable period of time, had remained with a numerous army in the vicinity of his capital. At the commencement even of the last war between the company and the sovereign of Mysore, the usurpation of Scindiah existed in full force. His influence in the Marhatta empire, at that crisis, deprived the British government of every advantage which might have arisen from the nominal alliance with the peishwah. It moreover supported the cause of Tippoo Sul-taun, and menaced the nizam's dominions previously to the expulsion of the French from Hyderabad



abad in October 1798, and subsequently in 1799, while the nizam's contingent was actually employed with the British forces in the common cause of the triple alliance against Tippoo Sultaun. Nothing but the direct interposition of the British government prevented Scindiah, at that time, from attempting the actual invasion of the nizam's dominions. The courts of Poohnah and Hyderabad were nevertheless influenced by the terror of his arms. But the successful progress of Jeswunt Rao Holkar, in the north of Hindostan, compelled him to retire from Poohnah, in the year 1800, for the protection of his own territories. Holkar, however, completely succeeded in establishing his authority at Poohnah, and, as we have already stated, entirely defeated Scindiah's troops, in the month of October 1802. This event required the utmost exertion of his power against his victorious enemy.

The marquis of Wellesley expresses his conviction, that if Scindiah had succeeded in subverting the power of Holkar, he would certainly have taken advantage of that success, in order to establish his own authority in the state of Poohnah. Had he reinstated the peishwah Bajee Rao in his government, or raised another to the musnud, it would have been merely to have constituted him the pageant of his own power. If the disposition of the other chieftains of the Marhatta empire should have encouraged an expectation of acquiescence, it is more than probable he would have usurped the supreme ministerial authority in his own name. Such a determination, it is to be remarked, has in no instance been avowed by Scindiah. It is only inferred from the uniform

tenour of his conduct, his personal character, habits, and disposition, and the invariable principles of Asiatic policy. These considerations render it impossible to suppose that he would have abandoned the absolute power which he would have acquired by the entire subversion of Holkar's usurpation. Nor was it to be expected that he would have adopted the liberal policy of restoring the exiled peishwah to the exercise of his supreme authority.

These suspicions are not removed by the circumstance of Scindiah's soliciting the co-operation of the British forces for the restoration of the peishwah. For this assistance was requested after the signal success of Holkar had produced a well-founded alarm. There is, according to the governor-general's statement, reason to believe, that he hoped with this aid to succeed against Holkar, without suspending or defeating his project of restoring his own undue ascendancy at Poohnah upon a more extensive basis. For it appears that the active and powerful exertions employed by the British government, at the express solicitation of the peishwah, for his highness's complete restoration to his supreme authority, were neither desired nor expected by Scindiah. The restoration of the peishwah, under British protection, Scindiah was perfectly aware, would have the effect of defeating the accomplishment of the objects of his ambition, injustice, and rapacity. It was equally manifest that a defensive alliance with the peishwah, while it secured the stability and efficiency of his authority, would diminish the influence and power of Scindiah, who in his quality of deputy to the vaquel ul mutuluk, an office similar



lar to that of a regent or viceroy, and held by the peishwah, exercised almost independent powers of sovereignty in the administration of the affairs of the nominal Moghul empire. Every arrangement, therefore, calculated to weaken the dangerous ascendancy of so powerful a chieftain, would necessarily tend to check his ambitious designs, and frustrate his projects of usurpation. This statement sufficiently explains the anxiety of Dowlut Rao Scindiah to disturb the operation of the treaty between the British government and the peishwah, notwithstanding his acknowledgment, that it was founded in equity and justice.

The motives which induced the rajah of Berar to combine his forces with those of Scindiah, for the purpose of attempting to subvert the alliance concluded between the British government and the peishwah, were similar to those which actuated the conduct of Scindiah. The rajah of Berar has always asserted pretensions to the supreme authority in the Marhatta empire. His pretensions are founded on his affinity to the reigning rajah of Sattarah. He does not deny the nominal supremacy of the rajah of Sattarah, whose authority is represented by the peishwah, nor the sovereign executive powers annexed to the hereditary office of peishwah; but he claims this office for himself, in right of his descent from the family of Sevajee, the ancestor of the rajah of Sattarah, and the founder of the Marhatta empire. In the course of a conference with the native secretary of the British resident with Dowlut Rao Scindiah, at so late a period as the 14th of June 1803, when discussions were proceeding relative to the withdrawing of the

combined Marhatta forces to their proper stations, the rajah of Berar distinctly and unequivocally avowed those pretensions. Satisfied that the defensive alliance would prevent the recurrence of any future opportunity of accomplishing the object of his ambition, he appears to have been equally desirous with Dowlut Rao Scindiah to interrupt the operation of that alliance.

When it is considered that the ambition of these chieftains was directed to the attainment of the same object, it appears to be difficult to explain the policy of an union which must terminate, should success attend the operations of the confederated chieftains, in an open rupture. But although their views were manifestly incompatible with their respective designs, yet the removal of an obstacle which would effectually preclude the success of either chieftain, in obtaining an ascendancy at Poohnah, constituted an object of common interest. The governor-general appears to consider it probable, that those chieftains, sensible that the combination of their power afforded the only prospect of subverting our alliance with the peishwah, agreed to reconcile their contradictory projects with a view to a division of the whole power and dominion of the Marhatta state. From this statement, it may be inferred, that the cause of the hostile proceedings of Scindiah and the rajah of Berar is decidedly obvious; although no just ground of complaint has been alleged by them against the British government, nor has any design been imputed to us in any degree injurious to the security of their acknowledged rights and independence.

In estimating the relative pretensions of Scindiah and the rajah of



of Berar to the supreme authority of the Marhatta empire, it must be admitted that those of the rajah have some appearance of a legitimate foundation, while Scindiah's claims are wholly destitute of support. A very concise view of the chief powers of the Marhatta confederacy will exhibit at one view the nature of the pretensions of these chieftains, the foundation of the supremacy of the peishwah, and the right which he alone possesses of concluding separate engagements with foreign states, without consulting the feudatory chieftains.

Sevajee founded the Mahratta empire towards the middle of the seventeenth century. He died on the 5th of April 1680, leaving the inheritance of his domains to his son Sambajee. At the period of Sevajee's death, his territory extended from near Surat, along the coast, to the vicinity of the Portuguese districts of Goa, and as far inland as the range of hills which terminate the Table Land, and form the eastern boundary of the Kokan. Sambajee's succession was disputed by rajah Ram, a son of Sevajee by a former wife. But notwithstanding the contests which arose for the Mahratta sovereignty, and those in which he was engaged with the emperor of Hindostan, he succeeded in the establishment of his authority; but in the year 1689 he was barbarously murdered by order of the emperor Aurungzebe. Sambajee was succeeded by his son Sahojee. It was then that the first extensive foundations of the peishwah's authority were laid. The then minister, or peishwah, Ballajee Bishwanaut, gradually assumed the exercise of all authority and power in the state, and was invested with the title of chief civil

minister by the rajah of Sattarah. This title was adopted by the rajah Sahojee, from the circumstance of Sattarah, a fortress situated about fifty miles south-east of Poohnah, becoming the capital of the empire. The descendants of Sevajee have since been distinguished by the title of the rajahs of Sattarah.

This form of government still subsists; for, on the death of a peishwah, his successor is invested by the rajah of Sattarah with the ensigns of office. Sahojee died in the year 1740, after a nominal reign of fifty years, during the latter part of which he shut himself up in Sattarah, and his person and government were almost forgotten. During this period the Marhattas overran and plundered the greater part of Hindostan, with the exception, however, of Bengal. They extended their territories from the Western Sea to Orissa, and from Agra to the Carnatic, a tract nearly one thousand miles long, and seven hundred broad, including some of the richest and most fertile provinces of the peninsula of India. During the reign of Ram Rajah, the successor of Sahojee, Bajee Rao, the son of the former peishwah, usurped the sovereign power. At that time Ragojee Bhooslah, the ancestor of the present rajah of Berar, was the bukshi or commander in chief of the forces, and in this capacity held the province of Berar, in Jagheer. When Bajee Rao, the peishwah, usurped the authority of the rajah of Sattarah, Ragojee Bhooslah usurped the government of Berar. He continued, however, to acknowledge the supremacy of the rajah of Sattarah, and the authority of the office of peishwah, as the



civil executive authority of the state.

This division of the empire by the chief civil minister and the commander in chief of the forces, encouraged the usurpation of others. The absolute monarchy originally established by Sevajee, thus became a mere confederacy of chiefs, of whom the principal are the peishwah, the rajah of Berar, the families of Scindiah, Holkar, and the guikwar, and a few inferior chieftains. The family of Scindiah established themselves in Malwa and Candeish, and afterwards extended their conquests over a great part of the Rajpoot principalities, and of the northern parts of Hindostan. The guikwar family took possession of the largest part of the Guzerat, while the Holkar family established themselves in those parts of Malwa which were not in the possession of the peishwah or of Scindiah.

All these chieftains are independent of each other. Nevertheless they acknowledge the office of peishwah to be the legitimate executive authority of the Marhatta empire, and admit the supremacy of the rajah of Sattarah. Since the usurpation of the peishwah Bajee Rao, the rajah of Sattarah has never been a party to any public acts or alliances. Considering his supremacy as merely nominal, and finding the peishwah in possession of the executive power and authority of the state, foreign powers, in all public transactions, have universally treated him as the legitimate head of the empire. Indeed, the rajah of Sattarah has long been confined in the fortress of that name, upon a contracted allowance; but this nominal sovereign of the Marhatta empire is, however, treated with some di-

stinguished marks of respect, and the vicinity of his residence enjoys several important exemptions. In other respects his condition is no way different from that of a prisoner of state.

According to the constitution, therefore, of the Marhatta confederacy, the exclusive right of concluding treaties with foreign powers in the name of the empire resides in the supreme authority of the state. The peishwah, acting in the name and under the ostensible sanction of the nominal head of the empire, has, in the opinion of the governor-general, an undoubted right to conclude treaties which shall be obligatory upon the feudatory chieftains, without their concurrence. By the weakness of the peishwah's government, these chieftains have acquired independent power, but yet continue to acknowledge the peishwah as the executive minister of state. The marquis of Wellesley denies that they have any acknowledged right to conclude separate engagements with foreign powers, unless the tacit permission to make conquests should be conceived to convey that right, which, even if it be admitted, cannot justify the conclusion of engagements affecting the peishwah's supremacy. Bound to pay allegiance to the peishwah, they are necessarily officers and subjects of the Marhatta state, of which the peishwah is the supreme authority.

If it be denied that the peishwah possesses the right to conclude engagements with foreign states, which affect the separate rights and interests of the feudatory chieftains, without their concurrence, it will scarcely be disputed, that he has at least the right to conclude engagements by which the interests  
of



of these chieftains are no way affected. If, on the other hand, the feudatory chieftains disclaim the supremacy of the peishwah, they have less right to interfere in the concerns of the peishwah; who, consequently, must be considered as completely independent, and at liberty to contract with foreign states any engagements which he may deem beneficial to his own interests. In neither case have the feudatory chieftains any pretence to interfere in his arrangements, or to control his intercourse with foreign powers.

Although the extensive military power, and the undue ascendancy of Scindiah at Poohnah, enabled him to usurp almost the whole executive authority of the peishwah, it does not appear that he has any sort of well-founded pretension to this supreme office. The rajah of Berar, it must be admitted, may with some title advance a claim to this supremacy. For the province of Berar formed a part of the dominion of Sattarah, under Ram Rajah. That province was assigned to Ragojee Bhooslah, the commander in chief of the Marhatta forces, for the payment of his army. He was the first rajah of Berar, and he does not appear ever to have considered himself as totally independent of the state of Sattarah. A dread of the superior power of the peishwah partly dictated this policy. Ragojee founded upon his descent pretensions to the state of Sattarah, after the death of Ram Rajah, who left no issue. The eventual accomplishment of these pretensions was in some degree favoured by the preservation of his nominal subordination to the state of Sattarah; but the power of the peishwah prevented their success.

Although it was the interest of the rajah of Berar to act with the peishwah on important occasions, he does not appear to have considered himself a subordinate member of the empire. In their interviews, the rajah of Berar was treated, in consequence of his descent, as a superior in rank; and, in his quality of first constituent member of the Marhatta states, claimed the right of sending to the peishwah a dress of honour on his accession to office. The rajah still maintains his pretensions to the state of Sattarah, and of consequence to the office of peishwah, on the same grounds as the first rajah of Berar. On the same grounds, also, he establishes his pretensions to be consulted in the conclusion of any alliance between the peishwah and any foreign state. The justice of these claims, however, have always been denied. For he must be considered either as the commander in chief of the forces of the empire, or as an independent power. In his former capacity he has no claim to the right of being consulted by his sovereign, the rajah of Sattarah, on the conclusion of foreign alliances.

The marquis of Wellesley proceeds to observe, that if the question be not tried by the original constitution of the Marhatta empire, under which the rajah of Sattarah was the head of the empire, and Ragojee Bhooslah, the ancestor of the present rajah of Berar, the commander in chief of the forces, it must be decided by the rights of long acknowledged and actual power. Under this view, the peishwah's independence must be admitted equally with that of the rajah of Berar. In both cases, therefore, the right of the peishwa to contract foreign alliances



alliances is equally indisputable. The noble marquis, however, does not state whether the pretensions of the rajah of Berar to the state of Sattarah are susceptible of complete establishment. In this case, the rajah of Berar would be entitled to aspire to the supreme executive authority of the Marhatta empire; and even upon the admission that the peishwah possessed the right of concluding engagements with foreign powers, he might fairly dispute that right as exercised by an individual holding the supreme civil office of the state, to the exclusion of the heir to the government of Sattarah.

Before we return to the discussions which terminated in hostilities, it may not be unimportant to state, in a few words, the late and actual condition of the present peishwah. In the course of a calamitous reign of six years, his highness was, in the first instance, deprived, by the violence and ambition of Dowlut Rao Scindiah, of the due exercise of his authority, and kept in a state of degradation and restraint. He was, afterwards, deposed, and compelled by Jeswunt Rao Holkar, on the 25th of October, to abandon his capital city of Poohnah, and to take refuge in the British territories. By the solicited assistance of the British government, he was restored to his possessions, and the treaty of Bassein secured to him the resumption of his real and legitimate power. Under the operation of his engagements with the British government, it is confidently expected that the peishwah will enjoy tranquillity and security, accompanied by honour and respect. These advantages he has never experienced under the oppressive influence of his own sub-

jects, servants, or feudatory chieftains. Nor could he ever have attained them by the aid of any other state or power.

Before the restoration of the peishwah to the musnud of Poohnah, which took place in form on the 13th of May 1803, Scindiah had returned to Ougein, the capital of his dominions. He collected there a large force, with the professed view of opposing Jeswunt Rao Holkar, and arrived with his forces in the vicinity of Boorhanpoor on the 23d of February 1803. Advices transmitted by colonel Collins, the British resident at the camp of Scindiah, and from other quarters, to the marquis of Wellesley, induced his lordship to suspect that Scindiah meditated an accommodation with Holkar, and a confederacy with that chieftain and with the rajah of Berar, for the purpose of obstructing the completion of the arrangements concluded at Bassein between the British government and the peishwah. On the 24th of March 1803, colonel Collins demanded, and with much difficulty obtained, an audience of Scindiah, in order to require an explanation of the suspected intrigue. Upon this occasion, Scindiah, in the presence of all his principal ministers, positively assured colonel Collins, that he had no intention whatever to obstruct the execution of the treaty of Bassein; but that, on the contrary, it was his wish to improve the friendship then subsisting between the peishwah, the British government, and his own state. This amicable declaration appears to have been insufficient for the removal of the governor-general's suspicions. Colonel Collins was therefore directed, in the month of May, to require the immediate return to Hindostan



dostan of Scindiah and his army. At the same time he delivered a copy of the treaty of Bassein to Scindiah, who, after having considered the articles of the treaty, declared that it contained no stipulations injurious to his just rights. In conformity to his instructions, he required Scindiah to state the nature of his late negotiations with the rajah of Berar, and with Holkar, adding, that any attempt to obstruct the execution of the treaty of Bassein would be resisted. He also apprised Scindiah that the refusal of just and reasonable explanations, or the prosecution of military operations in opposition to the resident's remonstrances, would compel the British government to resort to measures of precaution on every boundary of his dominions; and that certain intelligence of his accession to any confederacy against the British power would produce immediate hostility.

Scindiah, in reply, repeatedly and publicly declared, that he could not give the explanations required, until a meeting should have taken place between him and the rajah of Berar, when the British resident should be informed, "whether it would be peace or war." The reference of the question of peace or war to a conference with the rajah of Berar, was considered as an insulting menace of hostility. The rajah, at the head of a powerful army, having reached the vicinity of Scindiah's camp at Eidalabad, and the manifest indication, afforded by Scindiah's declaration, of hostile proceedings on the part of the confederate chieftains, induced the British government immediately to adopt the most effectual measures for the security of its rights and interests, and those of its allies, against any eventual aggression on the part of the confederates. On

the 4th of June an interview took place at Checkly, on the frontier of the nizam's territory, between the confederate chieftains. The marquis of Wellesley distinctly asserts, that both chieftains continued their negotiations with Holkar, in order to induce him to join the confederacy against the British government and its allies; and, at the same time, employed every endeavour to detach the peishwah and the nizam from their alliance with the company, by intimidation, menaces, and promises of booty and aggrandisement.

The hostile designs of the Marhatta chieftains were repeatedly confirmed by the information received by the governor-general from the British resident at Scindiah's camp, and from other sources of intelligence. So early as the month of March 1803, information was communicated to one of the native agents of colonel Collins, by Ambajee Inglija, one of Scindiah's principal ministers, whose influence, it was supposed, in a great degree regulated the proceedings of that chieftain, that orders had been issued to general Perron, directing him to place the army under his command in a state of preparation for the field, with a view to an eventual rupture with the British government. This information was distrusted, but the treachery of this chieftain to Scindiah, and the concurrent testimony of facts, afterwards verified the communication.

Other intelligence was also received relative to the hostile views of Scindiah, of the authenticity of which no doubt could be entertained. It appeared that he had addressed letters to the officers exercising the chief authority, on the part of the peishwah, in the province



vince of Bundelcund, requiring them to be prepared to co-operate with the confederated Marhatta armies in hostile proceedings against the British possessions. Dhurum Rao, an officer commanding a considerable body of horse at Calpee, a station contiguous to the British possessions, had also received orders from Scindiah to the same effect. These orders were disavowed by Scindiah; but the strong evidence of their having been issued only confirmed the insincerity of this chieftain. Authentic intelligence was also received, stating that the Rohilla chieftain, Gholaum Mahomed Kan, residing at Naddown, had been invited by Scindiah and general Perron, to proceed with his followers, by the way of Saharunpore, to the station of the army commanded by the latter, for the purpose of exciting commotions in the Jagheer of Rampore. On the 26th of July, copies of letters from Scindiah to this chieftain, and to Bumboo Kan, declaring his intention to commence hostilities against the company, and instigating those chieftains to co-operate with general Perron, were received by the marquis of Wellesly from Mr. Leycester, the collector at Moradabad, to whom they had been transmitted by Bumboo Kan. In addition to these proofs of hostile intentions, the complete state of preparation in which the army of general Perron was actually placed, is corroborative evidence of the actual transmission of orders to that officer, to the effect described in colonel Collins's letter of the 9th of March.

Under these manifest indications of hostility, colonel Collins was directed to state to Scindiah and the rajah of Berar, whose forces were now united on the nizam's frontier; that the British govern-

ment anxiously desired the preservation of peace; and to observe that the only proof which could be accepted of the sincerity of the amicable professions of Scindiah and the rajah of Berar, was the immediate separation and return of their armies to their respective capitals; in which case it was proposed to withdraw the British troops to their respective stations. Should, however, Scindiah and the rajah of Berar be resolved to maintain their positions on the frontier of the nizam's territory, colonel Collins was directed to apprise those chieftains, that his orders were to quit the camp of Scindiah without delay.

After much evasion, the two chieftains replied to the requisition, and proposed, what was equally absurd and inadmissible—that, on the same day the British troops under general Wellesley should reach the stations of Bombay, Madras, and Seringapatam, the Marhatta confederates would encamp their united armies at Boorhanpore, a city belonging to Scindiah, and situated about 50 miles from the nizam's frontier. That such a proposition was destitute of every thing like moderation and common sense, will at once appear from a statement of the distance of these stations from Ahmednuggur, the position occupied by major-general Wellesley's army on the 31st of July, the day on which the last conference took place. The distance of Madras from Ahmednuggur is 1049 miles, Seringapatam 541, and Bombay 321. Boorhanpore, as we have already stated, is only 50. Such a proposition was tantamount to a demand, that the British army should abandon the means which it possessed in its actual position, and in its embodied state, of opposing a seasonable resistance to any hostile attempts



tempts on the part of the confederated chieftains; while those chieftains should retire with their united armies to a short distance from the frontier of our ally, prepared to take advantage of the approaching favourable season, and of the absence and dispersion of the British forces.

It is almost unnecessary to observe, that such a proposition was instantly and decidedly rejected. Their second proposition to the British resident was—that he should appoint a day for the march of the Marhatta forces from the place of their encampment, and that he should pledge the faith of the British government for the retreat of the army under general Wellesley, on the day on which the armies of the chieftains should commence their march to their usual stations. Colonel Collins was not authorised to depart from his instructions, and, therefore, this arrangement could not have been acceded to, even if he could have placed any dependence upon promises which the chieftains were so likely to violate. Indeed, it soon became evident that this was merely an illusory proposition, which was immediately succeeded by another apparently less objectionable, but equally evasive. The resident, however, consented to refer the last to general Wellesley. But Scindiah and the rajah of Berar, having made the second and third propositions solely for the purpose of gaining time, transmitted on the following day, the 1st of August 1803, letters to the resident, addressed to major-general Wellesley. The Marhatta chieftains then proposed to continue their armies united, and, instead of commencing their march to their respective territories in Berar and the north of Hindostan,

to limit their retreat to the neighbouring station of Boorhanpore, precisely according to the terms of their first proposition, which had been positively and instantly rejected by the British resident. Upon receiving this inadmissible proposition, colonel Collins made immediate arrangements for quitting Scindiah's camp, and on the 3d of August he proceeded towards Aurungabad.

From the nature and result of all these discussions, the marquis of Wellesley draws the following conclusions.—That, according to the evidence of fact, and the distinct avowal of Scindiah and the rajah of Berar, those chieftains had no ground of complaint against the British government, nor any reason to apprehend that their just rights and interests were affected by the arrangements concluded between the British government and the peishwah.—That the junction and continuance of the armies of those chieftains on the frontiers of the nizam, near Adjunttee, were evidently unnecessary for the security of their rights, or the protection of any part of their territorial possessions; and that if they had really entertained apprehensions of Holkar's movements, they could not have remained in their actual position with common prudence, but, for their own safety, must have retired to their respective capitals, since Holkar at that time occupied a position in the vicinity of Scindiah's dominions in Malwa.—That the general conduct and language of those chieftains indicated designs of a hostile nature against the British government and its allies, the peishwah and the nizam, and that Scindiah had distinctly declared on the 28th of May; that he and the rajah of Berar medita-



ted eventual war.—That their armies had assumed a menacing position on the frontier of our ally the nizam, for the purpose of enabling them eventually to carry their hostile designs into execution.—That Scindiah's avowal, on the 28th of May, that, after a meeting should have taken place between him and the rajah of Berar, the British resident should be informed whether it would be peace or war, was an indisputable manifestation of a hostile spirit, and an act of direct hostility; and therefore a sufficient cause of war, unless the menace had been retracted, and the British interests secured, by the retrograde movement of that chieftain's army, from the execution of so hostile a threat. The confederate army, on the contrary, continued to retain the means of carrying into effect this denunciation of warfare.—That the hostile nature of the proceedings of Scindiah and the rajah of Berar, and their repeated violation of public faith, precluded all reliance on their promises and professions, and rendered it the duty of the British government to require the separation and return of their armies to their respective territories, as the only security for the rights and interests of the British government and its allies, against the avowed designs of those confederated chieftains.—That this requisition was accompanied by a proposal to withdraw the British army from its advanced position at Ahmednuggur in the Dekan, and that such a proposal was not only an incontrovertible proof of the just and pacific views of the British government, but furnished ample security to Scindiah and the rajah of Berar, against the possibility of any danger which they might apprehend

from a compliance with our requisition to separate and withdraw their armies.

From all these considerations the marquis of Wellesley concludes, that the defence and security of our rights and those of our allies could be maintained only by resorting to arms. The season pressed for decision. The actual prevalence of the rainy monsoon in the provinces of India, which would necessarily become the theatre of war, was favourable to our operations, and unpropitious to those of the native powers. To have permitted Scindiah and the rajah of Berar to have remained in their actual position until the rains were terminated, would have sacrificed many advantages we possessed, and would have enabled them to prosecute hostilities against our allies, and eventually against our possessions, at the commencement of the favourable season.

In addition to these circumstances, the declining state of the nizam's health, and the designs which the Marhatta chieftains were known to entertain with respect to the succession to the sovereign power of the Dekan, rendered it indispensably necessary, while their armies continued in the position which they had assumed, that the British troops should occupy a station calculated to secure the regular order of succession on the nizam's death, and to frustrate the probable attempts of the confederates to place on the musnud of the Dekan one of the younger sons of the nizam, devoted to the cause of the Marhatta chiefs, and inimical to our interests. This measure was absolutely necessary, in pursuance of the policy which dictated the conclusion of the treaties of Hyderabad,



derabad, in 1798 and 1800; and which had for their object, to give permanence to the British influence in the Dekan.

An expensive and impolitic inactivity would have given the Marhatta chieftains an opportunity of employing their combined forces against our dispirited army, with every advantage of season, with increased alacrity and vigor, and with the probable addition of French assistance, of Holkar's troops, and of some of our present Marhatta auxiliaries. If we had submitted to the propositions of Scindiah and the rajah of Berar, and had retreated in the face of their united forces, we should have compromised the honour, and the dignity, and the interests, if not the very existence of the British government in India, by favouring the designs of the most faithless and rapacious of the Marhatta adventurers. We should have forfeited the opinion of the native powers, which forms a main pillar of the fabric of our empire. We should have apparently acknowledged the superiority of the Marhatta arms in the face of all Asia; and we should have been degraded by the native states of Hindostan and the Dekan, to the rank of a secondary power in India; secondary to Scindiah, whose military strength rests upon the support of French adventure, enterprise, and skill. Regulating his policy by this conviction, the marquis of Wellesley conceived it to be more safe, as well as more honourable, to employ the means at his disposal for the purpose of defeating the present and future projects of Scindiah and the rajah of Berar, and their French officers, than to confide the security of any part of his arduous trust to the

professions of the Marhatta chiefs.—professions contradicted by the spirit of all their actions, and the general tenor of their character, disposition, and views.

Beside the grounds we have stated, which the governor-general conceived to be amply sufficient to justify his resorting to hostile operations, it is evident that an anxiety effectually to check the growth of French influence in India operated as an additional motive to declare war against the Marhatta chieftains. It does not appear, however, that any direct relations with France had been established by Mons. Perron; but the known determination of the French government to establish, on the foundation of her possessions in India, a political and military state, and to strengthen and augment it by every practicable connection with the native states of India, and by every art of indefatigable intrigue and systematic ambition, naturally excited the just suspicion, that such views and projects would be facilitated by the territorial and military power established under the direction of Monsieur Perron, in the north-west of Hindostan. The reduction of his power, therefore, although it was not the cause, became a primary object of the war.

It may here be necessary to state the strength and efficiency of Monsieur Perron's force. We have already observed that his territorial dominion, extending towards the left bank of the Indus, through the Punjaub, comprehended Agra, Dehli, and a large portion of the Doab of the Jumna and Ganges, on the most vulnerable part of our north-western frontier of Hindostan; and that he exercised the nominal authority of Shah Aulum, the deposed Moghul



Moghul emperor, whose person he held in the most degrading subjection. The annual revenue of the countries subject to his power, derived from territorial possessions and other resources, are stated to have amounted to about 1,700,000*l.* sterling. Monsieur Perron succeeded Monsieur Duboigne in the chief command of Scindiah's regular infantry in the northern provinces of Hindostan. This force amounted to about 16 or 17,000 regular infantry, and a well-appointed and numerous train of artillery, the most powerful in India, with the exception of that in the service of his majesty; together with a body of irregular troops, and from 15 to 20,000 horse. It was expected that this force might be increased by reinforcements of cavalry from the chiefs tributary to, or in alliance with, Monsieur Perron.

A considerable portion of Scindiah's possessions, situated between the Jumna, the Ganges, and the mountains of Cumaon, having been assigned to this French officer, he formed it into an independent state, of which Scindiah's regular infantry might be termed the national army. The inhabitants of this territory regarded Monsieur Perron as their immediate sovereign, and the troops, supported from the revenues of the country, considered him as the immediate executive authority, from which they were to receive orders, subsistence, and pay. Possessed of such means, Monsieur Perron dictated with the authority of a sovereign state of superior rank, and with the vigor of efficient military power, to most of the powers occupying the countries contiguous to his dominions, and extended his influence even to Bundelcund, and

the country occupied by the Seiks. Independently of these considerations, the vicinity of Monsieur Perron's regular infantry operated as a constant drain upon the population of the company's provinces, and diminished the sources of our agriculture, manufactures, commerce, and revenue, as well as of our recruits for the army in that quarter. At the crisis when every circumstance announced the probability of a renewal of the war with France, and urged the necessity of resorting to every practicable measure of precaution and security, the safety of the British dominions, in the opinion of the governor-general, required the reduction of Monsieur Perron's military resources and power, even without reference to the question which existed between Scindiah and the British government. In a state of profound peace, and even of alliance with Scindiah, the necessity of effectually providing for the security of our own possessions, the marquis of Wellesley conceives, would justify our demanding the removal of a danger so imminent from the frontier of our dominions. The refusal of Scindiah to comply with such a demand might be considered as a cause of war against that chief, and any true or false plea of inability on his part to reduce the power of this French state, would authorise the British government to remove with its own hand the proximate cause of insecurity and alarm. The policy of such a forcible reduction of the power of this contiguous state, derives something like a plausible foundation from the necessity of providing for the security of our possessions. But it would, perhaps, be extending this policy beyond the line of justice, to attempt such



such a reduction during the continuance of peace with France, and with Scindiah; and without the provocation of any act of hostility on the part of Monsieur Perron. With respect to the origin and progress of this French adventurer's civil and military authority, it may be proper to observe that they were established upon the disorder and confusion of the Marhatta empire, the weakness and corruption of the councils of Scindiah, and the decline of his real interests and just dominion.

The most accurate accounts of the forces of the enemy, independently of those of Monsieur Perron, which we have above enumerated, state that, towards the close of the month of July 1803, those under the immediate command of Scindiah and the rajah of Berar, which were opposed in the field to major general Wellesley, amounted to about 38,500 cavalry, 10,500 regular infantry, 500 matchlock men, 500 rocket men, and 190 pieces of ordnance. Two brigades under Monsieur Dudernaigue and major Brownrigg, amounting to twelve battalions, had been ordered to Hindostan, and Monsieur Pohlman's brigade had been directed to return to Boorhanpoor, leaving with Scindiah only eight battalions, consisting of about 4,500 men. The rajah of Berar's infantry amounted to 6,000 men. The combined forces were posted at Julgong, a place at the foot of the Adjuntee Ghaut, in the Dekan. In addition to these troops, Scindiah had an advanced party of a few thousand horse dispersed among the Adjuntee hills.

The British forces assembled in different quarters of India, for the purpose of executing the governor-general's extensive plan of operations against the confederate

Marhatta chieftains, amounted to 54,914 men; exclusive of pioneers, gun-lascars, and persons attached to the store and ordnance departments, but including 3,071 men, forming the garrisons in Guzerat and at Surat. Of this number, 10,500 were assembled in the provinces lately ceded by the nawaub vizier to the company, under the personal command of general Lake, the commander in chief. About 5,500 were prepared to invade the province of Bundelcund, and to cover the province and city of Benares; 5,216 men were assembled for the invasion of the province of Cuttack; 4,281 men were stationed as a field force in Guzerat; 16,823 men were under the immediate command of major-general Wellesley, and destined for active operation against the confederated chieftains; 1,997 men were stationed at Hyderabad, to ensure the tranquillity of that city, and the regular succession to the musnud, on the contingency of the nizam's death.

It may be proper to state, in this place, that this event occurred on the 6th of August, two days previously to the commencement of hostilities, at Hyderabad, where his eldest son Mirza Secunder Jah, was immediately proclaimed successor to the soubahdarry of the Dekan. On the following day, he took his seat on the musnud, and received the congratulatory presents of all the prime officers of his government at Hyderabad.

In addition to the above distribution of the forces, 1,598 men remained at Poohnah, for the protection of that capital and of the person of the peishwah; 1,900 were on their march from Moodgul, to join the troops under major-general



general Wellesley ; and 4,032 men occupied a favourable position in the Doab of the Kistna and Toombudra rivers, under the command of major-general Campbell. The following abstract may render the distribution of these forces still more distinct.

In Hindostan, under the personal command of general Lake, the commander in chief,	-	10,500
At Allahabad, and Mirzapoor,	-	5,500
In the Dekan, under the immediate personal command of general Wellesley,	-	8,903
Subsidiary force under colonel Stevenson,	-	7,920
		<hr/> 16,823
At Hyderabad,	-	1,997
At Poohnah,	-	1,598
At Moodgul,	-	4,032
On their march from Moodgul,	-	1,900
Field force in Guzerat,	-	4,281
Garrisons at Guzerat and at Surat,	-	3,071
For the invasion of Cuttack,	-	5,216
		<hr/>
Total, exclusive of gun lascars, pioneers, artificers, and store lascars,	-	54,918

The plan of the campaign was arranged for a general combined attack to be made, nearly at the same time, on the united army of Scindiah and the rajah of Berar, under their personal command in the Dekan, and on their most vulnerable and valuable possessions in every quarter of India. The scale of operations extended from Dehli and the presidencies of Fort William, Fort St. George, and Bombay, to Poohnah, Hyderabad, Guzerat, and Orissa. The objects, to the accomplishment of which our operations were directed in the war with Dowlut Rao Scindiah, were numerous and important.—The entire reduction of Monsieur Perron's regular corps, and the annexation to the British dominions of the whole of the territory in his possession, within the doab of the Jumna and Ganges, with a view to render the river Jumna the north-western frontier of our dominion in that quarter.—The occupation of Delhi and

Agra, and of a chain of posts on the western and southern bank of the Jumna, in order to secure to the British power the free navigation of the Jumna, and the possession of both banks of that river.—The establishment of a system of defensive alliances with such states of Hindostan as, from the local position of their territories, would constitute a barrier between the British possessions and those of the Marhattas, and destroy the authority and influence of Scindiah in the north-western division of Hindostan, from which it was also intended to attempt to effect the permanent exclusion of the Marhattas.—The protection of the person and nominal authority of his majesty Shah Aulum.—The occupation of the sea-port of Baroach, and of the territory annexed to it, together with the reduction of Scindiah's power and influence in the Guzerat ; and the cession of Scindiah's territories intermixed with those



those of our allies, the soubahdar of the Dekan, and the peishwah.—The general reduction of Scindiah's military power and resources, within the limits necessary for our security, and for the safety and tranquillity of our allies. These were the chief objects of the war with Scindiah. In the prosecution of hostilities with the rajah of Berar, the views of the governor-general were chiefly directed to the occupation of the province of Cuttack, and the cession of all the rajah's possessions intermixed with those of the soubahdar of the Dekan; and the general reduction of the rajah of Berar's influence and power within the bounds requisite for the safety of our possessions and those of our allies.

The army under major-general Wellesley was directed to act against the combined forces of Scindiah and the rajah of Berar; and the operations on the north-west frontier of Oude, were under the immediate direction of general Lake.

Hostilities commenced in the Dekan on the 8th of August 1803. On that day, major-general Wellesley commenced his march towards the fortress of Ahmednuggur, the fortified town of which was carried by escalade with great spirit and gallantry. This was effected immediately upon the arrival of the army on its ground before Ahmednuggur, by the advanced picquets, reinforced by the flank-companies of his majesty's 74th and 78th regiments, and the 1st battalion of the 3d Madras regiment native infantry, under the command of lieutenant-colonel Harness, as brigadier of the day. Our success was purchased with the loss of a few brave officers and soldiers. The enemy's loss, from

the nature of the attack, was greater than ours. During the night, all that part of their force which was not required for the defence of the fort, went off to the northward, excepting a small number of Arabs who attended one of their wounded chiefs. On the 10th of August, batteries were opened against the fortress of Ahmednuggur, which surrendered on the 12th of the same month. The possession of this fortress was of the more importance to the prosecution of hostilities, since it secured the communication with Poohnah, and afforded a depôt for supplies of provisions and military stores. After the capture of the fortress, general Wellesley took possession of the dependent districts, and placed them under the temporary authority of a British officer.

On the 24th of August the confederate chieftains entered the nizam's territories, by the Ghaut of Adjunttee, with a large body of horse. Having heard of general Wellesley's arrival at Aurungabad, they directed their movements with a view to cross the Godavery river, and march upon Hyderabad. General Wellesley having received a report to that effect, immediately proceeded towards that river, and continued to move to the eastward along its left bank. The enemy's operations being thus checked to the southward, they returned to the northward of Jalnapoor, a fortress which was attacked and carried by colonel Stevenson on the 1st of September. This movement of general Wellesley at the same time afforded complete protection to two very important convoys of grain and treasure, which had been detached from Moodgul, by lieutenant-general Stuart.



While general Wellesley was thus engaged in protecting his convoys, and preventing the enemy from crossing the Godavery, colonel Stevenson repeatedly attempted to bring them to action. He succeeded, in the night of the 9th of September, in surprising their camp; but it does not appear that any material loss was sustained, or any considerable advantage gained by this attack.

The Marhatta chieftains had hitherto made no sort of impression on the territories of the nizam by the excursions of their irregular horse. They determined to change their system of warfare, and moved to the northward, near the Adjunttee pass, where they formed a junction with a detachment of irregular infantry, under the command of Monsieur Pohlman and Monsieur Dupont, consisting of sixteen battalions, with a large and well-equipped train of artillery. The whole of the enemy's army was assembled about Bokerdun, and between that place and Jaffierabad. The two corps under the command of general Wellesley and colonel Stevenson formed a junction, on the 21st of September, at Budnapoor. It was immediately determined to attack the enemy on the morning of the 24th. With this view, the two divisions marched on the 22d; colonel Stevenson by the western route, and major-general Wellesley by the eastern route, round the hills between Budnapoor and Jalna. Arrived at Naulnair on the 23d, major-general Wellesley received intelligence that the combined armies of Scindiah and the rajah of Berar were encamped at the distance of about six miles from the position which he intended to occupy. Instead of waiting until the morning of the 24th

for the arrival of colonel Stevenson, general Wellesley determined immediately to attack the enemy. He adopted this spirited resolution to avoid being harassed by the enemy, and to secure the baggage of his army. There was, at the same time, reason to believe, that the enemy might receive information of the expected arrival of colonel Stevenson, and would probably retire during the night of the 23d, in order not to be exposed, on the 24th, to the combined attack of the British forces.

Having provided for the security of his baggage and stores, general Wellesley moved on towards the army of the confederates, which he found encamped between and along the course of two rivers towards the junction of the Kaitna and the Juah. Their line extended east and west along the north bank of the Kaitna river, the banks of which are high and rocky, and impassable for guns, excepting near the villages. In the vicinity of Bokerdun was posted the right of the enemy, consisting entirely of cavalry, and extending to their line of infantry, which was encamped in the neighbourhood of the fortified village of Assye. The British troops had marched fourteen miles to Naulnair, and the distance of that place from the enemy's camp was six miles. It was one o'clock before they came in sight of the enemy. They arrived in front of the enemy; but general Wellesley determined to attack their left, where their guns and infantry were posted. The troops passed the river Kaitna at a ford beyond the enemy's left flank, near the village of Pepulgaon.

General Wellesley formed the infantry in two lines, with the British cavalry, as a reserve, in a third,



third, in an open space between the Kaitna and the Juah rivers, which run nearly in a parallel direction. The peishwah's and the Mysore cavalry occupied a position to the southward of the Kaitna, in order to keep in check a large body of the enemy's cavalry. The number of British troops engaged amounted to about 4,500 men. They consisted of 1,200 cavalry, European and native, 1,300 European infantry and artillery, and 2,000 sepoys. The force of the enemy, composed of sixteen regular battalions of infantry, amounted to 10,500 men. They were commanded by European officers, and their train of artillery exceeded one hundred guns. In addition to this decided superiority of numbers, the enemy had some very considerable bodies of horse, which are stated to have amounted to more than 30,000 men. As the British troops advanced to the Kaitna river, the enemy commenced a cannonade, which however produced little effect; and when they discovered general Wellesley's intention to attack their left, they changed the position of their infantry and guns, and extended their left from the Kaitna across to the village of Assye upon the Juah river, which was upon the right of the British army. They also formed a second line nearly at right angles to the rear of their first, with its left towards the village of Assye, and its rear to the Juah, along the bank of which it extended in a westerly direction.

General Wellesley commanded the enemy to be immediately attacked. The troops advanced under a severe and destructive fire from the enemy's cannon. The British artillery producing little effect, and many difficulties opposing its ad-

vance, the general ordered it to be left behind, and the whole line to move on. At the same time, he directed lieutenant-colonel Maxwell, with the British cavalry, to protect the right of the infantry as the line advanced. Notwithstanding their tremendous cannonade, the enemy were soon compelled to fall back upon the second line in front of the Juah. The picquets of the infantry, and the 74th regiment, which were on the right of the first and second lines, suffered considerably from the fire of the artillery on the left of the enemy's position near Assye. The enemy's cannonade had proved so destructive to the 74th regiment, that a body of cavalry was encouraged to charge it, while most exposed to this fire. The British cavalry, however, charged the enemy in turn, and drove them with great slaughter into the Juah. Overawed by the steady advance of the British troops, the enemy at length gave way in every direction; and the cavalry, having crossed the Juah, charged the fugitives along the bank of the river with the greatest effect.

The force under general Wellesley was not equal to the object of securing all the advantages arising from this success. Many of the enemy's guns, as our troops advanced, were left in the rear, which were afterwards turned upon the British line by individuals who, having thrown themselves upon the ground, had been left on the field, under the supposition that they were dead. This artifice is often practised by the troops of the native powers. Some time elapsed before the fire which the enemy kept up from these guns could be stopped. To effect this object general Wellesley took the 78th regi-



ment, and the 7th regiment native cavalry. In the course of this operation, in which he compelled them to abandon their guns, the general's horse was shot under him. A part of the enemy's corps retreated in good order. The British cavalry re-crossed the Juah, and charged a body of infantry which had retired, and was again formed. Colonel Maxwell was killed in the charge. The enemy's cavalry, which had been hovering round the British troops during the action, still continued near general Wellesley's line. Their infantry, which had formed again, gave way upon being charged by the British cavalry. The victory was then decided, and the enemy retreated, leaving twelve hundred men dead on the field of battle, which was covered with their wounded: ninety-eight pieces of cannon, seven standards, their camp equipage, a great number of bullocks and camels, and a large quantity of military stores and amunition, were the fruits of this splendid victory.

The loss sustained by the British troops in this brilliant and decisive action, was very severe. The number of the killed and wounded, including a very large proportion of officers, amounted to 428 of the former, and 1,138 of the latter. In testimony of the high honour acquired by the army under the personal command of major-general Wellesley at the battle of Assye, the governor-general in council ordered honorary colours, with a device in commemoration of that splendid victory, to be presented to the 19th regiment of dragoons, and to the 74th and 78th regiments of foot. The names of the brave officers and men who fell during the action are to be

recorded, together with the circumstances of the battle, upon the public monument to be erected at Fort William, to the memory of those who have fallen in the public service during the campaign.

Upon this memorable occasion, major-general Wellesley appears to have displayed great skill, courage, promptitude, and judgment; nor have the British troops ever manifested more exemplary order, firmness, discipline, and alacrity. The whole line, led by general Wellesley in person, advanced to the charge with the greatest steadiness and bravery, although unsupported by artillery, against a most severe and destructive fire of round and grape, and, notwithstanding the superior numbers of the enemy, compelled them, at the point of the bayonet, to abandon their guns, and to retire from the field of battle, after having maintained their ground with much obstinacy for more than three hours. It was reported that Scindiah's principal minister received a mortal wound in the action. An European officer of rank was cut down, and afterwards found among the dead. The complete defeat of the combined army of Scindiah and the rajah of Berar, an irreparable blow to the strength and efficiency of their military resources, and the expulsion of a hostile and predatory army from the territory of our ally, the soubahdar of the Dekan, are the important advantages resulting from the triumph of the British arms in the battle of Assye.

Scindiah and the rajah of Berar collected the remains of their broken army, and moved to the westward, along the bank of the Taptee. General Wellesley, conceiving it to be their intention to proceed



ceed to Poohnah, determined not to descend the Adjuntée Ghaut, but to remain to the southward, and to regulate his movements by those of the enemy. He directed colonel Stevenson, who had been unavoidably prevented from joining the division under general Wellesley's command before the evening of the 24th of September, to continue his route to Boorhanpoor. This city, and the hill-fort of Asseerghur, which has been denominated the Key of the Dekan, surrendered to the British arms; the former on the 16th, the latter on the 21st of October.

General Wellesley declined receiving the irregular overtures for negotiation made by Scindiah, on the 8th of October, from a conviction that a compliance with his request was not at all likely to be conducive to any honourable result, and from a suspicion that the presence of a British officer in that chieftain's camp might be represented to his soldiers as an attempt on our part to sue for peace. He signified, however, his disposition to receive at the British camp any person duly authorized by Scindiah and the rajah of Berar, to propose terms of peace to the allied powers.

While general Wellesley continued to observe and check the movements of these chieftains, their possessions in the province of Guzerat on the western, and of Cuttack on the eastern side of India, were conquered by the British arms. In conformity to the comprehensive plan of operations formed by the governor-general, which was calculated to attack, nearly at the same time, the most distant possessions of Scindiah and the rajah of Berar, lieutenant-colonel Woodington, of the Bombay

establishment, with a detachment of his majesty's 86th regiment, and a proportion of European artillery and native infantry, marched from Baroda, on the 21st of August, against the fort of Baroach, in the province of Guzerat. On the 29th of August, the memorable day on which general Lake gained a complete victory over the forces of Monsieur Perron at Coel, on the north-west frontier of Oude, the fort of Baroach was stormed and carried. Colonel Woodington commanded the assault to be made at three o'clock, P. M., under the expectation that the enemy were likely, at that hour, to be taken off their guard. The storming party consisted of 100 Europeans, and 200 natives, under the command of captain Richardson of the 86th regiment. They were supported by a second party of 150 Europeans and 250 natives, under the command of major Cuyler of the same regiment. The reserve, under the command of captain Betham of the Bombay establishment, was composed of 150 Europeans, and 100 sepoys. The enemy, after a short but vigorous resistance, were compelled to retreat, and the British troops carried the fort with little loss. Major Cuyler, and capt. Richardson displayed great spirit and gallantry. The casualties during the siege were inconsiderable. With the fort of Baroach, the company obtained possession of the district of that name, yielding an annual revenue estimated at eleven lacks of rupees.

The only remaining territory belonging to Scindiah, in the province of Guzerat, was the district of Champaneer. The town of Champaneer, with the fort of Powan-ghur, are situated towards the western confines of the province of



Malwa. On the 17th of September, the fort, the town, and the district, were in the possession of the British troops, whose loss in achieving these conquests was very inconsiderable.

The invasion of the province of Cuttack was to have been executed by about five thousand men, of which the greater part consisted of native troops, under the command of lieutenant-colonel Campbell. These forces being principally assembled at Ganjam, were ultimately placed under the command of lieutenant-colonel Harcourt, of his majesty's 12th regiment of foot, the military secretary of the governor-general; lieutenant-colonel Campbell having, in consequence of a severe illness, been rendered unable to proceed with the detachment from Ganjam. With the zeal and spirit which he has manifested upon so many occasions, colonel Campbell endeavoured, notwithstanding his illness, to proceed with the troops; but, after one day's march, he was carried back in a state which for several weeks menaced his existence.

On the 11th of September, lieutenant-colonel Harcourt arrived at Ganjam, and took the command of the troops. On the 14th they took possession of Manickpatam, without being exposed to any resistance on the part of the Marhattas. Encouraged by a letter from colonel Harcourt, the bramins of the pagoda of Jaggernaut sent a deputation to the British camp at Manickpatam, to claim the promised protection of the British government. Colonel Harcourt proceeded to Jaggernaut on the 18th, where he encamped; the pagoda having been evacuated by the Marhatta forces. The town of Cut-

tack, Balasore, and Soorong, were successively taken possession of by the British troops without any resistance on the part of the enemy. A circumstance that rendered this success still more satisfactory was, that during the whole of these operations the inhabitants of the province of Cuttack gave every assistance to the British troops, and exhibited the most unequivocal marks of satisfaction at the prospect of receiving the protection of the British government.

To complete the entire possession of the province of Cuttack, there still remained the reduction of the fort of Barabutty. This fort is of considerable strength and has only one entrance, by a narrow bridge over a wet ditch twenty feet in depth, and varying in breadth, from thirty-five to one hundred and thirty-five feet, according to the situation of the bastions. A small battery, which was completed on the night of the 13th of October, having destroyed the defences in the south face of the fort, and silenced the enemy's guns, lieutenant-colonel Harcourt ordered lieutenant-colonel Clayton to storm the fort. The storming party consisted of two hundred men from his majesty's 22d, and the Madras European regiments, four hundred sepoys from the 20th Bengal, and the 9th and 19th regiments of Madras native infantry, provided with one six-pounder and a party of artillery-men. In passing the bridge, they were exposed to a heavy fire of musketry. Forty minutes elapsed before they succeeded in blowing open the wicket. They then passed through it singly; and notwithstanding a vigorous resistance from the enemy, as they entered the fort, and while they were forcing two other gates, the British



British compelled the enemy to retire, and took possession of the fort. In the assault, the storming party took four standards of colours, and manifested their usual steadiness and bravery. The loss on our side was inconsiderable. By this success, the whole of the valuable province of Cuttack was annexed to the company's dominions. This acquisition is of very great importance. It secures a free and uninterrupted communication between the supreme government of India and the subordinate presidencies of Fort St. George and Bombay. Colonel Harcourt was appointed to the command of the troops in Cuttack, and a commissioner for the settlement of this province.

Victory, continuing faithfully to accompany the progress of the British arms, crowned the gallant and spirited exertions of general Lake, on the north-west frontier of Oude, with the most splendid success. In order to occupy a position favourable to the immediate prosecution of military operations, in the event of hostilities with Scindiah, the commander in chief, general Lake, marched from Cawnpore on the 7th of August, and on the 28th of the same month reached the vicinity of Coel. Being apprised by colonel Collins of his departure from Scindiah's camp, and having received a dispatch from the governor-general, which authorised him to commence the most active military operations against the forces of Scindiah, Monsieur Perron, and their allies, general Lake, on the 29th of August 1803, moved into the Marhatta territories, with the intention of attacking Monsieur Perron's force, which was stationed at a short distance from the fortress of Ally Ghur.

The British forces reached this place about seven o'clock in the morning of the 29th, when the enemy instantly struck their tents, and the whole of their cavalry drew up on the plain near the fort of Ally Ghur. Monsieur Perron occupied a very advantageous position. His right was protected by the fort; and the nature of the ground, together with the position of some villages, occupied by parties of his troops, materially strengthened his left. His front was completely covered by an extensive swamp. The force under his command consisted of about 15,000 horse, of which between four and five thousand were regular cavalry. But the regular and determined advance of the British troops so completely overawed Monsieur Perron's forces, that they immediately retired, and quitted the field without venturing to risk an engagement. Several attempts were made to charge them, but this was effectually prevented by the precipitancy of their retreat. Although no engagement ensued, the retreat of the enemy established the superiority of our arms, diminished the military reputation of Monsieur Perron, and occasioned the defection of several of his confederates. The commander in chief took possession of the town of Coel, and the greater part of the inhabitants, who had left it on the approach of our troops, returned, and with entire confidence placed themselves under the protection of the British arms.

The army having encamped between Coel and Ally Ghur, general Lake, on the 4th of September, made the necessary preparations for the attack of this fortress. In order to save the effusion of blood, he summoned Monsieur Pedron, whom Monsieur Perron had left in the



the command of the fort, to surrender. His efforts having proved unsuccessful, he determined to attempt to carry the fort by assault. Lieutenant-colonel Monson commanded the storming party, and conducted the attack with great skill, gallantry, and fortitude. The fortress of Ally Ghur is of singular strength. It has a broad and deep ditch, and a fine glacis. The country, for a mile round, is completely exposed to the fire of the fort. It has only one entrance, which is exceedingly intricate, over a narrow causeway, under which the enemy had commenced a mine; but having omitted to construct a draw-bridge, our troops were enabled to pass the ditch on the causeway, and immediately to attack the fortress. The storming party advanced under cover of a heavy fire from the British batteries erected for the purpose, and approached the fort within one hundred yards before they were discovered. After surmounting the most formidable obstacles during a long exposure to a destructive fire, they succeeded in blowing open the first gate, and the troops advanced in a circular direction, round a strong bastion of masonry, along a narrow path, and through two gateways which they easily forced, to a fourth gateway leading into the body of the fortress. During this time they were much annoyed by a very heavy cross fire. The fourth gateway was too strong to be forced. Major Macleod, however, pushed through the wicket. Little opposition ensued; and the fort, after a vigorous defence which lasted an hour from the commencement of the attack, was completely carried. About two thousand of the enemy were killed; some were drowned in at-

tempting to escape, and those who surrendered were afterwards permitted to quit the fort. The French commandant, the only European in the place, was taken prisoner. Our loss was extremely severe, with that of a very considerable proportion of officers. It consisted in 43 killed, and 180 wounded. Among the latter were lieutenants-colonel Monson and Browne, major Macleod, and several other gallant officers.

In the fort, some tumbrils of money were found, which the storming party divided on the spot. This success was attended with the acquisition of the greater part of the military stores belonging to the French party; for Ally Ghur was the residence of Monsieur Perron, and the grand dépôt of his military stores.

The day after the successful assault of Ally Ghur, Monsieur Perron addressed a letter to general Lake, informing him that he had resigned the service of Scindiah, and requesting permission to pass, escorted either by British troops or his own body guard, with his family, property, and the officers of his suite, to Lucknow, through the territory of the company, and of the nawaub vizier. General Lake immediately complied with his request, permitted him to be escorted by his own body guard, and provided for his reception in the company's territories, and those of the nawaub vizier, with every mark of honour and respect. It was supposed that the capture of Ally Ghur induced Monsieur Perron to solicit the protection of the British government. He stated, however, that he had retired from Scindiah's service, in consequence of having received intelligence that his successor was not only appointed,



ed, but was actually on his way to assume the command. He at the same time observed, that he was convinced, from the treachery and ingratitude of his European officers, that it was not in his power to oppose successful resistance to the progress of the British arms.

Having applied a draw-bridge to the gateway of the fort of Ally Ghur, in order to render it impregnable to any of the native powers, and left a sufficient force in it for its defence, general Lake, on the 7th of September, commenced his march towards Dehli. On the 8th the army reached Koorjah, a fort of some strength, about thirty miles distant from Ally Ghur, which had been evacuated by the garrison immediately after the fall of that fortress.

The only check which the British troops appear hitherto to have experienced, was at Shekoabad. Repeatedly attacked by a superior force, under the command of a French officer of the name of Fleury, colonel Coningham was at length, after having resisted the enemy with great resolution and spirit, and exhausted all his ammunition, compelled to surrender; on the advantageous condition, however, of being permitted to march, with the five companies of sepoy under his command, to Cawnpore. In this spirited attack and resistance many were killed and wounded. Among the latter was the brave and distinguished colonel Coningham. This intelligence was communicated to general Lake on the march to Dehli.

The British army reached Secundra on the 9th of September, and on the 11th, after a fatiguing march of eighteen miles, arrived at Jehnah Nullah, about six miles from Dehli, at eleven o'clock in

the morning. The commander in chief, having received intelligence that Monsieur Louis Bourquien had crossed the Jumna in the night, with sixteen battalions of regular infantry, six thousand cavalry, and a considerable train of ordnance, for the purpose of attacking the British forces, immediately upon his arrival at Jehnah Nullah, proceeded in person to reconnoitre them with the whole of his cavalry, consisting only of three regiments, and found them drawn up on rising ground, in order of battle and in full force. Their position was strengthened by a swamp covering each flank, beyond which the cavalry was posted. Their front was covered by a numerous artillery, and protected by a line of intrenchments. Having reconnoitred the enemy's position, general Lake ordered the line to fall in without delay, and move to the front in columns of grand divisions. The troops engaged in this glorious action were his majesty's 76th regiment, seven battalions of sepoy, the artillery, the 27th dragoons, and two regiments of native cavalry. The enemy's force consisted of 13,000 infantry, and 6,000 cavalry; in all 19,000 men. The British force was only 4,500.

The position of the enemy was such as to render it difficult to attack them with effect. General Lake, therefore, determined to make a feint, that they might be induced to leave their intrenchments, and advance upon the plain. By this retrograde movement, the cavalry, which had before considerably advanced, soon formed a junction with the infantry in the rear, which still continued to advance. The cavalry then opened from the centre, and allowed the infantry to pass on in front. The false retreat



retreat of the cavalry completely deceived the enemy. They immediately quitted their strong position, and advanced with the whole of their numerous artillery, shouting and exhibiting the strongest demonstrations of confidence in victory. The British infantry instantly formed into one line, with the cavalry about forty yards in the rear of the right wing of the infantry, when it formed a second line. The whole then proceeded against the enemy, led by general Lake in person, at the head of the 76th regiment. The enemy kept up a tremendous fire of round, grape, and chain shot. But notwithstanding the destruction it produced, the troops advanced with the greatest bravery and steadiness, without taking their muskets from their shoulders. When they had approached within a hundred paces of the enemy, they were exposed to a heavy fire of grape from all their artillery. Orders were instantly given to charge the enemy with bayonets. The whole line fired a volley. With their brave general at their head, they rushed on with irresistible impetuosity; the enemy gave way and fled in every direction.

When the line halted, it was ordered to break into columns of companies. This manœuvre enabled the British cavalry to pass through the intervals, and charge the enemy with their galloper guns. They pursued them to the banks of the Jumna, drove vast numbers into the river, and completed the victory. The left wing, under the command of major-general St. John, was equally successful. By this splendid victory, sixty-eight pieces of ordnance, and thirty-seven tumbrils laden with ammunition fell into our possession.

Twenty-four tumbrils exploding during the battle, and many others, with a number of ammunition carriages, were left by the enemy in the Jumna and the Jehnah Nullah. Two tumbrils containing treasure were taken on the field of battle. The loss of the enemy has been estimated at three thousand men. That of the British forces was also very considerable, amounting in killed, wounded, and missing, to four hundred and eighty-five men: about one-ninth of the army brought into the field upon this ever-memorable occasion. Major Middleton, cornet Sanguine, and several European soldiers, fell from the effects of the sun. The important consequences resulting from this victory were—the evacuation of the city and forts of Dehli, and the dispersion of the enemy in all directions.

In the general orders issued by the marquis of Wellesley, upon receiving the official statement of this splendid victory, he directed the public thanks of the supreme government of the British possessions in India to be given to general Lake, for the unexampled alacrity, eminent judgment, and indefatigable courage with which, under extraordinary difficulties, he prepared the army of Bengal for the field; conducted it by a rapid succession of glorious victories to the complete defeat of a powerful enemy; and maintained the honour of the British name in India, by humane attention to the inhabitants of the conquered provinces, and by a due respect and reverence towards the unfortunate representative of the house of Timur. The brilliant exertions of the army under general Lake were rewarded with the same honours which were conferred



conferred on the British troops for their splendid achievements at Assye, under the command of major general Wellesley.

Immediately after the action of Dehli, the unfortunate emperor, Shah Aulum, sent to general Lake, expressing his desire to place his royal person and authority under the protection of our victorious arms. On the 16th of September general Lake waited on his majesty, and congratulated him on his emancipation from the oppressive and degrading control of a French faction. The eldest son of his majesty, Mirza Akbar Shah, conducted the commander in chief to his royal presence. The distance to Dehli from the encampment of the British forces on the banks of the Jumna being five miles, the commander in chief did not reach the palace until sun-set. The crowd in the city was so great, that it was with some difficulty the cavalcade could proceed to the palace. General Lake was at length ushered into the presence of the unfortunate and venerable emperor;—oppressed by the accumulated calamities of old age, degraded authority, poverty, and loss of sight, this unhappy prince was seated under a tattered canopy, with every external appearance of misery and destitution. The impression which general Lake's conduct, at this affecting and interesting interview, produced on the minds of the inhabitants of Dehli, is not to be described. In the metaphorical language of Asia, the extraordinary joy excited by the deliverance from bondage of the aged and unfortunate Shah Aulum, is represented to have restored his majesty's sight. In addition to many distinguished marks of royal favour, the emperor conferred on the general the

second title in the empire; signifying in English, "The sword of the state, the hero of the land, the lord of age, and the victorious in war."

To maintain the dignity and secure the comfort of his imperial majesty was an object to which the attention of the marquis of Wellesley, after the restoration of this unfortunate representative of the imperial house of Timur, was humanely directed. It cannot be denied that permanent arrangements for the provision of his majesty's family, while they were calculated to secure the ends of justice and humanity, could not fail to be attended with important advantages to the British interests in India. Directions were also given by the governor-general to provide for the nobility and the great officers of state at Dehli, whose fortunes had been sacrificed to the usurpation of Scindiah and of French adventurers. These beneficial arrangements were made on principles similar to those adopted by the marquis of Wellesley in the year 1799, after the fall of Seringapatam, when he established a liberal and permanent provision for the principal officers and nobility of Tippoo Sultan.

Having appointed lieutenant-colonel Ochterlony to attend the person and receive the commands of the emperor, and left the requisite garrison at Dehli, general Lake moved from that city towards Agra on the 24th of September, impressed with the gratifying conviction, that the inhabitants of Dehli, from the protection extended to their persons and property, and from the mild treatment which they justly expected to receive, rejoiced in the change of masters, and regarded the British troops as friends and



and deliverers. Before his departure, Monsieur Louis Bourquien, who commanded in the action of the 11th at Dehli, and four other French officers, surrendered themselves prisoners to gen. Lake.

About this period, the detachment of British troops under the command of lieut.-colonel Powel completely succeeded in the expulsion of the forces under the command of Shumshere Behaudur from the province of Bundelcund. The details of these operations, however creditable to the troops by which they were executed, are not of a nature to excite much interest. But their contribution to the general success of our arms in India deserves to be honourably mentioned.

On the 2d of October the army under general Lake arrived at Mutra, and formed a junction with the detachment commanded by colonel Vandeleur, to whom Monsieur Dudernaigue, and two other officers, who had been detached by Scindiah with some regular battalions, in the month of July, for the purpose of reinforcing Monsieur Perron, had just surrendered themselves. The British army, on the 4th of October, arrived before the fortress of Agra. General Lake immediately summoned the garrison to surrender, but no answer was returned. He prepared, therefore, to attack the fort. Finding it impossible to make approaches to it as long as several battalions of the enemy's regular infantry, which were encamped on the outside of the fort, and occupied the town and principal mosque of Agra, maintained their position to the south and south-west of the fort, general Lake determined to dislodge them, and to occupy the ravines. In conformity to this plan,

colonel Clarke was directed, on the 10th of October, to take possession of the town with his brigade of sepoys, while lieutenant-col. Macculloch, with three battalions of sepoys, advanced to the attack of the ravines. After a long and severe contest, the enemy evacuated the town. The attack on the ravines equally succeeded; but the high spirit and bravery of the officers and men of the native battalions exposed them, in some degree unnecessarily, to considerable loss. The enemy lost six hundred men. Our loss was also considerable; it consisted of thirty-five killed, and one hundred and seventy-nine wounded. Twenty-six guns, with several tumbrils, were taken. About two thousand five hundred men, the remainder of the enemy's battalions, afterwards surrendered to general Lake, and marched into the British camp on the 13th of October.

On the same evening the garrison of the fort sent proposals to capitulate. For the purpose of finally adjusting the terms of the capitulation, a British officer was sent into the fort; but while he was actually engaged in the negotiation, the enemy treacherously recommenced their fire, and the officer returned. In consequence of this act of perfidy, the breaching batteries were opened on the 17th. The same evening the garrison, consisting of about five thousand men, capitulated. They marched out the following day, and the fort was immediately occupied by colonel Macdonald. In the fortress of Agra were found a large quantity of stores, many guns, and several tumbrils, containing about twenty-four lacks of rupees.

The navigation of the Jumna is effectually secured by the capture of



of Agra, of Dehli, and of Muttra. With many of the most powerful of the independent chieftains in that quarter, general Lake, in conformity to his instructions, concluded treaties, in order to secure their alliance and co-operation.

Thus terminated the short but brilliant campaign on the north-west frontier of Oude, in the course of which general Lake displayed very eminent talents, and the most distinguished bravery, activity, and spirit. The gallant army under his command manifested the most persevering courage, the most determined valour. Imitating the example of their heroic leader, and of their brave officers, they accomplished with unexampled rapidity all the important services prescribed in the governor-general's extensive plan of operations for this branch of the campaign.

In the early part of the campaign, Scindiah, as we have already observed, detached from the Dekan a considerable force under the command of Monsieur Dudernaigue, for the purpose of reinforcing the army of Monsieur Perron. This force consisted of fifteen battalions, and two others which had effected their escape from Dehli after the battle of the 11th. During the siege of Agra they continued, without once attempting to make any attack upon the British troops, to occupy a position about thirty miles to the rear of the army. They were furnished with a numerous artillery, and were destined to attempt the recovery of the important post of Dehli. To prevent the accomplishment of this object, general Lake marched from Agra on the 27th of October in pursuit of the enemy. On the 31st they encamped a short distance from the ground which the enemy had

quitted the same day. This intelligence induced gen. Lake, notwithstanding the army had marched twenty miles, to make an effort to overtake the enemy with all the British cavalry, in order to stop them by a partial engagement, that the infantry might be enabled to advance and form a junction with the cavalry. At twelve o'clock on the same night, general Lake marched with the cavalry, and came up with the enemy about seven in the morning. The infantry had been ordered to follow at three o'clock in the morning. The enemy's force consisted of nine thousand infantry, upwards of four thousand cavalry, and seventy-two guns.

The enemy appearing to be on their retreat, and in great confusion, general Lake was induced immediately to try the effect of an attack with the cavalry alone. Their advance was considerably delayed, in consequence of a large reservoir having been cut by the enemy, in order to strengthen their position. The right of the enemy was in front of the village of Laswaree, and thrown back upon a rivulet, of which the banks were high and steep; their left was upon the village of Mohaulpoor. High grass concealed the whole of their front, which was protected by a formidable line of artillery. This change of position was not immediately perceived by general Lake, the movements of the cavalry having raised a cloud of dust which completely obscured the enemy. The original plan of attack, which had for its object to prevent the retreat of the enemy, and to secure their guns, was consequently carried into execution. Major Griffiths, colonel Vandeleur, and colonel Macan, with their respective brigades,



brigades, charged the enemy with great gallantry and spirit, forced their line, and took several of their guns. The enemy's fire, however, was so galling and destructive, that it was necessary for the British cavalry to retire; a movement which they performed in perfect order, and with the retention of a part of the enemy's artillery. Colonel Vandeleur, a very brave, zealous, and distinguished officer, was killed in the charge.

About twelve o'clock at noon, the British infantry arrived on the banks of the rivulet. Having marched twenty-five miles, it was indispensably necessary to allow them to refresh themselves. In the mean time general Lake received a message from the enemy, proposing, upon certain conditions, to surrender their guns. Always desirous to prevent the effusion of blood, he acquiesced in their proposals, and allowed them an hour to fulfil their own conditions of surrender. Meanwhile, the requisite arrangements were made for a general attack, as soon as the prescribed time should elapse. No answer having been received from the enemy, the British infantry advanced, and moved along high grass, and broken ground, which afforded cover. As soon as they became exposed to the enemy's artillery, the British batteries commenced their fire. The artillery of the enemy was decidedly superior, both in point of number and weight of metal. On both sides the cannonade was maintained with great spirit. The enemy discharged grape shot from large mortars, as well as from guns of a very heavy calibre.

The 76th regiment, which headed the attack, suffered so much from the fire of the enemy, that

general Lake judged it preferable to proceed to the attack with that regiment, and a small body of native infantry which had closed to the front, rather than wait for the remainder of the column. The enemy opened a most tremendous fire of cannister shot, as soon as this small body of men had arrived within reach of their guns. The loss sustained by the British troops was so severe, that the enemy were encouraged to attempt to charge; but they were repulsed by the fire of this small gallant body of men. The enemy's cavalry, however, immediately rallied; their posture was so menacing, that general Lake deemed it necessary to command the British cavalry to charge them. At that instant major Griffiths fell, killed by a cannon shot; but capt. Wade achieved this service with the most distinguished gallantry and success. The remainder of the first column of British infantry having arrived in time to join in the attack of the enemy's reserve, major-general Ware was proceeding to execute this service, but was killed by a cannon shot. The command devolved on colonel Macdonald, who, though wounded, performed this duty with spirit and success. The loss of that distinguished officer, major-general Ware, was deeply lamented. To the last the enemy opposed a vigorous resistance; nor did they abandon their ground until all their artillery was lost. Their left wing still attempted to retreat in good order; but this movement was entirely frustrated by lieutenant-colonel John Vandeleur, who broke in upon the enemy's column, and completed the victory.

The loss which the British troops sustained in achieving this splendid victory



victory was very severe. General Lake very truly states, in his dispatch to the governor-general, that the zeal which the British army displayed on this memorable day was too plainly proved by the returns of the killed and wounded. The number amounted to eight hundred and twenty-two, including several very meritorious and sincerely lamented officers. Of the enemy, two thousand were taken prisoners, and the greater part of the remainder slain. They left in the possession of the British troops the whole of their bazars, camp-equipage, and baggage; with a considerable number of elephants, camels, and upwards of sixteen hundred bullocks; seventy-two pieces of cannon of different calibres, forty-four stands of colours, and sixty-four tumbrils completely laden with ammunition. Three tumbrils with money were also captured, together with fifty-seven carts laden with matchlocks, muskets, and stores, and some artificers' carts. During the action, several tumbrils with ammunition exploded. Five thousand stand of arms, thrown down by the enemy during the battle, were found on the field.

The resistance of the enemy appears to have been more determined than any opposition which the army under general Lake had ever before experienced. On this memorable day, his majesty's 76th regiment maintained the very high reputation which it has always enjoyed for bravery, steadiness, and discipline. The victory, however, has justly been principally attributed to the skill, judgment, and valour of general Lake, whose illustrious name and heroic example inspired the army with universal confidence. On this glorious

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day, two horses were killed under him. But in the midst of slaughter, and while the shot showered around him in every direction, he displayed the most resolute fortitude, the most ardent valour. Of every advantage presented by the enemy he availed himself with admirable promptitude, and manifested the highest degree of professional ability. His unrivalled personal activity carried into immediate execution his various and masterly plans of attack. In the front of every principal charge, which he had planned with eminent judgment and skill, he appeared with all the ardour and enthusiasm of matchless courage.

The staff of the army maintained their distinguished reputation. The conduct of major G. A. F. Lake, of his majesty's 94th regiment, son to the commander in chief, was conspicuously meritorious. He attended his father, throughout the whole campaign, in the capacity of military secretary and aide-de-camp. In executing his father's orders, he displayed the utmost gallantry and valour in every service of difficulty and danger. He constantly attended his father's person, and, independently of the ties of natural affection, he possessed the highest place in the commander-in-chief's confidence and esteem. In the heat of the action his father's horse was killed under him by a shot. Maj. Lake immediately dismounted, and after much earnest solicitation prevailed on his father to mount his horse. Major Lake mounted a horse of one of the troopers. At that instant he was struck by a shot, which wounded him severely, in the presence of his affectionate father. At the same instant general Lake found it necessary to lead the troops

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against



against the enemy, and leave his wounded son upon the field of battle. Exerting the last efforts of human fortitude, the commander-in-chief, in this dreadful and distracting moment, prosecuted victory with undiminished ardour. At the close of the battle, he had the satisfaction to learn that the wound, though severe, was not likely to prove dangerous. The marquis of Wellesley, in relating this affecting incident, expresses a confident hope that this distinguished young officer will be preserved to enhance the joy of his father's triumph, and to serve his king and country with hereditary honour.

The splendid victory of Laswaree completed the subversion of Scindiah's hostile power in Hindostan, and of the French force, which constituted the main strength of his army, in that part of India. Whatever sentiments may be entertained with respect to the justice or policy of the war, it is impossible to contemplate the rapid and brilliant events to which it gave rise, and the uniform success of the British arms in every part of India, in executing a very extensive and complicated system of military operations, without emotions of national pride. The achievements of general Lake and major-general Wellesley, combined with the brave and exemplary conduct of the officers and troops, but particularly in the splendid victories of Dehli, of Assye, and of Laswaree, cannot fail to inspire universal confidence in the vigour of our military resources, and in the stability of our dominion. The decided superiority of British discipline, skill, and valour, has been fully proved by the uniform success of our arms; nor is this supe-

riority the accidental result of a temporary or transient advantage, but the natural and certain effect of a permanent cause.

In the short period between the 8th of August, the day on which hostilities commenced, and the 1st of September, the British army conquered all the possessions of Scindiah in Guzerat, the city of Boorhanpoor in Candeish, the province of Cuttack in Orissa, the Marhatta dominions between the Jumna and the Ganges, the city of Dehli, and the right bank of the Jumna, and the city of Agra and the adjoining territory. The fortified town of Ahmednuggur, the forts of Allyghur, Baroach, and Cuttack, were taken by storm. The forts of Ahmednuggur, Powanghur, and Champoneer, the fort of Asseerghur, denominated the Key of the Dekan, and the fort of Agra, which the natives term the Key of Hindostan, surrendered, after batteries had been opened against them, by capitulation. The British army completely defeated the enemy in three general engagements: at Dehli on the 11th of September; at Assye on the 23d of September; and at Laswaree on the 1st of November. According to the official returns, the British troops took, in those engagements and under the walls of Agra, two hundred and sixty-eight pieces of ordnance, five thousand stand of arms, two hundred and fifteen tumbrils, and fifty-one stand of colours, with a large quantity of stores, baggage, camp-equipage, and ammunition. It does not appear, that any official returns of the artillery, stores, &c. taken from the enemy in the greater part of the fortresses mentioned above, had been transmitted to the supreme government in India,



India, at the time this statement was prepared. But, according to the returns which had been received, the total number of ordnance, exclusive of tumbrils, stores, &c. captured from the 8th of August to the 1st of November, amounted to seven hundred and thirteen.

After this splendid termination of hostilities, treaties of peace and alliance were, in conformity to instructions from the governor-general, concluded with the following chieftains in Hindostan. The rajahs of Berar, Bhurratpore, Macherry, Jeynagur, and the rajah Umbajee Rao Englah. Two separate treaties were concluded with Dowlut Rao Scindiah; a partition treaty with the peishwah, and with the soubahdar of the Dekan; and a treaty was also concluded with the ranah of Go-hud.

The important and beneficial consequences which are likely to result to the honourable company from the successful and brilliant termination of the war, and the conclusions of these treaties with the principal chieftains of Hindostan, are stated, at considerable length, in the notes extracted and arranged from the letter of the governor-general in council to the secret committee, under date the 13th of July, 1804. The marquis of Wellesley appears to entertain the most sanguine expectations of very extensive and permanent advantages. The extension of our territorial possessions with increased stability of dominion, and the formation of numerous alliances with the steady preservation of internal tranquillity, will, probably, notwithstanding the glorious success and the established superiority of our arms, still continue to appear to many to be objects of doubtful and

difficult accomplishment. The war with Holkar proves that the reduction of the power of Scindiah and the rajah of Berar, together with the extermination of French influence and authority, have not yet conferred upon our dominion that irresistible power which removes every apprehension of successful resistance. But, without further discussion, we shall proceed to submit to our readers a concise account of a few of the most important advantages which the governor-general anticipates from the treaties which have been concluded.

The benefits which the British government in India has derived from the successful termination of the war, and from the combined arrangements of the pacification, including the treaties of peace, of partition, and of defensive alliance and subsidy, are stated by the marquis of Wellesley to be very numerous and extensive. The military power and territorial resources of Scindiah and the rajah of Berar, are represented to be reduced within the limits indispensably necessary for the security of the British government and of its allies. The destruction of the French territorial power, established by monsieur Perron, on the most vulnerable part of the frontier of our possessions in India, has completely removed all insecurity with respect to that part of the British dominions; and in every quarter of India, the stipulations of the several treaties concluded with the native chieftains have opposed effectual barriers to the revival of French power and influence. The territory formerly occupied by the French force under monsieur Perron, now constitutes a part of the British possessions;



and our north-western frontier has been strengthened by this accession of territory, by being advanced to the banks of the Jumna, and by the occupation of several important posts and fortresses which command that river. The annexation to the British territories of the fertile countries situated in the Doab of the Jumna and Ganges, formerly under monsieur Perron's authority, combined with the complete command of the navigation of the Jumna, will naturally augment the sources of our revenue and commerce.

By the deliverance of the aged and unfortunate emperor, Shah Aulum, from the degrading subjection in which he was held by monsieur Perron, the British government has obtained a favourable opportunity of conciliating the confidence of the native powers, by providing an honourable and tranquil asylum for the declining age of that venerable monarch, and a suitable maintenance for his distressed family. The government of France, on the contrary, has thus been deprived of a powerful instrument, by which, in the event of the recurrence of hostilities, its designs against the British empire in India might have been very materially assisted. The treaties of defensive alliance with the Rajpoot state of Jeynagur, and with the petty states in the vicinity of our possessions in that quarter, furnish additional security to our north-western possessions, and contribute to the general augmentation of the British influence. Under the operation of these alliances, the influence and control of the Marhattas are permanently excluded from the north-western quarter of Hindostan. The tranquillity of Hindostan is further

secured and consolidated by the possession of the commanding fortress of Gwalior, and by the establishment of a subsidiary force within the territory of the ranah of Gohud. Our possessions in Bundelcund are also connected, by the same general arrangements of the peace, with those to the northward of the province of Gohud, and additional security is provided for the navigation of the Jumna, and the protection of our valuable possessions in the Doab. We have also acquired additional means of defending the north-west of Hindostan against any attempts on the part of the northern powers of Asia, to disturb the security of our possessions.

The British empire in India derives an augmented security from the acquisition of the valuable province of Cuttack, with its dependencies, including the seaport of Balasore. For a continuation of the British dominion between the province of Midnapore and the northern circars is thereby established, and the line completed which connects the territories under the immediate government of Bengal with those under the authority of Fort St. George. Besides, the province of Cuttack, while in the possession of a native power, would have afforded the government of France very great facilities for the prosecution of intrigues injurious to the British interests, and for the invasion of the British territory, either singly, or in co-operation with a native power. In the event of a contest with the state of Berar, the province of Cuttack would give us many important advantages. In addition to these benefits, the possession of that fertile province will augment the sources of our revenue and commerce;



merce; nor is it by any means an immaterial circumstance, that the possession of the great temple of Jaggernaut will increase our reputation in India, if the affairs of that temple, which is resorted to by innumerable pilgrims from every part of India, are administered with justice and benevolence.

The acquisition of the port and territory of Baroach, and of the sea-ports belonging to Scindiah on the western side of India, is of the more importance, since it afforded to Scindiah, and to the French officers in his service, the means of maintaining an intercourse with the government of France. The French might thus have had easy access to the Marhatta states in a quarter where our military power was less considerable, and our political influence less firmly established, than in other parts of India. Our possessions and interests in the province of Guzerat must necessarily derive additional security from the possession of the port and territory of Baroach, and from Scindiah's renunciation of all claims on our ally the guikwar. To these advantages it is proper to add those of a consequent augmentation of revenue and commerce.

By the combined operation of the treaties of peace and of partition, with the soubahdar of the Dekan, and the peishwah, the power and resources of these chieftains have been increased and consolidated, and their means of discharging the duties of alliance consequently augmented. The marquis of Wellesley states, that the confidence of those allies in the power, justice, and moderation of the British government, has been confirmed and increased

by their experience of the advantages of our alliance in the prosecution of the war, and in the ultimate arrangement of the peace.

One of the most material advantages resulting from the stipulations of the several treaties of peace consists in the removal, at least in a very great degree, of the causes of dissension and the means of political intrigue between our allies and the Marhatta states, by precluding the future intermixture of their territories, and the consequent collision of their authorities. In pursuance of this object, Scindiah and the rajah of Berar have been required to renounce their claims on the soubahdar of the Dekan and the peishwah, and the British government has assumed a right of arbitration, in all cases of difference which may arise between these respective powers. In this manner, the influence and ascendancy of the British government in the councils of Hyderabad and Poonah have been increased and permanently established. At the same time, the authority, the independence, and the power of these states, have not been invaded, but, on the contrary, have been corroborated and extended. The peishwah and the soubahdar of the Dekan, by the operation of their engagements with the British government, have been emancipated from the undue and illicit influence and control of their own servants and tributaries. They have also been secured against the vexatious claims and litigious interference of other powers, and the sources of permanent tranquillity and prosperity have been established in their respective dominions.

The defensive and subsidiary alliance



liance concluded with Scindiah, has been attended with the material benefit of establishing our influence at the court of that chieftain. A deliberate view of the real interests of his government has thus converted the most formidable enemy of the British power, in the late contest with the Marhatta chieftains, into an efficient ally of the honourable company.

The general arrangements of the pacification have therefore provided for the security of the territories of our allies, the soubahdar of the Dekan, the peishwah, the guikwar, and the rajah of Mysore, and of the dominions of the honourable company, from the dangers to which they were exposed by the anarchy and confusion existing in the Marhatta empire, and by the character and habits of the contending chieftains. The prosperity of the British empire in India has been thereby placed in that commanding position, with respect to other states, which affords the only possible security for the permanent tranquillity and prosperity of our valuable possessions. Subsidiary forces are intended to be established at Hyderabad, Poonah, and in the territories of Scindiah, the guikwar, and the ranah of Gohud. This efficient army, amounting to upwards of 24,000 men, will be paid by foreign subsidies, and will be constantly maintained in a state of perfect equipment, prepared, at the shortest notice, for active service in any direction. The privilege which the British government has acquired of arbitrating differences and dissensions between the several states with which it is allied, cannot fail to be conducive to the general tranquillity. Combined with the direction of this subsidiary mi-

litary force, this power of arbitration will enable us to control the cause of that internal warfare which has so long desolated many of the most fertile provinces in India, and occasioned a constant and hazardous fluctuation of power among the native states. From such a situation of general affairs, a predatory spirit has arisen, forming an exhaustless source for the supply of military adventurers, prepared to join the standard of any turbulent chieftain for the purpose of ambition, plunder, and rebellion.

The marquis of Wellesley appears to entertain a conviction that our defensive alliances will not have the effect of involving us in war with the native powers, except in cases of manifest justice and of irresistible necessity. This conviction is founded on the conciliatory employment of the power of arbitration. In his opinion, this power will secure the company from the contingency of war, in the prosecution of the unjust views of any of our allies, and afford a considerable advantage in enabling us to check, by amicable negotiation, the primary and remote sources of hostility in every part of India.—To us, we freely acknowledge, it appears that this power of arbitration, although assumed for the object, and exercised with the intention, of preserving internal tranquillity, may possibly contribute, by its decisions in causes of magnitude and of general interest, to excite a spirit of hostility. Chieftains accustomed to independence dislike all appeals to foreign arbitration. It is principally to their own judgment, and to the means they possess of acting upon that judgment, that they are in most cases willing to appeal; from a natural conviction, indeed, that they



they are best acquainted with their own peculiar interests.—The marquis of Wellesley proceeds to state, that between the British government, and all the great states of India, a connection is now established, on principles which render it the interest of every state to maintain its alliance with us. For, under the general protection of the British power, the inordinate aggrandizement of any of those states by an usurpation of the rights and possessions of others may be effectually precluded, and to every state the unmolested exercise of its separate authority may be secured within the limits of its established dominion.

In concluding this flattering statement of the extensive and important benefits which may be expected to result from the operation of the general arrangements of peace, the marquis of Wellesley is far from being so sanguine as to conceive, that these great advantages will be immediately obtained. On the contrary, he candidly admits that the agitation arising from a long course of war and tumult, must be expected only gradually to subside. The continuance of commotion will naturally be protracted by the peculiar habits and characters of the various chieftains and classes of people in India. But it may reasonably be affirmed, that the powerful and durable causes, arising from the general pacification, will ultimately produce their full effect, by diffusing principles of general tranquillity and good order. It is expected that these local and temporary disturbances will not essentially affect the comprehensive and permanent policy of the pacification. For, according to the statement of the governor-general, the result of the

war, and the conditions of the peace, have left no state in India of sufficient magnitude or force to shake the foundations of the general system of defensive alliance; founded upon principles of justice, directed to the salutary object of general tranquillity, and supported by adequate strength, to conciliate the attachment, and command the respect, of all the native states in India.

From a careful investigation of the various and important documents which the governor-general has caused to be submitted to the public, with the view to a complete justification of the commencement, the prosecution, and the termination of the war in India, it appears evident to us, that the remote cause of hostilities was the treaty of Bassein, and the immediate cause, the refusal of Scindiah and the rajah of Berar to withdraw their armies from the frontiers of our ally, the soubahdar of the Dekan. If the treaty, therefore, between the peishwah and the British government had not been concluded, it may fairly be inferred that the war would not have taken place. Completely to demonstrate the justice and policy of engaging in hostilities against the confederate Marhatta chieftains, requires it to be proved, that the situation of our affairs in India made it necessary to conclude a treaty of defensive alliance with the peishwah, notwithstanding the risk of a contest with some of the more powerful chieftains in India, whose ambition and usurpation would, of necessity, be repressed and checked by the operation of this treaty. This appears to us the question relative to the policy and justice of the war in India. Its solution, we acknowledge, involves many difficulties;



ner do we pretend to offer, on a subject of so much political intricacy, any thing more than a few speculative observations.

It cannot fail to have been foreseen, that a treaty of alliance with the nominal supreme executive power of the Marhatta empire, would give immediate umbrage to all the powerful chieftains, who were constantly encroaching on the authority of the peishwah. To support this authority, and to give vigour and efficiency to the government of the peishwah, by the operation of a treaty of defensive alliance, was manifestly the most effectual mode of defeating the views of Scindiah, Holkar, and the rajah of Berar. Consequently, although the object of the treaty of Bassein was to increase our military and territorial resources, and to strengthen our influence over the native states by an intimate political connection with the acknowledged supreme head of the Marhatta empire, in order to prevent any union really dangerous to our interests,—yet it cannot be denied, that one of the probable effects of the treaty of Bassein was to produce the very confederate union which it was intended to prevent. For it cannot be imagined, that such powerful chieftains as Holkar and Scindiah, however apparently disposed they might be to acknowledge that our alliance was neither prejudicial to their interests, nor injurious to their rights, or whatever public acknowledgments they might make to this effect, would behold with complacency the establishment of a system calculated effectually to defeat their projects of encroachment and usurpation.

To usurp or to control the supreme authority of the peishwah, seems to have been a general ob-

ject, which the powerful Marhatta chieftains had constantly in view. It was impossible, from their respective habits and characters, that they should agree either to give a specific modification to this authority, or to invest any particular individual with the supreme power inherent to the chief civil office in the Marhatta empire. They would, in all probability, be frequently engaged in hostilities against each other, in the promotion of their ambitious and aggressive views; and while the supreme authority of the peishwah formed the object of general contention, the belligerent Marhatta chieftains would materially impair the strength of their resources, and consequently become daily less formidable to the British power in India. This inference derives some confirmation from the conduct pursued by Holkar, who declined taking any part with Scindiah and the rajah of Berar, in the late war; apparently in expectation that these chieftains, weakened by the contest, would in future be less able to oppose the execution of his predatory and ambitious projects.

From these observations, it appears that there are two modes by which the British power in India might be strengthened and consolidated. By preventing the total subversion of the peishwah's authority, as in the late war between Scindiah and Holkar, this supreme office would probably be rendered an object of frequent contention; the Marhatta chieftains would thus exhaust, or at least considerably waste their resources, and, consequently, the power of the British government would relatively receive an acquisition of strength. The other mode is that to which the governor-general had recourse:

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the conclusion of a permanent alliance with the universally acknowledged supreme chief of the Marhatta empire, in order, by this connection, to obtain an accession of territorial and military resources, with a consequent extension of the British influence in India; aware, in all probability, that hostilities might result from the establishment of such political relations, but, at the same time, conceiving that the adoption of this policy, whatever immediate consequences might arise from it, could alone permanently establish the security of our dominion in India.

With the materials before us, we do not pretend to judge which would have been the preferable system of policy. Independently of this question, however, we freely acknowledge that, in the supreme direction of affairs in India, the marquis of Wellesley has displayed very extraordinary talents. His genius and powers of combination are of the first order. His comprehensive plans discover the resources of a mind of very uncommon enlargement, and the heroic gallantry with which they were executed reflects immortal lustre on the British arms.

## CH A P. IX.

*Internal State of France—Observations on the Exposé laid before the Legislative Body—Conspiracy against the French Government—Arrestation of Georges, Picbegrù, and Moreau—Speech of the First Consul in Reply to the Deputations from the Senate, the Legislative Body, and the Tribunate—Defence of General Moreau—Death of Picbegrù—Seizure, Trial, and Execution of the Duke of Engbien—Pretended Conspiracy against the French Government under the fictitious Direction of Mehée de la Touche—Seizure of Sir George Rumbold by Command of the French Government—Plot at Warsaw—Discussion in the Tribunate relative to the conferring upon Buonaparté the Title of Emperor of the French—Decree of the Tribunate—Message of Buonaparte to the Senate—Organic Senatus Consultum conferring the Imperial Title on Buonaparte, and establishing it hereditary in his Family—Address of Cambaceres to the Emperor—Reply of Buonaparte—Decree of the Emperor relative to the Imperial Family, and the Grand Officers of the Empire—Analysis of the Organic Senatus Consultum—Protest of Louis XVIII.—Speech of the Emperor previously to the Coronation—Ceremony of the Coronation and Inauguration—The Emperor of Germany assumes the hereditary Title of Emperor of Austria—State of St. Domingo—Annexation of Louisiana to the United States of America—Concluding Reflections.*

**I**N forming an opinion on the state of the interior of the French republic, at the commencement of the year 1804, it may be necessary to withhold an unqualified confi-

dence in the fidelity of the exposition, which the consular executive power annually lays before the legislative body: The mere act of submitting a statement of this description



scription to the legislative body, which in France constitutes a very subordinate department of government, itself implies, if not the actual existence of a more prosperous condition of things, at least the representation of a state of progressive improvement. It is not to be imagined that an unfavourable exposition of public affairs would be submitted by the consular government to general examination; nor is it to be expected that the exact condition of the republic will be accurately and faithfully described. Prepared, therefore, to make a due allowance for the high colouring of flattering statement, we shall proceed to give a condensed transcript of the material part of the exposé of the state of the French republic, which was laid before the legislative body on the 16th of January 1804.

General tranquillity is represented to prevail in the interior of France, and the recommencement of hostilities to have produced an union of sentiments and interests, and an increase of personal affection and attachment to the existing government. Secret depôts of arms are, however, acknowledged to have been found, and it is admitted that military conscription met with some resistance in La Vendée. Notwithstanding these circumstances, the return of social affections, and the daily display of public beneficence, in donations to the unfortunate, and foundations for useful establishments, are considered as characteristics of a general sentiment of public security. The war, it is affirmed, has not interrupted the constancy with which the government has pursued every thing tending to render congenial with the constitution the manners and disposition of the citizens, every thing likely

to attach all interests and all hopes to its duration. All the institutions forming constituent parts of the government, or connected with any objects within the extensive range of public utility, are described as having received splendour, improvement, and encouragement from the fostering care of the executive power. The civil, judicial, and criminal codes are represented to be in a state of approximation to maturity. The fine arts flourish amidst the treasures of the capital.

In the department of Marengo, the first camp of veterans is formed. Public works of every description are carried on with success under the immediate direction, and at the expense, of government. Among these, the canal which is to connect the Scheldt, the Meuse, and the Rhine, appears to be one of the most considerable. This, however, is stated to be yet only in the contemplation of the government. But the funds are provided for the execution of this undertaking, from which great commercial benefits are expected to be derived. The junction of the Rance with the Vilaine is also to be effected, in order to connect the Channel with the Ocean, and to convey prosperity and civilization to districts in which agriculture and the arts languish, and where refinements are but little known. Antwerp is represented to have been made, by a decree, a military post, an arsenal, and a dock-yard. At Boulogne and Havre, great works are in progress or completed. A mole is being constructed at Cherbourg, and a haven is now digging, where, in a few years, the republic will have its arsenals and its fleets. The internal navigation of France is universally improved, and the  
right



right of fishing in navigable rivers is made a public property. The produce of the taxes is stated to have exceeded the expectation of the government, and the sinking fund to fulfil with steadiness its destination. Public credit has maintained itself amidst the shocks of war, and the rumours of interested individuals. The drafts issued at St. Domingo, for which full value has been received, have been paid off with interest from the day they became due to the day of payment. Those that were issued without effective value have been proved false, and payment has been refused. Thus the government satisfies the justice which it owes to lawful creditors, and which it owes to the nation, whose rights it is bound to defend.

The exposé proceeds to state the desire of the French government to have maintained peace with Great Britain. If, on the 8th of March, there existed an extraordinary armament in the ports of France and Holland; if a single preparation was made in them to which the most remote suspicion could give a sinister interpretation; then, it is confessed, the French government is the aggressor; the message of his majesty, and his hostile attitude, have been rendered necessary by a legitimate precaution; and the people of Great Britain would have a right to believe, that their independence, their religion, and their constitution, were threatened. But if the assertions in the message were false, if they were contradicted by the opinion of Europe, as well as by the conscience of the British government, in this case it is asserted, that government have deceived the nation, and have precipitated it, without reflection, into a war which may be decisive of its future de-

stiny. It is admitted that Malta was the cause of the war, and that it remained with France to arm to effect its independence. The respective captures of the two powers are next alluded to, and the right of blockade is animadverted upon, as part of a system of naval usurpation. France is represented to have consented, in the treaty of Amiens, to moderate conditions; and a determination is expressed never to accede to any less favourable.

The subsisting relations between France and foreign powers are concisely stated. From the union of Louisiana to the American states, it is expected that the commercial relations between the French republic and the United States will be materially improved. The neutrality of Spain, the re-establishment of the Helvetic constitution, and the continuance of peace in Italy, are slightly alluded to. The Ottoman empire, fatigued by undermining intrigues, will, it is said, gain, by the interests of France, the support which antient alliances, a recent treaty, and its geographical position entitle it to demand. The tranquillity restored to the continent by the treaty of Luneville is represented to have been secured by the last acts of the diet of Ratisbon.

This state-paper, in whatever light it is viewed, is certainly a public document of material importance. Admitting that some, perhaps much, exaggeration is introduced in it, yet it shows that the French government is minutely attentive to whatever is connected with the internal prosperity of France. It is true that a variety of trifling subjects contribute to enlarge the list of public works; many, indeed most, of which are inferior



inferior to the undertakings in which private individuals are in this country daily engaged. But the desire of promoting the internal improvement of the state is not the less manifest, from the diversity of inconsiderable as well as great objects which receive the care and attention of the sovereign power. If it be true, that internal tranquillity generally prevails in France, and that universal confidence is reposed in the executive power, it is in vain to expect that any internal efforts are likely to produce a change in the existing government. Those who sincerely wished to see the French councils animated by principles of moderation, and a desire to secure the general repose of Europe, must lament that an ambitious power is thus acquiring a degree of stability and permanence, which may enable it to shake to their foundation, or perhaps to subvert, all the antient political institutions of the continent.

The finances of the French republic, notwithstanding the injury their commerce has sustained from the war, are described to be beyond calculation flourishing. The public institutions for education are expected to answer the ends of their establishment, by impressing on the minds of the French youth principles in unison with those upon which the affairs of the state are administered. It may, therefore, be naturally inferred, that they are to receive an education calculated to make them efficient instruments for the extension of the power and grandeur of the nation. State-ambition will thus form one of the prominent features of the next generation; and in addition to the incentives of actual example, it will probably be converted, by

the influence of early precepts, into a restless spirit of general action.

It is a singular feature in the exposé, that while it denies the existence of armaments in the French ports, or of any species of hostile preparations against this country, it admits that Malta was the cause of the war, and asserts that it remained with France to arm, in order to effect its independence. Such a declaration involves an acknowledgment of the determination of the French government to resort, sooner or later, to arms, for the accomplishment of this object. That there were some preparations in the French ports, although they probably were not, in the first instance, destined to be employed against this country, no one surely will attempt to deny. When, therefore, circumstances had arisen which rendered the strict execution of the article of the treaty of Amiens relative to Malta impracticable; when the hostile temper with which the discussions on this subject were conducted at Paris on the part of the first consul, and the facility with which these armaments might have been diverted from their original destination, to second any hostile intentions of the French government, are taken into just consideration;—the assertion that his majesty's message was wholly destitute of foundation will appear false and unwarranted. Another passage in the exposé merits particular attention. It declares the resolution of the French government never to conclude with this country a peace, of which the terms shall be more favourable than those of the treaty of Amiens. This, however, must be decided and determined by the events of the war; and since the treaty of Amiens is supposed not



to have effectually provided for the security of the country, this declaration of the enemy should only serve to stimulate our exertions in the prosecution of this arduous contest.

The session of the legislative body of the French republic opened on the 6th of January 1804, and closed on the 24th of March. In his opening speech, the minister of the interior predicted that this session would be marked by new benefits to the people. He intimated to the members of the legislative body, that it was the intention of the government to submit to their wisdom that series, which it had matured, of salutary and protecting laws, which establish and consecrate the freedom of persons, the bases of transactions, and the guarantee of property. In the midst of the immense preparations which the war had rendered necessary, the government had not deferred a single useful expense, nor suspended a single enterprise. By its genius and providence, it had connected all the benefits of peace with the important cares of war. 'In no part of the republic,' he affirmed, 'do we see those agitations which announce apprehensions, or pre-  
 sage reverses. The stormy discussions which characterize distrust, or conceal sinister projects, are no where heard. Every thing is calm, happy, and tranquil.' The fallacy of this assertion it will be our duty to demonstrate by the relation of an absurd and ill-digested conspiracy against the chief of the French government. The minister proceeds to state, that the courageous French youth range themselves with ardour under the standards of the country; the farmer, the merchant, the manufacturer, press round the government

to offer it their harvest, their gold, and their produce; and the French people, proud of their government, confident in their means, and happy in their institutions, express but one sentiment—love for the august head of the state; and free from fear, from agitation, from disquietude, repose in him the care of their destiny.

The speech of Fourcroy, the orator of government, at the close of the session, is of a widely different tenor. He observes that laws the most important have been discussed in the midst of war, in the midst of a most atrocious conspiracy. He accuses the British government of employing its ministers at Hamburgh, at Stutgard, and at Munich, as agents for the prosecution of this conspiracy; and, in the language of revolutionary violence, he represents the illustrious fugitives, who have found in this country an asylum from French persecution, as deeply implicated in crimes and plots against the government established in France. Death is the punishment which he denounces against them, should they dare to pollute with their presence the soil of the republic. It should be remembered that this jacobinical oration was pronounced by Fourcroy, three or four days after the execution of the duke of Enghien, while the thirst for the blood of princes was apparently still unallayed.

It is very far from our intention to abet or to justify, in the slightest degree, any species of conspiracy against an established government; nor can an opinion upon a skilful or absurd combination of the secret arrangements of a plot be construed, by any perversion of language, into approbation. We may, therefore, safely pronounce, that  
 few



few conspiracies have been framed against a government, whose vigilance pervades every part of the French territory through the medium of an organized system of espionage, more likely to be exposed to immediate detection, than that to which Fourcroy alludes; and in which Moreau, Pichegru, Georges, and about sixty accomplices, are stated to have been implicated. According to the report made to the government by Regnier, the grand judge, it appears that several landings of the persons said to be engaged in the conspiracy were clandestinely effected at a place between Dieppe and Treport, where men were found and paid to receive them, and conduct them during the night from fixed stations, which had been previously agreed on, in order to convey them ultimately to Paris. The first landing was effected on the 21st of August 1803, at the foot of the cliff de Beville. Georges and eight of his accomplices were then put on shore. A second debarkation of about the same number of persons took place, at the same spot, in the beginning of December. A third was effected at this place on the 10th of January 1804, when general Pichegru and six others are stated to have been put on shore. A fourth landing was attempted, but prevented by the vigilance of the military. Beside these persons, their accomplices at Paris, where the greater part of them were arrested, are reported by the grand judge to amount to thirty-seven, among whom, the most conspicuous individual was general Moreau. He was arrested at Paris on the 14th of February, and general Pichegru on the 17th. Georges was arrested on the 9th of March. He

was in a cabriolet. He shot the peace-officer who stopped his horse, and, with a dagger, wounded the officer who attempted to seize him. The *Moniteur* states that he had about him very considerable sums in bills of the bank of France, and in bills of exchange drawn from London; and that everything induced a presumption he was on the point of attempting to escape, by availing himself of the darkness of the night to pass the walls.

The same journal also states, that he declared without hesitation he had been at Paris several months, and that it was his intention to have assassinated the first consul. Other accounts represent the object of the conspiracy to have been to effect a change in the government of France, without making any attempt against the life of Buonaparte, whose person, on the contrary, it was the wish of the conspirators to have spared. They proposed, it is said, to have secured his person by surprise, and to have carried him off. Among the singular features of this strange conspiracy, the circumstance of its prosecution, after several of its members had been arrested, cannot fail to render the plot more palpably absurd. So early as the 11th of October, not two months after the first debarkation, Courson, one of those who were landed the 21st of August on the coast of France, was arrested at Paris. Of the supposed accomplices in Paris, several were arrested in the month of December; consequently before the third debarkation had been effected. A conspiracy prosecuted under such circumstances seemed to invite detection. The greater the number of accomplices, the greater also was the common risk of discovery. But when it is recollected,



lected, that persons reported to have been engaged in this plot were individuals who, from national character and habits, cannot be supposed to have been distinguished for discretion and reserve; and that they were prosecuting their designs immediately under the eye of a government which every where exerted the most jealous and active vigilance,—where, it may be asked, existed a chance of success? Every revolutionary change in the French government has been effected by a dexterous direction of public sentiment, or by military violence. But among the members of the different departments of the consular government, where did any symptoms of public dissatisfaction exist? Were the military inclined to support a project of counter-revolution? No traces have been discovered of such an inclination. If the hopes of the accomplices in this plot were founded in the effect to be produced upon the public mind, by the support of so popular a character as general Moreau, they should in the first instance have been certain of his most strenuous co-operation. But it does not appear that he ever gave any pledge to that effect. It seems more than probable, that the agents in the plot deceived themselves by inferring the unpopularity of the government from the popularity of Moreau; a conclusion evidently calculated to mislead them into unbounded error. Their enthusiasm in the cause of their lawful sovereign, seems, however, to have been the chief reason of their abrupt failure. Their ardent zeal concealed from them the total impracticability of their enterprise.

Very shortly after the arrestation of the generals Moreau and Pichegru, an extraordinarily severe law

was passed, in order to accelerate the discovery of all their supposed accomplices. The law condemned to death every individual who should conceal Georges or any of his accomplices. Deputations from the senate, the legislative body, and the tribunate, waited on the first consul with addresses of felicitation on the discovery of the conspiracy. He replied to them in terms, which, if personal ambition were not the predominant principle which prompts and directs all his actions, would claim some credit for disinterested greatness of soul. “Since I have attained the supreme magistracy,” he replied, “a great many plots have been formed against my life. Educated in camps, I have never regarded, as important, dangers which give me no fear. But I cannot avoid experiencing a deep and painful feeling, when I consider the situation in which this great nation would have been placed, if this last plot had succeeded; for it is principally against the glory, the liberty, and the destiny of the French people that the conspiracy was formed.—I have long since renounced the hope of enjoying the pleasures of private life. All my days are employed in fulfilling the duties which my fate and the will of the French people have imposed on me. Heaven will watch over France, and defeat the plots of the wicked. The citizens may be without alarm. My life will last as long as it shall be useful to the nation; but I wish the French people to understand, that existing without their confidence and affection, would be for me without consolation, and would for them have no object.”

The trials of the parties concerned in the plot took place at Paris, in the month of July. Georges and seventeen



seventeen others were condemned to suffer death, with confiscation of property. General Moreau was sentenced to two years imprisonment. To Armand Polignac, M. de Rivière, Lajolais, and M. de Lozier, a pardon was extended. On the 25th of July, Georges and eleven others were guillotined at the *Place de Grève*. They died with the most undaunted firmness.

The popularity enjoyed by Moreau was probably inferior only to that of the first consul. As a general, his reputation was even more exalted. His talents as a statesman were untried; but the known moderation of his character, and the soundness of his judgment, naturally produced very strong impressions in his favour. The jealousy of his rival appears to have consigned him to a life of retirement, in order to prevent his popularity from deriving any accession from an able execution of public duties. Even had the guilt of which he was accused been fully substantiated, the sacrifice of so great a favourite of the public might have deprived the first consul of the ensigns of imperial dignity.

When the counsellors of state read to the tribunate the report of the grand judge, Moreau, in terms of the strongest fraternal emotion, vindicated the innocence of his brother, and even declared that every thing which had been said was an infamous calumny. How far general Moreau was implicated in the plot, it is impossible to determine, since, for various reasons to which we have just alluded, it was deemed expedient not to give him an opportunity of defending himself before any of the public tribunals. It may, however, be collected from his exculpatory letter to the first consul, that he was both dis-

satisfied with the actual government, and that he was not altogether ignorant of the existence of designs formed for its subversion. The ground of the suspicion of his implication he states to have probably arisen from the connection which, with fluctuating degrees of intimacy, had long subsisted between general Pichegru and himself. He acknowledges that distant overtures had been made to him to enter into correspondence with the French princes; but to these proposals, which appeared to him to be ridiculous, he affirms that he returned no answer. With respect to the actual conspiracy, he asserts that he was far from having the least share in it; and that whatever proposition was made to him, he rejected from a conviction of its extreme folly. He admits it had been represented to him, that the chances of the invasion of England were favourable to a change of government; but he declares that he always replied, the senate was the authority round which all Frenchmen, in case of troubles, would unite, and he would be the first to obey its orders. The part of giving information to government was repugnant to his character; it was an office which is always judged of severely; but it becomes odious, and is marked with the seal of reprobation against the individual who exercises it to the injury of those persons to whom his gratitude is due, and with whom he has long cultivated habits of friendship. Duty, he proceeds to observe, may sometimes yield to the voice of public opinion.

Such is general Moreau's exculpation, which we have given nearly in his own words. That this is a feeble defence of innocence, is too strikingly



strikingly manifest. If he were unconscious of all guilt, he should have assumed a manly and heroic tone of self-vindication. He should have demanded to be brought before a public tribunal. His great and well-merited popularity would have confirmed a just assertion of his innocence. Even the uplifted sword of tyranny would not have dared to strike. But instead of pursuing this glorious course, he acknowledges that he has been imprudent, but not guilty, and, in an inauspicious moment, cancels a part of his fair fame, and courts life, liberty, and service, by throwing himself at the mercy of the first consul, by weakly and extravagantly accusing England of having prepared this snare for his destruction, and vainly asserting that Great Britain may judge of the evil he is capable of doing her, by what he has already performed.

The truth appears to be, that Moreau was not unaware of the conspiracy; but that he ever had any active share in it, not the least evidence seems to have been produced. Thus fell one of the most celebrated generals of the republic. At a moment when the remembrance of the important services he had performed, together with the universal esteem in which his many public and private virtues were held, contributed to secure to him perhaps a greater share of general love and admiration than was enjoyed by his dazzling competitor for fame,—one single act, to speak of it in the mildest terms, of civil imprudence, precipitated him from the glorious height to which he had raised himself, and laid him at the feet of his rival, a humble and degraded suppliant.

Much as the public were concerned at the fate of general Mo-

reau, their interest in his misfortunes was for a time suspended by the melancholy event of the death of general Pichegru. A very circumstantial account of his death was published in the *Moniteur*, in order, without doubt, to remove from the government every suspicion of having murdered an old and much-beloved general of the republic. We shall concisely state the singular circumstances attending his death, as detailed in the official journal of the French government. In the juridical report of the suicide which he is said to have committed, the surgeons appointed by the criminal tribunal to inspect the body of general Pichegru, in order to ascertain the immediate cause of his death, unanimously declare that he died of strangulation. They state that they found a black silk handkerchief about his neck, through which was passed a small stick forty-five centimetres long, and from four to five centimetres in circumference. This stick, forming a tourniquet of the cravat, was stopped by the left jaw, on which he lay, with one end of the stick underneath. This is stated to have produced a degree of strangulation sufficient to occasion his death. They then remark, that the stick had rested by one of its ends on the left cheek, and that, by moving round irregularly, it had produced a transversal scratch of about six centimetres. The face was discoloured, the jaw locked, and the tongue pressed betwixt the teeth. The discoloration extended over the whole body. The extremities were cold. The muscles and fingers of the hand were strongly contracted. From all these circumstances their opinion was, that general Pichegru had committed suicide.



The evidence of various persons then follows, to prove that no one had entered general Pichegru's chamber, during the night, in order to make any attempt against his life. One of the gend'armes stationed near his chamber heard a considerable degree of struggling and noise; but supposing the general laboured under much difficulty of breathing, he did not imagine any particular assistance was required. Another person, near the same place, awoke about four o'clock, but did not hear any particular noise. The principal door-keeper of the hall of justice in the Temple went on the 6th of April, about half past seven in the morning, into general Pichegru's chamber to light his fire; but not hearing him either speak or stir, he dreaded that some accident had happened to him. The colonel of the gend'armerie and the accuser-general were immediately informed of it, and medical assistance was instantly sent for. The chamber-keeper also states, that on the preceding evening he had taken away with him the key of general Pichegru's apartment, and had kept it in his pocket till the time he went to light the fire in the morning.

Notwithstanding this report respecting the mode in which general Pichegru is represented to have destroyed himself, and the evidence of the several persons stationed near his chamber, there are many very strong grounds of suspicion that he was clandestinely sacrificed. In the first place, there appears every reason to doubt the possible accomplishment of so singular a mode of self-destruction. Ordinary suicides are perpetrated by a single determination of the will. The acts of shooting, hanging, drowning, and the like, deprive the un-

happy individuals determined upon the commission of suicide, of the power of attempting the recovery of life. Nor, when the act is once perpetrated, have they any further power to prosecute the accomplishment of their rash resolution. The commission of suicide, therefore, is in the first instance a voluntary act; but the continued execution of the means of self-destruction requires, afterwards, no effort of the will. The loss of life must involuntarily and necessarily follow. But in the case of general Pichegru, a continued effort of the will was necessary to complete the suicide. It must have been continued until strangulation was completely effected; for, until the strangulation was complete, the involuntary effort of nature to retain life would still preserve, however difficult it might be, some degree of respiration. Even admitting the continued exercise of the will under such circumstances, which may reasonably be doubted, the question, with respect to the capability of executing this mode of suicide, will be reduced to these terms:—Which will be the most powerful, supposing a certain degree of strangulation to be produced, the involuntary efforts of nature to preserve life, or the physical strength necessary to execute the determination of the will? To us it appears that no doubt can arise on the subject.

With regard to the other grounds of suspicion, it may be observed, that the very parade of the French government in publishing to the world a minutely circumstantial account of general Pichegru's death, together with a mass of collateral evidence, discovers a strong degree of apprehension that the world would naturally suspect that cruel and unjustifiable violence had been  
resorted



resorted to, in order to gratify personal revenge, or to obviate the consequences of a public trial, and a public execution. It was very commonly believed in Paris, that general Pichegru had been privately murdered. To prevent the circulation of reports to that effect, Murat, the governor of Paris, shortly after this event, issued general orders, in which he recommended all the military in Paris to enlighten the citizens upon, what he termed, the false reports circulated on the subject.

But one of the strongest confirmations that general Pichegru did not commit suicide is to be found in the character of the individual. Upon this point, our personal knowledge of him gives us the highest degree of confidence. Religion, fortitude, and courage, would banish from his mind the remotest idea of such an act of impiety and cowardice. The truth is, the French government dreaded the publicity of his trial, and execution. They knew with what dignity he would have defended himself; with what firmness he would publicly have reproached the people of France for their servile submission to an abject and degrading tyranny; with what heroic resolution he would have fallen under the sword of despotism, uttering with his last breath a pious hope for the liberation of his country. These, together with the other circumstances which we have stated, give a great degree of probability to the conclusion, that general Pichegru was put to death by the order of the French government.

With respect to his conduct in conspiring against the existence of an established government, it must be justified, or condemned, according to the motives by which he was

actuated. If selfish views of personal interest, or the desire of promoting the interests of a mere faction, induced him to attempt the subversion of the French government, his conduct merits the severest reprobation; but if the liberation of his country from the iron dominion of barbarous tyranny was the sole motive which influenced and directed his proceedings, none but the bigoted enemy to the happiness of mankind can censure his exertions for their amelioration.

A short time before the violent death of general Pichegru, the consular government committed an act of the most sanguinary atrocity. Under the pretence that the duke of Enghien was implicated both in the conspiracy which we have related, and in that of which Mehée de la Touche pretended to undertake the direction, the French minister for foreign affairs transmitted to baron Edelsheim, minister of the elector of Baden, a requisition to arrest him at Ettenheim. For this purpose, the first consul ordered two small detachments of troops to repair to Offenbourg and Ettenheim, to seize the duke, and some emigrants of distinction. General Caulincourt, one of the aides-du-camp of the first consul, was charged with the execution of these orders. The troops under his command crossed the Rhine during the night of the 14th of March, and proceeded through Kehl to Offenbourg. At both of these places several emigrants were arrested. On the same night another column crossed the Rhine, and directed their march to Ettenheim, where they arrested several persons, among whom was the unfortunate duke of Enghien, son of the duke of Bour-



bon, and grandson of the prince of Condé. This gallant prince was immediately conveyed to Paris, under an escort of a party of *gend'armes*. He arrived there on the evening of the 20th, and was carried to the Temple, whence he was conducted without delay to the castle of Vincennes.

On the following day, a special military commission was appointed, in virtue of a decree of the French government passed only on the preceding day, expressly for this important trial. It consisted of seven members, all of whom were named by Murat, brother-in-law of Buonaparte, general in chief, governor of Paris, and commandant of the first military division. By the orders of Murat, the commission was opened at the castle of Vincennes, in the house of the commander of the place, for the purpose of proceeding in the trial of Louis Antoine Henri de Bourbon, duke of Enghien, born at Chantilly the 2d day of August, 1772. The accusations against him included six charges. He was accused:—of having carried arms against the French republic;—of having offered his services to the English government, the enemy of the French people;—of receiving, and having, with accredited agents of the British government, procured means of obtaining intelligence in France, and conspiring against the external and internal security of the state;—of being at the head of a body of French emigrants, paid by England, and formed on the frontiers of France, in the districts of Fribourg and Baden;—of having attempted to foment intrigues at Strasburgh, with a view to excite insurrection in the adjacent departments, for the purpose of operating a di-

version favourable to England;—of being concerned in the conspiracy planned by the English for the assassination of the first consul; and of intending, in case of the success of that plot, to return to France.

The commission being opened, the president ordered the officer appointed to conduct the accusation, to read all the papers which went either to the crimination or the acquittal of the duke of Enghien. After the reading of these papers was finished, the duke was introduced by the guard, free and unfettered, before the commission. He was interrogated by the president respecting the points contained in the accusation. The duke of Enghien is then stated to have entered upon his defence. But in what state, and before whom? Harassed and fatigued by the great length of the journey, performed without an interval of rest, from Ettenheim to Paris, and dragged almost immediately after his arrival before a military tribunal, specially appointed under the direct orders and influence of the government, in conformity to a new law passed the preceding day with a view to arm that government with more extended powers, and to render the members of the commission the abject and submissive instruments of its sanguinary determination, this amiable prince was put upon his trial for life; and, when so much exhausted as scarcely to be able to keep his eyes open, was required to defend himself before his predetermined judges. Having concluded his defence, the members of the commission were asked by the president, if they had any further observations to make. They all replied in the negative. The duke



duke of Enghien was then ordered to be taken out of court, and re-conducted to prison. The officer who had conducted the prosecution, and the auditors, were ordered by the president to withdraw. The court having deliberated for some time, with closed doors, on the respective charges, the president put the question on each of the charges separately. The members delivered their opinion in succession; the president was the last in delivering his judgment. The result was, that the court expressed their unanimous opinion that the duke of Enghien was guilty of all the six charges. The question relative to the punishment to be inflicted was afterwards put in the same manner; when this special military commission unanimously pronounced upon him sentence of death, on the ground of his being guilty of acting as a spy, of correspondence with the enemies of the republic, and of conspiracy against the external and internal security of the state. The sentence was pronounced in conformity to the letter of the existing laws; and orders were given to the officer who had conducted the prosecution, to read this sentence to the duke of Enghien, in presence of the guard drawn up under arms.

Such were the inauspicious circumstances under which this illustrious but ill-fated prince was tried and condemned. It was not even permitted to conduct this mock-trial, for such it must in truth be denominated, where its publicity might possibly have excited a feeling of sympathy and regret. By conducting the prosecution at the castle of Vincennes, all publicity was in reality precluded. The choice of the place of trial, the arbitrary appointment of the mem-

bers of the commission, the barbarous precipitancy with which the prosecution was conducted, all concur to corroborate and confirm the suspicion of his pre-determined execution. That he was not guilty of four of the charges exhibited against him, sufficiently appears from the letter which, on the 15<sup>th</sup> of February, precisely a month before his arrestation, he addressed, through general Ecquevilly, to the British minister at Vienna. This letter, it must be admitted, substantiates the second charge in the accusation; but, at the same time, it supplies the strongest evidence, that the duke of Enghien had no sort of connection with any individuals, of whatever description, who were engaged in contemptible and impotent plots against the government of France. He requested to be employed in open warfare against the enemy of his family and of this country; and if taken in arms would have merited the clemency of a generous foe. In this letter, he declares that the absolute nullity in which he vegetates, whilst the path of honour is open to so many others, becomes every day to him more insupportable; and he wishes to give to the British government, whose generosity he has experienced, proofs of gratitude and of zeal. He expresses a hope that the English will deem him worthy of combating by their side, and will permit him to share their perils and participate of their glory. Entirely devoid of all private interest relative to his cause, his request, he says, has no other object than to obtain an honourable commission in the British army. That it is his sacred duty to serve till death his legitimate sovereign, and his cause, he acknowledges in the most explicit terms; but he



also feels it to be a dear and pressing duty to serve his benefactors, and to prove that his gratitude is as deep as it is disinterested.

No testimony can furnish a more complete acquittal from any share in secret conspiracies against the government of France, than this description of the inactivity in which the duke was living at Ettenheim. The testimony is the more satisfactory, as it is derived from a private confidential letter, of which the sincerity of the terms can no way be suspected. Who can blame the loyal prince for the martial zeal which impelled him, in defence of the cause of his unhappy expatriated family, or in order to serve the country in which they had found a hospitable asylum, to seek an occasion to oppose their common enemy? A life of inglorious inaction was incompatible with the spirit and bravery with which he was animated. Against whom then was he to enter the field? Surely against him who had stripped his family of regal honours, and prosecuted war against the nation in which they received protection and support. That he would have gloriously distinguished himself in arms, is sufficiently attested by the heroic and magnanimous fortitude which he displayed in the last moments of his existence. The sanguinary precipitancy of the French government conducted him from the theatre of his insulting trial to the wood of Vincennes, where, at midnight and by torch-light, the sentence of the court was executed. It has been said, and in all probability with truth, that the first consul was afraid to intrust the execution of the sentence to Frenchmen. Italians were therefore employed to perform an act, at which the

French soldiery, under a possible impression of sympathy, might have revolted. In the presence of several republican generals, he met his fate with the most undaunted and heroic firmness. This melancholy event excited among all the faithful adherents to the unfortunate race of the Bourbons, the most deep and generous interest; and the august and mournful ceremony of a solemn mass was performed in the chapel of St. Patrick, where a funeral oration upon the many virtues of this gallant and amiable prince closed the impressive and awful scene.

Several notes on the illegal seizure of the duke of Enghien, and the violation of the neutrality of the German empire, were both delivered to the diet of Ratisbon, and addressed to the French minister for foreign affairs. Among these, by far the most spirited were the notes presented by the Russian, Swedish, and Hanoverian ministers. The verbal declaration of the minister of the elector of Baden, which was given in to the diet of Ratisbon in the beginning of July, was manifestly in direct conformity to the wishes of the French government. It recommended in indirect terms an oblivion of this act of violence, lest the agitation of the question lead to consequences by which the tranquillity and welfare of the German empire, and possibly of all Europe, might be again disturbed and endangered. What influence this violation of the rights of nations had in aggravating the subjects of complaint between the cabinet of the Thuilleries and the courts of Stockholm and Petersburg, we have already taken occasion to notice.

In narrating the fictitious conspiracy



spiracy against the French government, which was chiefly projected by Mehée de la Touche, it may be proper to explain both the circumstances under which the plot was first imagined, and the character and views of the impostor who pretended to direct its execution. Mehée de la Touche was the person who fabricated this ideal scheme of counter-revolution. At an early period of the French revolution, he took a conspicuous share in the blood-stained scenes of violence which were so frequently exhibited. All the horrors that were then perpetrated were beheld by him, not merely with complacency, but the sanguinary instruments of Robespierrian barbarity were encouraged by his example, and he even became a prominent character in the atrocious processions of wretches and assassins. For these sanguinary excesses he has since attempted to apologize, by alleging as an excuse the powerful influence of the republican writers of antiquity upon a youthful and ardent mind, inflamed by enthusiastic sentiments of liberty.

Towards the close of the year 1802, he incurred the displeasure of the French government, and, with several others, was under orders of deportation. He escaped to one of the small islands on the French coast, and thence to Guernsey. Pretending that he had in his possession documents of the last importance to communicate to the British government, he succeeded in obtaining permission to proceed to London. He remained here many months in indigence and obscurity, without being able to prevail upon any of the emigrants to countenance his fictitious revolutionary projects. Upon suspicion that he had no means of dis-

charging his account with the person with whom he lodged, he was arrested, conveyed to a house of detention, and thence to prison. In the midst of these misfortunes, he learned that his project had been perused with approbation; and he was shortly afterwards released from confinement, and admitted to various conferences with those persons, who thinking favourably of the practicability of his plans, supplied him both with means of subsistence, and of proceeding in the accomplishment of his visionary schemes. Ultimately succeeding in pecuniary and other arrangements, and furnished with instructions, he left this country, and proceeded to Munich. He presented himself to Mr. Drake, the British minister at the Electoral court of Bavaria, with whom the fictitious conspiracy, of which he was to undertake the whole management, was at length definitively organized. In this statement we have no other authority than that of Mehée de la Touche. It is the more necessary to mention this, lest the reader might be disposed to give implicit credit to a representation, which, from the circumstance of its being made by an individual destitute of every claim to confidence, must necessarily be questionable.

The grand object of this fictitious plot was the overthrow of the existing government in France. Among the various means for effecting it, it was proposed, in the first instance, to obtain a knowledge of the plans of the enemy. For this purpose, a secret correspondence was to be established with various officers in the different departments of the French government. Means were, therefore, to be devised, in order to procure



certain intelligence from the war- and navy-offices, and from those of foreign affairs, and of public worship; as well as to ascertain what was passing in the secret committee supposed to be established at St. Cloud, and composed of the first consul's confidential friends. This information was to be communicated in the form of bulletins, according to the instructions of the president of a counter-revolutionary committee, which Mehée de la Touche had persuaded Mr. Drake was in existence in Paris, and with the proceedings of which Mehée affected to be intimately acquainted. The bulletins were to be forwarded to Mr. Drake, under various addresses calculated to elude the vigilance of the French government. Great exertions were recommended to procure the best intelligence of the different hostile projects of the French government, and in particular of those against Ireland and Turkey. The plots of the Irish refugees, the removal of troops, military and naval preparations, were also to be the subjects of scrupulous inquiry. When much was to be written, it was proposed to make use of the back of large maps, or of books with a large margin. This was to be executed with sympathetic ink, and the place where the writing begins to be marked with an apparently accidental spot of common ink.

An estimate of the necessary expenses was to be furnished, and the demand made as early as possible, accompanied with an explanation of the objects to which the money was to be appropriated. Arrangements were adopted for the regular transmission of bills of exchange, drawn in fictitious names. The correspondence was to be con-

ducted, for the most part, with sympathetic ink, and fictitious names for various persons and towns were to be constantly employed. An occasional change of names was sometimes to be resorted to. Any part of the correspondence written in common ink was to relate to commerce, or the arts and sciences, in order to have the appearance of an account of Parisian novelties. The French government was to be mentioned only in favourable terms. The numbers were always to be written in sympathetic ink, to prevent suspicion. Every precaution was to be taken, upon the arrival of Mehée de la Touche upon the frontier, to prevent suspicion. For this end, as he was provided with a receipt for the sympathetic ink, the bottle with which he had been supplied was to be destroyed. His private instructions were to be written on blank paper in his pocket-book, at the end of his travelling expenses; and all papers and passports were to be destroyed, which could throw the least light upon his destination.

It was proposed to gain over the persons employed in the powder-mills, for the purpose of blowing them up as might be found convenient. Printers and engravers deserving of confidence were to be taken into pay, in order to print and engrave what might appear to be necessary for the use of the committee. Accurate information was expected to be transmitted of the state of parties in France; and nothing was to be talked of to any of the members of the jacobinical committee, (it was represented to be a committee of this description,) except to those members who were known to be well disposed; at least not till something certain had transpired



transpired with respect to the intentions of the king, and the general disposition of the people. New instructions were then to be forwarded to the chief agents of the plot. The greatest circumspection was recommended in the first movements of insurrection, and in no case was any thing relating to it to be confided to any but persons of the most decided prudence. Mehée de la Touche was directed not to leave France without pressing necessity, on account of the difficulty of passing and repassing the frontiers. It was understood that all possible means were to be tried to disorganize the armies, both within and without the republic. Endeavours were to be made to establish a more direct correspondence with England, by way of Jersey, or from some point of the French coast; and also by way of Holland and Embden. It appears that the correspondence was chiefly to be addressed to M. l'abbé Defresne, and M. Obreskow. Under the former address letters were conveyed to Mr. Drake; and under the latter to Mehée de la Touche.

Such were the objects and plan of this pretended conspiracy. Supplied with money for his own purposes, and for his imaginary committee, or, in other words, for himself, Mehée de la Touche left Munich, and proceeded to Paris. Through his exertions and those of his agents the plot is supposed to proceed with success. He invents bulletins of secret information; discovers persons in confidential trusts who have important intelligence to communicate, upon the condition of being well paid for every violation of confidence; and receives, for himself, the pecuniary succours, which he affects to appropriate to the prosecution of the

conspiracy. To give more plausibility to his representations, he affects to be anxious about his own personal security; and pretends that the committee is under occasional apprehensions. He acquaints Mr. Drake that he has discovered a republican general, who has extensive interest in Alsace, and is disposed to enter fully into his views; ardently desiring to act immediately, as the moment for action is supposed to be favourable, in consequence of the discontent excited by the arrestation of Moreau. The French account states that about 10,000 livres were transmitted to the general, to enable him to commence his operations without delay, and further supplies promised; but as it was supposed that he would find some funds in the public coffers, it was expected that he would attempt to get possession of them. Besançon and Huningue were to be immediately secured by the insurgents. The neighbouring provinces were to be excited to insurrection, and Paris was to be set in motion. An army was to be created, and a proclamation issued, beginning with the words "Liberty and peace for France and for the world." The liberation of the associates of Georges was to be attempted, and an address to be made to the army, not to suffer Moreau, their fellow-soldier, who had so often led them to victory, to perish a victim to the rage and the jealousy of the first consul.

This is nearly the substance of the information which Mehée de la Touche laid before the minister of police in Paris. In order to substantiate the fact of the existence of a correspondence to this effect, the præfect of the department of the Lower Rhine dispatched to Munich



Munich an officer of the name of Rosey, furnished with a letter of introduction to Mr. Drake from a member of the jacobin committee which was supposed to exist in Paris. He was directed afterwards to proceed to Stutgard, in order to ascertain how far Mr. Spencer Smith was also implicated in the plot. Capt. Rosey is represented to have obtained interviews both with Mr. Drake and Mr. Smith; and in the report of his mission, the implication of both in the plot which we have described, for the overthrow of the consular government, is stated to be undeniably confirmed.

On the 31st of March, about a week after the date of Rosey's report, the baron de Montgelas, minister of the elector of Bavaria, addressed a note to Mr. Drake, acquainting him that the originals of part of this correspondence, in Mr. Drake's own hand-writing, were in the possession of the elector, and that his electoral highness is deeply penetrated with grief at the discovery that his capital had been made the central point of a correspondence so inconsistent with the mission of a public minister. At the same time that the baron de Montgelas informs Mr. Drake of the consequent cessation of all diplomatic communication with him, he declares that his electoral highness knows too well the noble and magnanimous sentiments of his Britannic majesty, and of the English nation, to suppose that their conduct on this occasion could be liable to the smallest reproach.

The French minister for foreign affairs transmitted to all the accredited foreign ministers in Paris, a copy of the report of the grand judge, accompanied with a circular

letter. The answers of several of the ministers were couched in justly objectionable terms. Those of the Austrian imperial minister, and of the Russian chargé d'affaires, were general and circumspect; but the Prussian and American ministers expressed themselves in language distinguished neither for discretion nor decorum. The latter especially was equally fulsome and calumnious. Upon this, lord Hawkesbury, who was at that time his majesty's principal secretary of state for the foreign department, conceived it proper to address a circular note to the foreign ministers at the British court, in order to repel calumny and correct misrepresentation. In this note, it is laid down as a principle, that it is the acknowledged right of belligerent powers to avail themselves of any discontents existing in the countries with which they may happen to be at war; and it is declared that, in the application of this maxim, his majesty's government have never authorised any one act which will not stand the test of the strictest principles of justice, and the known and avowed practice of all ages. In the month of September, about four months after the appearance of lord Hawkesbury's circular note, M. Talleyrand, with reference to the principles laid down in this note, addressed a circular letter to all the diplomatic agents of the French government. It was dated from Aix-la-Chapelle, and exhibits a singular mixture of impotence and malice. The French agents are required to declare to the government where they reside, that his majesty (the first consul had at that time assumed the title of Emperor of the French) will not recognise the English diplomatic corps in Europe, so long as the British ministry shall not abstain



stain from charging its ministers with any warlike agency, and shall not restrict them to the limits of their functions. The note proceeds to state, that his majesty the emperor regrets the necessity of ordering measures which are tantamount to a real interdiction pronounced against a state; but all reflecting men will be at no difficulty to perceive that in this it is only necessary to ascertain facts.

Thus terminated this pretended conspiracy. Mehée de la Touche consoled himself with the despicable sophistry, that by deceiving this country he was rendering an important service to his own. But we assert without fear of contradiction, that his only object was to commit a profitable fraud; and that, with this view, it was equally indifferent to him, whether he deceived Great Britain, or betrayed the French republic; and that, had an opportunity presented itself, he would gladly have embraced it to deceive them both. With regard to Mr. Drake and Mr. Spencer Smith, it became indispensably necessary for them to return to this country by a safe but circuitous route, since the French government, notwithstanding their incessant declaration of the necessity of sacredly respecting the law of nations, would not an instant have hesitated to arrest their persons.

Shortly after the appearance of the circular note of M. Talleyrand, in which the emperor of the French vainly attempts to place the British diplomatic corps out of the protection of the law of nations, upon the ground of their violating this general international code, the French government committed a most daring infraction of the very law which they had just pretended to uphold. On the night of the

24th of October, a body of two hundred and fifty French troops, under the command of a general officer, embarked at Harburgh, and landed between Harburgh and Altona, at a place called the Harburgh-hill. They proceeded to Grindelhof, where sir George Rumbold, the British minister to the Hanseatic towns and the circle of Lower Saxony, had his country residence. Those who first approached the house, said they were couriers with dispatches from Tonnigen. But, entertaining suspicion, sir George Rumbold refused them admittance. Upon this, the whole body rushed forward, broke open the doors, seized sir George Rumbold and his papers, and conveyed him to a carriage, which was waiting for the purpose of conducting him to Hanover, whence he was sent off to Paris. The following morning, as soon as the senate of Harburgh heard of this violation of their territorial rights, they assembled at seven o'clock, and continued sitting till five o'clock in the afternoon. As the result of their deliberations, they presented a remonstrance to the French minister, M. Rheinhard, who denied having any knowledge whatever of the transaction. The order for the arrest, it seems, was transmitted from Paris directly to marshal Bernadotte. Being foiled in their attempt to procure reparation, or even any explanation of the affair, from the French minister, the senate conceived it proper to apprise the courts of Berlin, Vienna, and Petersburg, of this violation of their territorial independence. The British consul, fearing a similar fate, took refuge, it is said, in the house of a ministerial agent of a neutral power.

An explanation of this act of violence



violence was afterwards given to the senate of Hamburgh by the French minister, Rheinhard, who pretended to justify the seizure of sir George Rumbold, upon the ground of his being concerned in the conspiracy imputed to Mr. Drake. The fallacy of the pretext is sufficiently obvious, from the circumstance of sir George Rumbold being no where alluded to in the correspondence with Mehée de la Touche. Lord Harrowby, his majesty's secretary of state for foreign affairs, immediately transmitted to Mr. Jackson, the English minister at the court of Berlin, a note to be laid before the ministers of the king of Prussia, in which his majesty expresses his conviction, that, as a director of the circle of Lower Saxony, and as guarantee of the Germanic constitution, his Prussian majesty will second and enforce, in the most effectual manner, the representations made by the senate of Hamburgh for the immediate release of sir George Rumbold. The note further states, that his majesty cannot allow himself to entertain a moment's doubt, that the king of Prussia will see the urgent necessity of taking such measures as may be best calculated to obtain from the French government a public reparation, adequate to the heinous nature of the indignity, and may also prevent, for the future, the repetition of outrages which threaten to destroy the remaining distinctions of civilized Europe.

Before this note was presented to the Prussian cabinet, that government had spontaneously interfered, and obtained the release of the British minister. That interference was acknowledged in an article inserted in the *Moniteur*, which was at the same time accompanied with

an equally false and indecent accusation, that sir George Rumbold was implicated in the pretended conspiracy of Mehée de la Touche.

It appears that upon his arrival at Paris, sir George was conveyed to the Temple, where he was treated with civility during a confinement of two days and two nights. On the third day he was removed from the Temple, and conducted towards the coast of the Channel, having first entered into a stipulation not to return to Hamburgh; nor, after his departure from France, to go within fifty miles of any part of the French territory. Before he left the Temple, he made an application for his papers, which had been transmitted to the minister of the police; but this demand was peremptorily refused. He was put into a carriage with his servant, and conveyed to Boulogne, and afterwards to Cherbourg. The flag of truce in which he embarked fell in with his majesty's frigate the *Niobe*; sir George was taken on board, and landed at Portsmouth on the 17th of November. It has been considered by many, and apparently with justice, that in signing so humiliating a parole, sir George Rumbold departed from the firm and dignified character, which, as a British minister, it was particularly his duty to maintain.

To finish the history of the conspiracies of the year, it still remains for us to give a short account of another plot. It has been asserted, with some degree of confidence, that a design was for some time in agitation against the person of Louis the XVIIIth, and that in the month of July an attempt was made to poison his majesty. The circumstances of the plot are these:—Two men became acquainted with one Coulon, a Frenchman by birth, who kept a billiard-



billiard-table at Warsaw. They had discovered that Coulon was intimate with several of the domestics of Louis the XVIIIth, and in particular with the cook. Finding that he was in want of money, they gradually revealed to him their plot against the life of the king, and offered him, if he succeeded in carrying their design into effect, the sum of four hundred louis d'ors. In executing this plan, Coulon was to visit the cook, and, after betraying him into a state of intoxication, he was to throw into the pot a small parcel, consisting of carrots filled with arsenic, with which he was to be provided. Coulon immediately went to the baron de Milleville, usher to the queen, and informed him of the plot. It was afterwards communicated to the count Avaray, who thought proper to conceal it from his majesty until he obtained more positive information. He waited on the president de Hoym without delay, who authorized him, in case the information was well founded, to cause the authors of the plot to be arrested by the king's domestics. M. de Milleville, on the other hand, was directed to order Coulon to repair to the place where he was under an engagement to meet the agents of the plot. He went, and returned with the packets containing the poison. Coulon made a declaration of what passed in the interview. The packets were put into the possession of count Avaray, and sealed by himself and the archbishop of Rheims.

The king had fixed upon the following day for his departure from Warsaw. Count Avaray thought it, therefore, proper to inform his majesty of the whole affair, that he might act in future by his orders. His majesty discovered

on this occasion a warm solicitude for his family and faithful servants; but, with respect to himself, he exhibited his usual serenity. He wrote, however, to the president de Hoym the following letter:—"I have received information of a plot entertained against my life. If none but myself were aimed at, if mortal weapons were the means, accustomed as you know me to be to such threats, I should pay them little attention. But my wife, my nephew, my niece, my faithful servants, are likewise threatened with poison; and I should betray my most sacred duties, if I despised this danger. Perhaps I am beset with ruffians; perhaps it is a base imposition.—In either case, I find it necessary to confer with you."—The answer of M. de Hoym was not received till the next morning. The zeal with which he was animated in the first instance, appears to have considerably subsided; for he informs his majesty, that the nature of his duties did not permit him to perform more than a passive part in such an affair, and that he had given the police the necessary instructions.—The king made a second application to M. de Hoym, and received a similar answer. A third application produced nearly the same reply.—His majesty then addressed a note to the president de Tilly, chief of the special police of the city of Warsaw, transmitting, at the same time, the packets which had been given to Coulon. The president de Tilly replied, "that, in quality of chief of the police, he should keep the packets put into his hands, in order that they might be disposed of upon receiving further directions; but that he could not, on any account, proceed against those who were supposed to be guilty of the affair



affair in question; since it was solely to the tribunals of justice that the examination of every thing connected with it could now be referred." Here the prosecution of all further inquiry into the plot appears to have terminated.

There are so many improbabilities in this statement, that we cannot but see many reasons to suspect the truth of Coulon's relation. The plot was apparently fabricated to extort money from the persons who have attached their fortunes to the destiny of Louis the XVIIIth. It is not for a moment to be imagined that the president de Hoym, when the transaction was first communicated to him, would feel an interest which would totally subside in the prosecution of the inquiry. Nor would he have committed himself so far as to authorize the seizure of the agents of the plot in the first instance, if his power were limited, as he afterwards states, to a merely passive part in an affair which belonged entirely to the jurisdiction of the police. There are many other improbabilities, which altogether invalidate the authenticity of the narration. Besides, the bold and daring character of the French government appears to have been indifferent to every sort of apprehension of insecurity, arising from the pretensions, however just, of an exiled heir to the throne of Louis the XVIth. By the death of the king the unhappy race of the Bourbons would not have become extinct. Nor is it likely that the French government, although seldom checked by any moral restraint, would commit such a base act of inhumanity, after having proposed to the king an extensive and permanent provision, upon the condition of renouncing his legitimate right to the throne.

Neither internal conspiracies, nor external war, appear to have in the least diverted the mind of the first consul from the prosecution of his schemes of inordinate ambition.—The chief magistracy was conferred on him, in the first instance, for ten years. To secure the permanent exercise of sovereign power, he afterwards obtained an extension of this supreme authority for life. The executive power, although in reality concentrated in himself, was apparently divided with two individuals, who held in common with him the title of consul, qualified with a slight distinctive denomination of subordinate rank. The title of first consul was, besides, too simple to convey an adequate idea of the dignified elevation to which he had been raised by fortuitous circumstances combined with his own exertions. Equally ambitious of undivided power and titular splendour, he aspired to imperial distinction. Thus, a soldier of fortune, who at the commencement of the French revolution was an obscure individual serving in the armies of the republic, was successively promoted to the highest military rank, and, after having usurped the supreme authority of the state, was invested with the title of Emperor of the French!

The conferring on Napoleon Buonaparte the rank and title of emperor of the French, and making them hereditary in his family, according to the laws of primogeniture, was first agitated on the 1st of May, in the tribunate. Curée submitted a proposition to this effect. Carnot, maintaining, or affecting to maintain, an unshaken adherence to republican principles; opposed the motion made by Curée. He ascended the tribune, and began by declaring that, in opposing the motion,



motion, he should endeavour to preserve the same moderation in delivering his opinion, which had been exhibited by other tribunes in supporting it. He referred those who might be disposed to put a bad construction on his sentiments, to the conduct which he had pursued since the commencement of the French revolution. With respect to the question of conferring on Buonaparte the dignity of emperor for life, and making it hereditary in his family, he asked if it was to grant the first consul a reward for his services to offer him the sacrifice of liberty? He demanded, whether it was not to destroy Buonaparte's own work, to make France his private patrimony? He had voted against the consulate for life, and he would not that day follow a different course. He was determined to pursue consistency of conduct; but the moment that the order of things which was proposed should be established, he would be the first to conform to it, and to yield to the new authority proofs of his deference. He wished all the members of the community might follow his example.

He then proceeded to examine the form of government proposed to be established. He cited a number of examples from the history of Rome, and drew as an inference from them, that a government by one individual was not in the smallest degree a sure pledge of its stability or its tranquillity. He applied the same inference to the history of France, where intestine commotions, and civil discords, had so often existed under the government of weak or unworthy princes. After the peace of Amiens, Buonaparte, he asserted, had the choice of confirming the republic, or of establishing a monarchy; but he

had sworn to defend the former, and to respect the wishes of France, which had made him her guardian. It was now proposed to make of that power a property, of which, at present, only the administration is possessed. The Romans were most jealous of their liberty. Camillus, Fabius, and Cincinnatus, saved the republic by relinquishing, after having rescued the state, the power with which they had been intrusted. But when Cæsar usurped absolute power, the liberty of Rome perished. Citing the example of the United States, it was reserved, he said, for the New World to show to the Old the practicability of the enjoyment of national liberty, and the rising prosperity of the people.

He then asked, whether the opinion of the public functionaries would be the free wish of the whole nation, and whether no inconveniences would attend the expression of an opposite sentiment? He demanded if the liberty of the press would be so much restrained and degraded, that it would be impossible, in the public prints, to make the most respectful remonstrances against the proposed arrangement? Considering the question in another point of view, he asked if the expulsion of the Bourbons at all involved the necessity of a new dynasty; if the establishment of that dynasty would not place obstacles in the way of a general peace; if it would be recognised by foreign powers; and if, in case of a refusal to recognise it, arms would necessarily be resorted to, and, for an empty title, the security of the French nation endangered? The existing government, he observed, had other means of consolidating itself. The means of this consolidation, in his



his opinion, consisted in adherence to justice. By this remark, he had no intention to make any particular application, or to cast any blame on the operations of government. "Is liberty, then," he exclaimed, "disclosed to man, only that it may never be enjoyed? No! I cannot consent to regard it as a mere chimera; for my heart tells me that its government is easy. I am ready to sacrifice my personal opinion to the interests of my country. My respect for the law will remain unalterable." He concluded by voting against the motion, expressing at the same time, in the language of invective, a false accusation against this country, which he charged with meditating universal oppression.

A number of tribunes supported the motion; but their speeches have not been given at sufficient length to furnish materials for any particular observations. The course of argument which they generally adopted was, that a monarchical government was the original wish of the French nation at the period of the existence of the constituent assembly; that the republican revolutionary governments had been productive of nothing but public calamities; and that permanent tranquillity could only be effectually secured by intrusting the reins of government to an individual, whose merits and services entitled him to the dignity of supreme ruler of the French nation. Among those who supported the motion, Fayard appears to have employed several arguments of considerable strength, blended with no small portion of that fulsome adulation which characterized all the speeches on this subject, with the exception, however, of that delivered by Carnot.

Fayard commenced his speech by declaring that he knew the first consul, the august head of the government, had the wishes of the French people. The pens of the eloquent, he said, are employed in celebrating his glory, and posterity, the judge of great men, will only re-echo the language of the age in which he lived. He also knew all the rights which his eminent services give him to the dignity of emperor, and to retain it hereditarily in his family. It is in the nature of things, he asserted, that a country of vast extent, whose security is not guarantied by its physical position, and whose relations with its neighbours incessantly menace its tranquillity, ought to be governed by one head. Rome, at its birth, had kings, because the states which surrounded were governed by kings. Rome, after conquering her neighbours, expelled the kings, and created consuls. When her power exceeded the limits of her territories; when she had to combat nations far removed from the centre of her dominions, even the excessive love of liberty could not prevent the ruin of the republic, and emperors were elevated to the throne. The tribune then remarked that Rome would have been happy if the first of their emperors had, as was in his power, made the government hereditary in his family. The scenes which covered the throne with blood, the wars which desolated that vast empire, and precipitated its downfall, would not have sullied the page of the history of these masters of the world. But one great error led to dreadful abuses. On the ruins of a monarchy destroyed, an attempt was made to raise a monarchical government. France must have been destroyed, if the genius of



Buonaparte had not created the consulship, to precede, for a few years, the creation of the imperial dignity. He is called to this elevated post by the unanimous wish of the French nation. It is in the nature of things, that if empires prosper under a great man, the moment which deprives them of his services, menaces some dreadful explosion, if the same moment does not substitute in his place him who is to be his successor. It is then that ambition becomes inflamed, and long before, ambition prepares in secret the means of supplanting rivals. Long disputes, succeeded by civil wars, agitate the minds of men, disturb for ages the union of citizens, and the people are often so unfortunate as not to see who is the most worthy among the rival candidates to receive the sceptre of which death has bereaved the object of their regret. What then, he asked, can prevent these disorders? A constitutional law which fixes the line of succession, and which gives to the family of the chief a new dynasty. This, he said, was the object of the motion under discussion; and he assented to it, under the persuasion, that if the empire is the price of the virtues of the great man who is called to the imperial dignity, the succession to it by the family guaranties to France ages of glory and repose.

On the third of May, the tribunate, exercising the right given them by the 29th article of the constitution, passed a decree, relative to the conferring of the imperial title on Buonaparte, and, on the following day, laid it before the conservative senate. After taking into consideration the various grounds upon which the justice, expediency, and necessity of this

decree, are represented to be established, the tribunate proceeded to vote:—That Napoleon Buonaparte, the first consul, be proclaimed emperor of the French, and in that capacity invested with the government of the French republic:—That the title of emperor and the imperial power be made hereditary in his family in the male line, according to the order of primogeniture:—That in introducing into the organization of the constituted authorities, the modification rendered necessary by the establishment of hereditary power, the equality, the liberty, and the rights of the people shall be preserved in all their integrity.—This decree, having been put to the vote by the president of the tribunate, was carried by acclamation, with the single exception of the only member (Carnot) who delivered his sentiments against its adoption.

Jard Pauvilliers was named first orator to present, the following day, the vote of the tribunate to the conservative senate. He was accompanied by five other orators. Upon presenting the decree, the vice-president addressed them in a speech, in which he observed that the sentiments of the tribunate and the senate were in perfect coincidence. The most singular feature in this speech is the declaration that the senate, on the 27th of March, had directed the attention of the first magistrate to the same subject. The senate, he says, had previously sounded the public opinion, and had announced it to the government. But the tribunate, he observed, would find their advantages and privileges, when they considered that what the senate had been meditating in silence for two months, the peculiar nature of the institution of the tribunate enabled



them at once to submit to discussion in the presence of the people.

It appears that, on the 25th of April, the first consul had sent a message to the senate, in answer to their address of the 27th of March, containing a proposition for making him emperor. As this message may be regarded as a document of some historical importance, we shall insert it at length. "Senators!—Your address of the 6th of last Germinal has never ceased to be present to my thoughts. It has been the object of my constant meditation. You have judged the hereditary power of the supreme magistracy necessary, in order to shelter the French people completely from the plots of our enemies, and from the agitations which arise from rival ambitions. It even appears to you, that many of our institutions ought to be improved, in order to secure for ever the triumph of equality and public liberty, and present to the nation and to the government the double guarantee of which they are in want.—We have been constantly guided by this grand truth, that the sovereignty resides in the French people, in the sense that every thing, without exception, ought to be done for its interest, its happiness, and its glory. It is in order to attain this end, that the supreme magistracy, the senate, the council of state, the legislative body, the electoral body, the electoral colleges, and the different branches of the administration, are, and ought to be instituted. In proportion as I fix my attention upon these great objects, I am still more convinced of the truth of those sentiments which I have expressed to you, and I feel more and more, that in a circumstance as new as it is important, the councils of your

wisdom and experience were necessary to enable me to fix my ideas. I request you then to make known to me the whole of your thoughts. The French people can add nothing to the honour and glory with which they have surrounded me; but the most sacred duty for me, and the dearest to my heart, is to secure to their latest posterity those advantages which they have acquired by a revolution which has cost them so much, particularly by the sacrifice of those millions of brave citizens who have died in defence of their rights. Fifteen years have passed, since, by a spontaneous movement, you ran to arms, you acquired liberty, equality, and glory. These first blessings of nations are now secured to you for ever; they are sheltered from every tempest; they are preserved to you and to your children. Institutions conceived and begun in the midst of the storms of internal and external wars, have been developed with constancy. They are just terminated in the midst of the attempts and plots of our most mortal enemies, by the adoption of every thing which the experience of centuries and of nations has demonstrated as proper to guaranty the rights which the nation had judged necessary for its dignity, its liberty, and its happiness."

In consequence of the communication which had taken place between the tribunate and the senate, the latter on the 4th of May presented to the first consul a reply to his message of the 25th of April. The first consul having required of the senate to make known to him the whole of their thoughts concerning the institutions which required to be improved, in order to secure the triumph of equality and public liberty, their reply is chiefly

confined



confined to a sanguine statement of the many national benefits which may be expected to result from the hereditary establishment of imperial power in the family of Buonaparte. The genius and services of the first consul are the subjects of very lofty panegyric and highly strained adulation. Addresses upon the same subject were presented to the first consul from the municipal body of Paris, and from all the departments, the principal cities, and the armies.

On the 18th of May the senate, under the presidency of Cambaceres, the second consul, decreed the organic *senatus consultum*, which confers the title of emperor on the first consul, and establishes the imperial dignity hereditary in his family. After the close of the sitting, the members, accompanied by several bodies of troops, proceeded to St. Cloud, to present the organic *senatus consultum* to the emperor. Upon their arrival, they were immediately admitted to an audience of the emperor, when the consul Cambaceres presented to him the organic *senatus consultum*, and addressed him in a speech prepared for the occasion. After declaring that the decree of the senate is only the authentic expression of the will of the nation, and a tribute which it pays to its own dignity, and to the necessity it experiences of giving the emperor daily testimonies of increasing respect and attachment, the president Cambaceres proceeds to describe the situation of the republic when the consulship was established. "Its armies," he says, "were defeated; its finances were in disorder; public credit was annihilated; factions were disputing for the remains of our antient splendour; every idea of morality, and even

of religion, was obscured; the habit of giving and resuming power left the magistrates without consideration, and even rendered odious every kind of authority. Your majesty appeared; you recalled victory to our standards; you established order and œconomy in the public expenditure; the nation, encouraged by the use you made of your authority, resumed confidence in its own resources; your wisdom allayed the rage of party; religion saw her altars erected; ideas of justice and of injustice were awakened in the minds of the citizens, when they saw crimes followed by punishment, and virtue signalized and rewarded with honourable distinctions." The president Cambaceres then proceeds to explain the grounds upon which a return to monarchical authority is rendered necessary. "The French people," he observes, "have tasted for ages the advantages attached to hereditary power; they have made a short but painful trial of the contrary system; they return by the effect of free and mature deliberation to a path suited to their genius. They make a free use of their rights, to delegate to your imperial majesty a power which your interest forbids you to exercise by yourself. They stipulate for future generations, and by a solemn compact intrust to the offspring of your race the happiness of their posterity. The latter will imitate your virtues, the former will inherit our love and our fidelity. Happy the nation which, after so much trouble and uncertainty, finds in its bosom a man worthy of appeasing the tempest of the passions, and of conciliating all interests! Happy the prince who holds his power by the



will, the confidence, and the affection of the citizens!" He concluded his address by stating, that the senate entreats his imperial majesty to consent that the organic dispositions should be immediately carried into effect, and that, for the glory as well as the happiness of the republic, Napoleon may be immediately proclaimed emperor of the French.

To this address the emperor replied in the following terms: "Every thing that can contribute to the good of the country is essentially connected with my happiness. I accept the title which you think necessary to the glory of the nation. I submit to the sanction of the people the law of hereditary succession. I hope France will never repent of having surrounded my family with honours. In all cases, my spirit will cease to be present with my posterity, the day on which it shall cease to deserve the love and confidence of the great nation."

The senate was afterwards admitted to an audience of her majesty the empress; upon which the consul Cambaceres addressed her majesty, on the part of the senate, in a speech conveying the homage of its respect, in terms of flattering congratulation.

The organic *senatus consultum* was then proclaimed by the emperor. His imperial majesty nominated to the dignity of grand elector his imperial highness prince Joseph Buonaparte; to that of constable his imperial highness prince Louis Buonaparte; to that of arch-chancellor of the empire the consul Cambaceres; and to that of arch-treasurer the consul Lebrun. The arch-chancellor, the arch-treasurer, the constable, the ministers,

the secretary of state and general Duroc, governor of the imperial palace, took the oaths before the emperor. On the 20th of May the emperor decreed the following generals to be marshals of the empire:—Berthier, Murat, Moncey, Jourdan, Massena, Augereau, Barmadotte, Soult, Brune, Lasnes, Mortier, Ney, Davoust, and Bessieres. He also decreed the title of marshals of the empire to be given to the following senators:—Kellerman, Lefebvre, Perignon, Serurier.

The organic *senatus consultum* has established a variety of regulations, which materially change the constitutional code promulgated upon the erection of the consular power. It is divided into sixteen titles, which are subdivided into one hundred and fifty articles. The following is a concise outline of this decree.

Title 1. The government of the republic shall be intrusted to an emperor, and Napoleon Buonaparte shall be emperor of the French. Title 2. regulates the law of hereditary succession. The imperial dignity is to descend from male to male, by order of primogeniture. Females and their descent are perpetually excluded. The present emperor may adopt the children or grand-children of his brothers, in case of failure of male heirs of his own. His adopted sons enter into the line of his direct descent. In case of an entire failure of heirs to the throne, an organic *senatus consultum*, proposed to the senate by the titularies of the grand dignities of the empire, and submitted to the acceptance of the people, shall nominate the emperor, and regulate in his family the order of hereditary succession.



succession. The affairs of the state in the inter-regnum shall be under the direction of the ministers, who shall form the government in council, and shall deliberate by a majority of voices.

Title 3. determines the titles of the members of the imperial family, their mode of education, their functions under the government, their marriages, the attestations of their birth, marriages, and deaths, and the public provision to be made for them. Title 4. regulates the mode of appointing a regency. The emperor is a minor till the age of eighteen years, complete. During his minority a regent of the empire is to be appointed. The regent must be at least twenty-five years of age, complete; females are excluded from the regency. The regent is to be chosen from the French princes, or, in case this is impracticable, from the titularies of the great dignities of the empire. This title defines the powers of the senate during the regency, and the authority of the regent. He cannot declare war, or sign treaties of peace, alliance, or commerce, until after deliberation in the council of regency. The decision shall be by a majority of voices; and if there be an equality, that of the regent shall determine it. It further regulates the salary of the regent, the members of his council, and the care of the minor emperor.

Title 5. determines the grand dignities of the empire, the titularies of the grand dignities, their privileges, and functions; and, in particular, those of the grand elector. It defines the duties of the arch-chancellor. He performs the functions of chancellor in promulgating treaties of peace, and in declaring war. He presents to the emperor,

and signs, the credentials and correspondence with the different courts of Europe.—The arch-treasurer presides at the united sections of the council of state and tribunate, and executes the financial arrangements of the empire. The duties of the constable chiefly relate to military affairs; and those of the grand admiral to naval concerns.

Title 6. The grand officers of the empire are the sixteen marshals of the empire, eight inspectors of artillery, and several grand civil officers of the crown. This title defines their prerogatives and duties. Title 7. prescribes the forms of oaths. The oath is taken upon the evangelists. The oath taken by the emperor is as follows:—"I swear to maintain the integrity of the territory of the republic; to respect, and to cause to be respected, the laws of the concordat and the liberty of public worship; to respect, and to cause to be respected, the equality of rights, political and civil liberty, the irrevocability of the sales of national domains; to levy no duty, to impose no tax, but by virtue of the law; to maintain the institution of the legion of honour; and to have no view in governing, but the interest, the happiness, and the glory of the French people." The oath of the regent is also prescribed. The public functionaries take the following oath:—"I swear obedience to the constitutions of the empire and fidelity to the emperor."

Title the 8th determines the formation of the senate. The senate is composed of the French princes who have attained their 18th year; of the titularies of the grand dignities of the empire; of the 24 members chosen by the emperor



from the lists delivered in by the departmental electoral colleges; and of citizens whom the emperor deems proper to raise to the dignity of senator. The president of the senate is named by the emperor, and chosen from the list of senators. His functions continue for twelve months. This title prescribes the duties of the president and the functions of the senate. A commission of seven members takes cognizance of arrests whenever the person arrested is not brought before the tribunals within the space of ten days after the time of such arrest. This is called the senatorial commission for personal liberty. The complaints of authors, and the liberty of the press, come under the cognizance of a similar commission. The laws decreed by the legislative body are transmitted to the senate on the day of their adoption, and are deposited among the archives. Every decree issued by the legislative body may be denounced in the senate by any of the members; provided they are supposed to have any tendency to restore the feudal system, to affect the sale of national domains, or if they have been issued contrary to the forms prescribed by the constitutions of the empire. After various deliberations, the senate may declare their opinion as to the propriety of promulgating the said law; and the president lays the decision of the senate before the emperor, who, after hearing the council of state, either declares by a decree his adherence to the deliberation of the senate, or causes the law to be promulgated.—The operations of the electoral colleges can only be annulled, on the ground of their being unconstitutional, by an express *senatus consultum*.

Title 9. relates to the organiza-

tion of the council of state, whose chief duties are confined to deliberation on laws proposed to be enacted. Title 10. The members of the legislative body may be elected without interval. Every projected law presented to the legislative body is returned to the three sections of the tribunate. The sittings of the legislative body are divided into ordinary sittings, and general committees. At the former, the legislative body hear the orators of the council of state, and those of the three sections of the tribunate, and vote on the *projet de loi*. Title 11. The functions of the members of the tribunate continue for ten years. The president, whose functions continue for two years, is named by the emperor. The tribunate is divided into three sections:—of legislation, of the interior, and of finance. Each section discusses separately, and in a sectional assembly, the projected laws transmitted to it by the legislative body. In no case can a *projet de loi* be discussed by a general assembly of the tribunate; but it may form itself into a general assembly for the exercise of its other privileges. Title 12. regards the electoral colleges. One of the most important privileges of this institution consists in forming the list of candidates for the legislative body.

Title 13. relates to the organization and functions of the high imperial court. This tribunal takes cognizance of crimes committed by members of the imperial family, by titularies of the grand dignities of the empire (the senators and counsellors of state), and by all the principal civil and military officers of the state. Outrages and plots against the internal and external security of the state, the person of  
the



the emperor, and the presumptive heir to the empire, are also brought before this court. The seat of the high imperial court is in the senate. The arch-chancellor of the empire is president. The high imperial court is composed of the princes, the titularies of the grand dignities, and grand officers of the empire, the grand judge, sixty senators, the six sectional presidents of the council of state, fourteen counsellors of state, and twenty members of the court of cassation. An attorney-general, nominated by the emperor for life, is attached to this tribunal. No exception can be made to the decision of the high imperial court. The proceedings of this court originate only with the government. Under certain forms and restrictions, denunciations by the legislative body, and by the ministry, may be brought before this tribunal. When such denunciations are to be submitted to the high imperial court, the attorney-general, within three days, acquaints the arch-chancellor of the empire, that it is necessary to assemble the court. The latter, having received the commands of the emperor, appoints the opening of the sittings to take place within eight days. The high imperial court cannot come to a decision, unless sixty members are present. Ten out of the sixty may be challenged by the party accused, and ten by the accusing party. The judgment of the court is determined by a majority of votes. The discussions on these occasions are open to the public. Persons accused may employ advocates. If they are unprovided, the arch-chancellor of the empire appoints them one gratis. The high imperial court can only decide in cases which come within the penal code. No appeal

can be made against the decision of the high imperial court.

Under Title 14. the judicial order is included. The decisions of the courts of justice are entitled *arrêts*. The presidents of the court of cassation, the court of appeal, and the court of criminal justice, are nominated for life by the emperor. This title also determines the officers of these courts, and their respective titular distinctions. Title 15. describes the mode in which the organic senatus consulta, the senatus consulta, the acts of the senate and laws, are to be sealed, signed, and promulgated. Title the 16th contains the proposition relative to the law of hereditary succession. The following is the form in which it is to be presented for the acceptance of the people; "The people wills the imperial dignity to be hereditary in the direct, natural, legitimate, or adopted descent of Napoleon Buonaparte, and in the direct, natural, and legitimate descent of Joseph and of Louis Buonaparte, as regulated by the organic senatus consultum of the 2<sup>d</sup> Floreal, year 12." (18th of May, 1804.)

Although the power of the first consul has been extended by this decree of the senate, yet the augmentation of his authority is rather indirect than immediate; and arises, in a great measure, from the new institutions, of which the chief officers are nominated by the emperor. As chief consul he was invested with the whole efficient executive power, and with him the laws originated which were discussed in the legislative body. The means of securing a more submissive obedience to his will have, however, been increased, by the modifications which have been introduced into the senate, the legislative



body, and the tribunate. Among the new institutions, that of the high imperial court appears materially to contribute to the augmentation of the executive power. The proceedings of this court originate only with the government, and there is no appeal against its decisions. Although it takes cognisance of those cases only which come within the penal code, yet, as the crimes and misdemeanours of all the principal civil and military officers of the state are brought before this tribunal, any individual, however highly placed in point of official dignity, who has excited the displeasure of the emperor, or has been exposed to denunciation, may, by a perversion of justice, be sacrificed to the views of the executive authority.—It is a singular feature in the organic *senatus consultum*, that it gives the emperor greater latitude, with respect to the hereditary transmission of the imperial dignity, than to any members of his family; for he may suspend the law of primogeniture, in favour of an adopted successor. It may be proper further to remark, that in raising Buonaparte to imperial dignity, a very considerable number of persons, whose talents and exertions contributed to give permanence and security to the consular power, have so far consulted their own interests as to obtain for life the titles, offices, and emoluments, which they have received under the new form of government. But this circumstance, instead of diminishing the authority of the emperor, may have a tendency to confirm it, by a consolidation of reciprocal advantage.

A short time after the rank and dignity of emperor of the French had been conferred upon Buonaparte, Louis XVIII is-

sued a protest against his assumption of the imperial title. This protest was dated from Warsaw; and it may be justly regarded as a singular instance of the audacity of the French government, that, apparently with a view to an exhibition of defiance, it caused it immediately to be inserted in the *Moniteur*. It was through this medium that the protest was first communicated to the public. His majesty declares, that, in assuming the title of emperor, and attempting to render it hereditary in his family, Buonaparte has put the seal to his usurpation. This new act of revolution, where every thing from its origin has been null and void, cannot, his majesty says, weaken his rights; but being accountable for his conduct to all sovereigns, whose rights are not less injured than his own, and whose thrones are shaken by the dangerous principles which the senate of Paris has dared to publish:—accountable to France, to his family, and to his own honour, he should consider himself as betraying the common cause, were he to preserve silence on this occasion. His majesty then declares, in the presence of all the sovereigns of Europe, after having renewed his protestations against all the illegal acts, which, from the opening of the states general of France, have led to the alarming crisis in which France and Europe are now involved, that, far from acknowledging the imperial title that Buonaparte has received from a body which has no legal existence, he protests as well against that title as all the subsequent acts to which it may give birth.

On the 9th of July, Buonaparte issued an imperial decree for the taking of the oath, the coronation, and



and the accessory ceremonies, in the *Champ de Mars*. The 18th of Brumaire (9th of November) was the day appointed for this purpose. It will be recollected that it was on this day Buonaparte formerly subverted the directorial power, and established upon its ruins the consular form of government. On this day, also, the signing of the preliminaries of peace with Great Britain was celebrated with public rejoicings. In order to give greater solemnity to the coronation, the pope, notwithstanding his advanced age and his infirmities, was commanded at the commencement of the winter to pass the Alps, in order to perform the ceremony of consecration. It has been generally reported, that his holiness manifested, on this occasion, a great degree of reluctance. Compulsion, in the shape of the alternative either of retirement or of consent, was resorted to. The pope submitted. In the early part of November he left the Vatican, and proceeded on his journey with a splendid retinue. He was escorted by a strong guard of French troops, and two hundred and fifty French hussars were ordered to meet him on the frontiers of the French territory. The cardinal archbishop of Paris directed prayers to be offered up in all the churches for the prosperous journey of pope Pius the seventh.

Previously to the pope's departure from Rome, he addressed an allocution to a secret consistory. The object of the allocution was to state to the venerable brethren of whom it was composed, that his holiness had made provision for the administration, during his absence, of the duties of the papal office. There are many passages in this address, which, without forced con-

struction, may be considered as strongly indicating the reluctance of the pope to undertake the journey, and the presentiment which he entertained that he should never return to Rome. The interests of religion, and sentiments of gratitude to Buonaparte for the re-establishment of the catholic religion, by the concordat, are represented to be the just and momentous causes of the journey. "We have also," his holiness says, "formed great hope, that, having undertaken it by his invitation, when we shall speak to him face to face, such things may be effected by his wisdom for the good of the catholic church, that we may be able to congratulate ourselves on having perfected the work of our most holy religion."

Circumstances had arisen which made it necessary to defer the ceremony of the coronation till the 2d of December. Early on the morning of the 1st of December, the senate proceeded in a body to the Tuilleries, where they were presented to Buonaparte by Joseph Buonaparte the grand elector. To use the language of the French account of this ceremony, which, indeed, it may be proper for us to preserve throughout, the president Neufchateau addressed his majesty in a long complimentary speech, to which the emperor replied in the following terms:

"I ascend the throne, to which the unanimous wishes of the senate, the people, and the army, have called me, with a heart penetrated with the great destinies of that people, whom, from the midst of camps, I first saluted with the name of great. From my youth, my thoughts have been solely fixed upon them; and I must here add, that my pleasures and my pains



pains are derived entirely from the happiness or misery of my people. My descendants shall long preserve this throne. In the camps, they will be the first soldiers of the army, sacrificing their lives for the defence of their country. As magistrates, they will never forget, that contempt of the laws, and confusion of the social order, are the result only of the imbecility and indecision of princes. You, senators, whose counsels and support have never failed me in the most difficult circumstances, your spirit will be handed down to your successors. Be ever the props and first counsellors of that throne, so necessary to the welfare of this vast empire."

The tribunate, on the same day, complimented his majesty; and the senate, the tribunate, and the council of state, delivered congratulatory addresses to the pope.

The ceremony of the coronation of Buonaparte was performed on Sunday, the 2d of December, 1804. The military deputations assembled at six o'clock in the morning, and proceeded to the church of Nôtre Dame by seven. The deputations from the different tribunals of justice, and the functionaries, invited by the emperor, met at the Palace of Justice at seven, and walked to the church, where they arrived before eight. They were succeeded by the senate, the council of state, the legislative body, and the tribunate. Each of these bodies was escorted by a body of cavalry. The diplomatic corps had a place assigned them in the church.—The pope left the Thuilleries at nine o'clock, attended by his retinue, and at ten the departure of the emperor from the palace was announced by a discharge of artillery.

The pope and the emperor, instead of going directly to the church of Nôtre Dame, repaired to the archiepiscopal palace; where his holiness pronounced the usual prayers, while the emperor put on the imperial robes. They afterwards went in splendid procession to the church. The coronation ornaments of Charlemagne were borne before Buonaparte, and he was preceded by marshal Serurier, carrying the ring of the empress upon a cushion; marshal Moncey, with a basket to receive the mantle of the empress; marshal Murat, with the empress's crown; the empress, with the imperial mantle, supported by the princesses; marshal Kellerman, carrying the crown of Charlemagne; marshal Perignon, the sceptre of Charlemagne; marshal Bernadotte, the collar of the emperor; general Beauharnois, his majesty's ring; marshal Berthier, the imperial globe; and the grand chamberlain, the basket to receive the mantle of the emperor.—Buonaparte then entered the church of Nôtre Dame, with the crown previously placed on his head by himself. It has been said that in this he imitated Charlemagne. But this is not accurately stated; for, according to Gibbon, after the celebration of the holy mysteries, pope Leo the third suddenly placed a precious crown on the head of the emperor, and the dome resounded with the acclamations of the people: "Long life and victory to Charles, the most pious Augustus, crowned by God the great and pacific emperor of the Romans!"

The imperial throne and the altar were equi-distant from the centre of the church of Nôtre Dame. On the imperial throne was seated the emperor in his ornaments.



ments. The empress, on his right hand, was seated a step lower, in an arm-chair. The princesses were on her right hand. On the left hand of the emperor, but two steps lower, were seated the two princes, with the two dignitaries of the empire at their left hand. The throne on which the pope was seated was raised near the altar.—At the moment their majesties entered the porch, the pope descended from his throne, and, advancing to the altar, sung *Veni Creator*. The emperor and empress then said prayers upon their cushions, and were immediately divested of their imperial ornaments. The grand elector took off the crown from his majesty's head; the arch-chancellor took from him the hand of justice; other grand officers stripped him of the imperial mantle, while he himself drew his sword, and delivered it to the constable of the empire. In the mean time, the empress's attendants took from her the imperial mantle and ornaments; which with all the other insignia were placed upon the altar, for the purpose of being consecrated by the pope.

Then followed the ceremony of inauguration. The grand almoner of France, with the first of the French cardinals and archbishops, conducted their imperial majesties from the throne to the foot of the altar, there to receive the sacred unction. His holiness bestowed a triple unction both on the emperor and on the empress;—one on the head, the other two on the hands. After having received the unctions, they were reconducted to the throne, when the pope performed the mass. His holiness then said prayers separate-

ly over both crowns, and over the mantles, the sceptres, and the hand of justice. When these imperial ornaments were consecrated, the emperor put them on again; and afterwards placed the crown on the head of the empress. After this, the pope, preceded by the master of the ceremonies, followed the emperor from the altar to his throne; where, after pronouncing a prayer, he kissed the emperor on the cheek, and cried aloud to the audience, "*Vivat imperator in æternum!*" and the audience exclaimed, "*Vive l'empereur! vive l'impératrice!*" The pope was then reconducted to the altar by the master of the ceremonies. At the elevation of the host, the grand elector again took the crown off the head of the emperor.

At the agnus Dei, the grand almoner received the kiss of peace from his holiness, and carried it to their imperial majesties. The emperor then, with the crown upon his head, and his hand upon the gospel, pronounced the coronation oath in a firm tone of voice. The chief herald at arms then loudly proclaimed:—"The most glorious and most august emperor Napoleon, emperor of the French, is crowned and enthroned. Long live the emperor."—The audience again exclaimed, *Vive l'empereur! vive l'impératrice!* A discharge of cannon announced the coronation and enthroning of their majesties.

The oath was presented by the president of the senate, attended by the president of the legislative body and of the tribunate. Their majesties left the church with the same pomp and state, and returned to the archiepiscopal palace. When they had arrived, the pope

was



was reconducted by his clergy, and the procession returned in nearly the preceding order.

On the following day, the heralds at arms proceeded through all the principal streets of the city, and distributed a great quantity of medals of different sizes, destined to commemorate the coronation; on one side of the medals, the emperor was represented, bearing the crown of the Cæsars, with this legend: *Napoleon Empereur*; on the reverse was the inscription, *Le Sénat et le Peuple*, with an allegorical representation of a figure clothed in the attributes of magistracy, and of a warrior newly clothed with the imperial attributes.

The elevation of Buonaparte to the rank and dignity of emperor of the French afforded the emperor of Germany an opportunity of establishing the Austrian imperial title hereditarily in his own family. While the acknowledgment of the title which Buonaparte had assumed, was withheld or refused by many of the potentates of Europe, that of the emperor of Germany appears to have met with no opposition. The object of this assumption it is difficult to ascertain. In case the protestant interest should at a future time acquire a very predominant ascendancy in Germany, there might be some danger of a transference of the German imperial title from the house of Lorraine to that of Brandenburg. This assumption will, therefore, secure an imperial title in the family of the present emperor of Germany. But if this were the object in view, it would be tantamount to an acknowledgment of the decline of the political interest and influence of the em-

peror Francis, and of an increase of the political strength and influence of the king of Prussia. A different construction may, it is true, be put upon this proceeding. The emperor of Germany might imagine the hereditary establishment of the imperial title in his family would augment his political consequence, by giving permanence to a rank which has hitherto depended upon election; and that in Germany, as well as in Europe in general, his political power would receive even more than a nominal augmentation.

Before we conclude, it is of importance that we should not omit to notice the establishment of a black-empire in St. Domingo, and the important acquisition which the United States of America have made by the annexation of Louisiana to their territory.

The French troops which were originally sent out under the command of general Leclerc, to recover the valuable colony of St. Domingo, were too much reduced by the climate and the sword, to be capable of making any further attempt to vanquish the insurgents. On the contrary, the blacks had prosecuted military operations with so much vigour, perseverance, and success, that the French were compelled to confine themselves entirely to defensive measures. General Dessalines had organized an army of sixty thousand men, with which he menaced the extermination of the French force, and of all the white French inhabitants in the island. Two proclamations were issued in his name, as governor-general of the island. They were dated the 28th of April, and the 14th of May, 1804, the first year of independence. The former



was intended to prepare the savage Haytians for an indiscriminate massacre of the white inhabitants. After alluding, in terms of barbarian and vindictive energy, to the injuries which the blacks have suffered from the selfish policy of the European governments, and in particular to those which have been perpetrated by the French, Dessalines exclaims, "Mutilated victims of the cupidity of white Frenchmen, shall we again see that sacrilegious horde make an attempt to destroy us, without any distinction of sex or of age, and hesitate to plunge in their breasts the dagger of desperation? Where is that vile Haytian, so unworthy of his regeneration, who thinks he has not accomplished the decrees of the Eternal, by exterminating these blood-thirsty tigers? If there be one, let him fly; indignant nature discards him from our bosom; let him hide his shame far from hence; the air we breathe is not suited to his gross organs; it is the pure air of liberty august and triumphant!"—Dessalines declares in the same proclamation, that he took up arms against tyranny; and while the last spark of life remains in him, he will keep his oath. "Never again shall a colonist or an European set his foot upon this territory with the title of master or proprietor. This resolution shall form the fundamental basis of our constitution."

In the second proclamation, Dessalines addresses himself to the Spaniards: "A few moments more, and I shall crush the remnant of the French under the weight of mighty power. Spaniards, you to whom I address myself, solely because I wish to save you; you who, having been guilty of evasion, shall speedily preserve

your existence only so far as my clemency may deign to spare you;—it is yet time, abjure an error which may be fatal to you, and break off all connections with my enemy, if you wish your blood may not be confounded with his."

In consequence of the first of these proclamations, an indiscriminate massacre of the white inhabitants in the French part of St. Domingo commenced on the 29th of April, and continued till the 14th of May. It has been reported with confidence, that within this short period not less than 2,500 human beings were sacrificed by the infuriated blacks to their cruel and sanguinary system of unrelenting policy. The work of destruction then ceased only because no victims to their inhuman rage remained. The horrors of the carnage are indescribable. Neither the infirmity of age, nor the innocence of childhood, was spared. On the 14th of May, Dessalines left the Cape by way of Port de Paix and Gonaives, for the purpose of carrying into effect the second proclamation, which he had caused to be issued in the Spanish part of St. Domingo. Before his departure, he ordered the dead bodies of the murdered, which remained unburied in the streets, to be interred, lest they should be devoured by dogs or produce pestilence. The French inhabitants of St. Jago, and other parts of the interior, were escorted under a strong guard to the Cape, and there massacred. Such were the horrid barbarities which dreadfully signaled the first efforts of the blacks in the great and arduous work of civilization!

The acquisition of Louisiana is of importance to America in a variety of respects. As a territorial enlargement,



enlargement, its value is by no means inconsiderable; but as its possession by the French would almost infallibly have sooner or later disturbed the tranquillity of the United States, their exclusion is of much greater consequence to the progressive prosperity of those peaceful regions, than any advantages resulting from a mere augmentation of the resources of the state. The union of Louisiana to the American provinces produced at first some resistance on the part of the Spanish government. It was, however, easy to foresee, that such resistance would be of short duration. For, as the Spanish government has long ceased to exercise the powers of independent sovereignty, the imperious dictates of the French government would soon have commanded unconditional obedience. It was not the least of the advantages resulting from the purchase of Louisiana, that the stipulated sum of 3,750,000 dollars was paid to the citizens of the United States for claims upon the French government, for supplies to the West India islands, demurrages on vessels from France, vesselstaken, and not restored agreeably to a convention concluded between France and the United States, and for supplies under contracts made by officers of the French government in the United States.

The tranquillity and progressive improvement of the American states present an enviable picture of internal happiness and prosperity. While the nations of Europe are exposed to the danger of being involved in general warfare, peace, with all its attendant blessings, diffuses its benign influence over the happy regions of the western world. Instead of pursuing the vain phan-

tom of political grandeur, the citizens of the United States, by the steady cultivation of agriculture and commerce, and by the gradual amelioration of internal policy, are laying an extensive foundation for national strength, without engaging in such relations with other powers as are likely to lead to its abuse, or to produce any effects but those which are calculated to promote the real prosperity of the people.

The actual position of the great European powers unfortunately exhibits, in some respects, a widely different situation of affairs. The existing forms of government, and the commercial resources of most of the states of Europe, are menaced, both directly and remotely, by the erection of a formidable military power in this quarter of the world, and by the establishment of a new empire in the very heart of the West India colonial possessions. The consequences resulting from both are still in a great degree to be regarded as speculative and problematical.

With respect to the durable existence of an independent sovereignty in St. Domingo, and the effects which it may ultimately produce upon European commerce, it is impossible to reason at all conclusively. Whether the negroes in that island are sufficiently advanced in civilization to establish any thing like a permanent form of government, time alone can determine. That they are acquainted with some of the rudiments of municipal power, is evident from the political institutions which they have already founded. In this, it is true, they have been much assisted, by the mere retention of existing forms. To enter into the spirit of laws, and to trace legal regulations to elementary,



elementary principles, must as yet far exceed their powers. But to modify, and reduce to practice, a few maxims of government relative to personal security, the possession of property, and the modes of exercising the executive power, can scarcely require a greater degree of civilization than they already possess. For this purpose, it is only necessary to adapt some of the laws which they have learned from their late masters, to the new circumstances of the black population of the island. Should they completely succeed in the assertion of their independence, the states of Europe, as far as political power is dependent upon commercial circumstances, must necessarily experience a most material alteration. It is, however, in no inconsiderable degree probable, that the Haytian government may be ultimately subverted by internal dissensions. In this case, St. Domingo will again form the valuable colonial possession of some European power; most probably of France.

The other event to which we alluded, is of the highest immediate importance. By conferring imperial rank upon Buonaparte, or by his assumption of it, a new and formidable military power is consolidated, and its extensive resources consigned to the arbitrary disposal of an individual, whose restless and ambitious character will constantly menace the tranquillity, the security, and the independence, of all contiguous states. Those who formerly indulged in vain and delusive hopes, that the progress of reason and civilization would produce an universal reduction of military establishments, have now to contemplate the sad consequences which are likely to arise from a general reversion to extended military

power. It is only by the adoption of a general system, so little favourable to the existence of a high degree of practical liberty, that provision can, in these times, be effectually made for the preservation of national security. If the continental powers should succeed in resisting the dangerous aggrandizement of France, it can only be from a judicious organization and employment of their national resources. The system pursued by France must be in part adopted by them. If the military establishment of the French empire is the constant object of the fostering care of the government, in order to render it a powerful instrument of state ambition, the other powers must equally cherish the military spirit by wisely accelerating their present plan of exhaustingly slow and discouragingly tedious promotion. The nation that exclusively employs a new and unprecedentedly powerful weapon of destructive warfare, must be opposed by a similar instrument of hostility. If then the military system of the French empire has been rendered more efficient, the same means of efficient improvement must be resorted to by the military powers of Europe.

The same observations would apply with equal force to the regular establishment of our own country, if the navies of England and France were equal in point of maritime strength. But even this glorious inequality is in a great measure counteracted by the superior military force of France; so much so, indeed, that as long as the principles exist upon which the French government is founded, the security of the British empire can, perhaps, only be effectually maintained by an extensive augmentation



tion of the military resources of the state. The valour and patriotism which peculiarly distinguish the people of this great kingdom, must ultimately repel every external attack upon their independence and their liberties. But it is of importance to prevent, if possible, the attack from being executed with partial success. If it be necessary, we must submit to a temporary suspension of what we have been accustomed to term constitutional liberty, in order to adopt a system of hostility calculated to meet and repel the new and extended species of warfare to which our enemy has recourse. As in times of commotion the public se-

curity calls for the enactment of martial law and the suspension of the ordinary tribunals of justice; so, in circumstances of extraordinary national danger arising from the unprecedented military resources of the enemy, it is indispensably requisite to overlook, for a time, the salutary constitutional maxim, that a large standing army is incompatible with civil freedom. We are by no means the advocates of an extensive military force, in ordinary times; but, in the present state of Europe, it appears to us to be indispensably necessary for the permanent security of this great and powerful kingdom.



PRINCIPAL  
OCCURRENCES

In the Year 1804.







# PRINCIPAL OCCURRENCES

In the Year 1804.

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## JANUARY.

*Admiralty-office, Jan. 3.*

Copy of a letter from commodore Hood, commander in chief of his majesty's ships and vessels in the Leeward Islands, to sir Evan Nepean, bart. dated on board his majesty's ship Centaur, off Guadaloupe, the 6th Nov. 1803.

Sir,

I HAVE the honour to enclose, for the information of the lords commissioners of the admiralty, a copy of a letter I received from captain Graves, of his majesty's ship Blenheim, giving an account of the capture of a privateer by the boats of that ship in Fort Royal Bay, Martinique.

The capture of two more of the enemy's privateers is set forth in a letter from captain Younghusband, of the Osprey. The brave and handsome conduct of lieutenant Henderson, and those in the boats under his command, is truly meritorious: and I trust such display of the gallantry of our officers and men will soon make these piccaroons repent their temerity. On the 26th ult. between Tobago and Grenada, the Centaur, after a chase

of seven hours, captured the Vigilante schooner privateer, of two guns, and forty men well armed with musketry. The capture of this vessel is particularly fortunate, as she has, from her superior sailing and management, done much injury to the trade.

I have also the satisfaction to acquaint you of the recapture of the brig Earl St. Vincent, from Dublin, bound to Barbadoes, and a Swedish schooner, by his majesty's sloop St. Lucia: they had been captured three days before by the L'Harmonie privateer, of Martinique, and who only escaped the vigilance of captain Shipley, by throwing her guns overboard, and sawing down her gunwales.

I have the honour to be, &c.

SAM. HOOD.

*Blenheim, off Martinique,  
16th Sept. 1803.*

Sir,

Yesterday, at 2 p. m. I discovered a small schooner privateer, apparently just returned from her cruise, and endeavouring to get into Port Royal: it being nearly calm, I directed lieutenant Furber, of his majesty's ship Blenheim under my command, to take the pinnace, and lieutenant Campbell the barge, and to cut her off: she was

(A 2)

rowing



rowing with her sweeps; but the boats nevertheless came up with her in about an hour and a half, and in a most spirited manner, under the fire of grape and musketry, boarded and carried her.

I am happy to add, that no lives were lost: the enemy had one man wounded; she is called the *Fortunée*, mounts two carriage guns, and had 29 men on board.

I am, &c.

THO. GRAVES.

Commodore Hood, &c. &c.

*His majesty's sloop Osprey, off  
Martinique, Oct. 31, 1803.*

Sir,

I beg leave to acquaint you, that on the 26th instant I discovered a suspicious sail under the land of Trinidad, and immediately chased; but on arriving within about four miles of her, it fell calm; and as I was now convinced she was an enemy's privateer, from the number of sweeps she was rowing, and having no chance of coming up to her in the *Osprey*, I sent three boats to attack her, under the command of lieutenant Robert Henderson; the cutter in which he was, rowing much faster than the other boats, he, without waiting to be joined by them, in the most brave and determined manner, and under a heavy fire from the guns and musketry of the schooner, boarded and captured the French schooner privateer *La Ressource*, mounting four 4-pounders, and having on board forty-three men, two of whom were killed, and twelve wounded.

Lieutenant Henderson, with three seamen, are slightly wounded, and one dangerously; the cutter had only seventeen seamen in her,

who all behaved with the utmost bravery.

I have further to inform you, that having put lieutenant Collier and sixteen men on board the prize, he next day chased and captured *La Mimi* French schooner privateer of one gun and twenty-one men.

I am, &c.

GEORGE YOUNGHUSBAND.

*Admiralty-office, Jan. 7, 1804.*

Copy of a letter from the right hon. lord Keith, K. B. admiral of the blue, &c. to sir Evan Nepean, bart. dated on board his majesty's ship the *Monarch*, off Ramsgate, the 6th instant.

Sir,

I enclose, for their lordships' information, a copy of a letter which I have received from capt. Owen, of his majesty's ship *Immortalité*, acquainting me, that his majesty's gun-brig the *Archer*, and the *Griffin* hired cutter, (the crew of the former being reinforced by lieutenant Payne and some of the *Immortalité's* men,) had captured one of the enemy's gun-vessels, a dogger, a schuyt, and two Blankenberg fishing-boats, apparently part of a convoy proceeding to Boulogne.

I have the honour to be, &c.

KEITH.

*Immortalité, at anchor on the  
edge of the Bank de Baas,  
Boulogne, S. E. half S. four  
or five miles, Wednesday, Jan-  
uary 4, 1804.*

My Lord,

Having last night reinforced the crew of the *Archer* with some men from this ship, and pushed her close in shore, she was fortunate enough



enough to fall in with and capture a French lugger gun-vessel, No. 432, mounting an eighteen; and a twelve-pounder, commanded by an ensign de vaisseau, with five seamen, a lieutenant, and twenty-six grenadiers of the 36th regiment of the line, some of whom, with two seamen, escaped in her boat during the running fight, which she continued for a quarter of an hour with her stern gun and musketry. The Archer had part of her rigging cut, but no one materially hurt on either side.

The Archer and Griffin afterwards captured a dogger, a schuyt, and two Blankenberg fishing-boats, which the prisoners report to be part of a convoy, which, with a prame of 16 guns, and five or six gun-vessels, escaped under the land in the dark; some, I understand, laden with provisions and stores. The schuyt has gin, and the fishing-boats timbers and knees for boats; each vessel had three or four soldiers on board.

Lieutenant Sheriff, of the Archer, has done every thing I could possibly wish or expect from his zeal; and lieutenant Payne, of this ship, who commanded the boat and party assisting the Archer, executed that service with his usual alacrity, and the commander of the Griffin has my thanks for the share he bore in bringing off the latter vessels, which was effected under a very heavy fire from the shore, to which they were as close as possible.

I have the honour to be, &c.

(Signed) E. W. C. R. OWEN.

The right hon. lord Keith, K.B. &c.

#### MURDER.

7. An inquisition was yesterday taken before his majesty's coroner

for the county of Middlesex, at the Black Lion inn, Hammersmith, on view of the body of Thomas Milward.

The jury, which was composed of the most respectable persons in the neighbourhood, having heard the coroner's charge to them, and viewed the body, proceeded to attend to the depositions.

The first witness called was a Mr. Lock, a wine-merchant, in Hammersmith. He said, the deceased was an utter stranger to him. On Tuesday night last, between eleven and twelve, as he was returning home, in company with a Mr. Stow, he was accosted by Francis Smith, the person now in custody, who said, "Mr. Lock, I want to speak with you."—He stepped aside to him; when Smith told him he had killed a man, whom he believed to have been the ghost (meaning, as the witness supposed, the person who had been in the habit of disturbing the village by assuming that character). The witness and Mr. Stow accompanied him, and a watchman who was with him, as far as a lane that crossed Black-lion-lane, where they found the deceased stretched on the ground, and quite dead. He was conveyed to the Black Lion. Smith at first did not appear to consider he had done any harm in killing the ghost, till the witness suggested to him what might eventually be the consequence of such an act; and then he was much agitated. When the deceased was brought to the Black Lion, and it was discovered who he was, Smith seemed extremely to regret what he had done, and he desired to surrender himself to an officer of justice. The witness had heard of the neighbourhood of Hammersmith being visited by a ghost, and that



it had terrified a number of people. It was reported, that it sometimes appeared covered with a white sheet, and sometimes clad with a cow's skin. He paid but little attention himself to such idle stories. He had never heard of any formal reward having been offered for apprehending the ghost, but he believed a clergyman and another gentleman had promised to give five guineas each, to whoever should discover who it was. The deceased was dressed in a white flannel jacket. He understood he was by trade a bricklayer.

Nancy Milward, the sister of the deceased, stated, that on Tuesday night last, about ten o'clock, she was at her father's house with her brother, whose wife was then at a short distance at work. Her brother was asleep by the fire in a chair. She awoke him, and desired him to go for his wife. He did so, and returned, saying, she could not come home before half an hour. He again fell asleep, and more than the half-hour elapsed. She thought it had struck eleven. She again awoke him, and desired he would go for his wife, as it was a very dark night. He was with some difficulty prevailed upon, but at length he went away. The witness, in consequence of a presentiment she could not account for, went to the door to watch him. He had not gone above fifty yards, before she heard a voice exclaim, "D——n you, who are you? and what are you? Speak, or I'll shoot." The words had scarce passed the lips of the person who uttered them, when she heard the report of a gun, and saw the flash. She called to her brother, who returned no answer. Dreadfully agitated, she ran to awake her father and mother, telling them she

was afraid her poor brother was shot. They would not attend to her, but said it was impossible. She repaired to the room of a young man who slept in the house, but he also refused to rise. She then resolved to go by herself, and see what was become of her brother. When she arrived at Cross-lane, she saw him lying on his back, his arms and legs stretched quite straight. She called out "Brother!" but he was silent. She then stooped down to look at him, and perceived his face was bloody and entirely black. She shrieked, and her cries brought her father and mother, who, when they saw their son dead, were frantic with grief. The body was taken to the Black Lion. She said her brother was but twenty-two years of age, and industriously maintained himself and his wife. He was in his usual dress when he went out. She was positive, speaking upon her oath, that he never had personated the ghost. He had told her he had once been taken for it. There was nothing further material in this witness's evidence. She was a fine beautiful girl, with a very interesting countenance, and seemed deeply afflicted.

Grinfield, the watchman, said, that on Tuesday night, as he was going his rounds, he met Francis Smith, who told him he was going to try to discover the ghost. Smith had a gun, which he had previously loaded with shot. The witness appointed to meet him in the lane after he should have gone his rounds. They agreed upon a watch-word—it was to be, "Who goes there?—A friend—Pass, friend." Just before he went, according to appointment, he heard the report of a gun, and Smith came up to him, saying he had shot the ghost. The witness asked if he had hurt



it? He replied, he was afraid very badly. They met Mr. Lock, who went with them to Cross-lane, where the deceased lay. The witness added, that the reports about the ghost had been current for the last two months. He knew many whom the ghost had frightened.—On Thursday night last, as he was walking on his beat, by the pump near the four-mile stone, he saw the supposed apparition. It had on either a white sheet or a large table-cloth; the witness was armed with a pistol, and pursued it; it made towards the house of a Mr. Hill, and the witness came up within ten paces of it, when suddenly the person who personated the spectre stooped his head, pulled off the sheet, threw it under his arm, and darted off as swift as an arrow. It was in vain to attempt to overtake him. The witness said he was near enough to perceive that he had a dark coat, with shining metal buttons; he was a tall man, and altogether unlike the deceased.

Mrs. Foulbrook, the mother-in-law of the deceased, was called in, but her information was not reduced to writing. She said she was perfectly assured her son-in-law had never assumed the character of the ghost; he was too attentive to his business, and too fond of his wife and his bed. She said, that on the night when he was killed she was distracted, and sent word to the family where his wife was, not on any account to let her come home, for she was sure it would be the death of her, as she was in a state of pregnancy.

It was not deemed necessary to defer the inquest on account of the absence of the surgeon, whose evidence was prevented by other professional duties. The wound the deceased had received was too pal-

pably the cause of his death to admit of doubt. The shot had entered his left jaw, which it had totally lacerated, and perforated every part of the head.—The piece was fired so close to the deceased, that the skin of his face was totally black.

The evidence having closed, the coroner addressed the jury. He regretted that, in this enlightened age, the fatal event which had convened them should have exhibited such a proof of the superstition of the uninformed part of the community. He had hoped the lights of reason and philosophy would have precluded the possibility of such an inquiry; but as the experience of the present instance showed that the prejudices and prepossessions of ignorance still prevailed, it was necessary to have it distinctly understood, that no idea of a ghost justified any person to arm himself with a weapon of death, for the purpose of destroying the supposed apparition. Upon so serious a subject, it was with the utmost caution and deference that he would wish to express any opinion that might have a tendency to lead the minds of the jury; but he could not avoid observing, that this was a case which peculiarly called for the intervention of a higher tribunal. He was fully persuaded so respectable a jury would do what was right. It was his duty, however, to observe, that with regard to the offence of murder, there were two species of aggravation, the one malice express, and the other malice implied. There was nothing in this case to justify the supposition of express malice; but malice might reasonably be implied, from the circumstance of a man's carrying with him a deadly instrument, and using it against



another who was not equally armed. There was no pretence for saying that the deceased was either armed or had given any provocation. In fact, the confession of Smith rendered such an inference impossible: he had avowed the deed; and it was to be hoped that, when put upon his trial before a superior court, he would be able to adduce circumstances in palliation of his offence. That he had destroyed the life of the deceased, could admit of no doubt; that he was not justified in having done so, was as clear. There appeared, therefore, no alternative with regard to the verdict of the jury. It must be a satisfaction to them to know that their decision would not be final; and that consideration, he trusted, would the more readily induce them to give the party accused, and the public, who had lost one of its valuable members, an opportunity of coming to a fair issue.

The jury, without a moment's hesitation, returned a verdict of Wilful Murder.

The coroner immediately committed Smith to gaol, to take his trial at the ensuing sessions at the Old Bailey.

#### FIRE.

*Durham, Jan. 8.*—Yesterday a most distressing circumstance occurred here, which threw the whole place, as well as the country for many miles round, into the greatest dismay and confusion. About two o'clock in the morning, Mr. Salven's cotton manufactory, which comprises a very extensive range of buildings, near Elvet church, was discovered to be on fire. These premises have long been admired by strangers, on entering the town, for their stupendous size, and containing exactly

as many windows as there are days in the year. The Durham volunteers were immediately roused from their beds, and with the greatest alacrity beat to arms; their example was followed by the Lanarkshire militia, quartered here. As fast as the military assembled, they repaired to the spot, where the fire was raging with incredible fury; both officers and privates used their greatest efforts to extinguish the flames, by carrying buckets of water, to aid the few fire-engines which were collected from different parts of the town: nothing, however, could avail. It being now near four o'clock, the conflagration had gained too much power to admit of any control; its blazes were seen for nearly twenty miles round the country, particularly at Gateshead Fell, Hamsterly, and Houghton-le-Spring, which had a grand and awful effect. By many it was supposed the whole town was on fire: others anticipated still a greater misfortune, and were persuaded that the calamity had been occasioned by the French, and would not be satisfied of the contrary, till they had travelled to Durham in the course of the night, and learned the fact. Great services were rendered by the volunteers and militia, in protecting and removing the property endangered by the fire. At seven o'clock in the morning, nothing remained of the stupendous building but the shell, the greatest part of which fell to the ground in the course of the day. It is understood here, that only 6000*l.* is insured on the premises; the loss sustained will amount to upwards of 20,000*l.* The new building and cottages facing the road escaped being destroyed, in some measure owing to the little wind at the time, but



more particularly on account of the snow that was lying on the houses, which prevented the flames from communicating, or it is impossible to say where the disastrous affair would have ended. Of the persons employed in the manufactory, none are known to be missing.

#### PROVIDENTIAL ESCAPE FROM FIRE.

10. About three o'clock on Sunday morning, Mr. Copeland, baker, in the upper part of Coleman-street, was awoke by the smoke and smell of fire. On descending from his chamber to the premises behind the shop, he found some drawers that contained papers chiefly, drawn out and in flames. Not having the means at hand of extinguishing the fire, he had the good sense and precaution to push in the drawers, and hurried towards the cistern in the cellar; when, to his utter astonishment, he discovered a fire kindled in two other parts of the bottom of the house. The most alarming of these consisted of two upright sacks of shavings, the tops of which were in a blaze. Owing, however, to their position, and to their being somewhat damp, they did not burn with fury; and by throwing them down, and tumbling them one over another, Mr. Copeland succeeded in stopping the further progress of this part of the fire. He then, with the aid of water, and by almost unparalleled exertion, extinguished the flames in the other part of the cellar, and those in the drawers, though not before the latter were partly consumed, and a hole burned from the cellar through the ground floor. On search, it appeared that the premises had been robbed. The till, desk, &c. had been broken open; but as Mr. C. had, the preceding

evening, removed his plate and chief cash to the upper part of the house, the thieves found only about fifty shillings worth of halfpence in a bag, which, together with a coat and some trifling articles, was all they had carried off. Either, therefore, to prevent discovery of the robbery, or to revenge their disappointment at not meeting with the expected booty, they adopted the diabolical expedient of setting fire to the premises, and, no doubt, concluded that nothing could save them. The perseverance and success of Mr. Copeland under such circumstances, who was almost wholly unassisted, and in his shirt, are certainly next to incredible, and reflect the greatest credit on him; while they demonstrate how much may be accomplished by presence of mind and exertion, even in a desperate or hopeless case.—It may be proper to add, that Mr. Copeland's family consisted of himself and wife, six children, and a maid servant, all of whom, had the fire not been timely discovered, would most probably have perished.

#### OLD BAILEY.

*Friday, Jan. 13.*

Francis Smith, an officer of excise, was indicted for the wilful murder of Thomas Milward, a journeyman bricklayer, in Hammersmith, on the 3d of January instant.

Mr. John Lock, wine merchant in Hammersmith, deposed, that as he was passing near Cross-lane, he met with the prisoner about half past ten at night, who told him that he thought he had shot a man, and begged the witness to go along with him to the place to examine the body. The witness accordingly accompanied him to the spot, and discovered the deceased lying on the ground, with no apparent symptoms



symptoms of life, being wounded in the lower part of the jaw. He said to the prisoner, that this death was certainly the consequence of his firing; on which the prisoner said, that he did not know that it was Milward, and seemed at that time to be much agitated. He told the witness that he had spoke to him twice, and had received no answer.—(*Cross examined.*)—The witness had heard people talk of a ghost for five weeks previous to this unfortunate event, though he himself never had seen this figure. He knew that several young men had gone out every evening, in order to detect the impostor, and the particular dress of the phantom was described by several persons who had seen it, which corresponded very much with that of the unfortunate man who had suffered. It consisted of linen trowsers, and a white waistcoat, the trowsers being very long, almost touching the shoes. The witness was not personally acquainted with the deceased; the report was, that the ghost was sometimes in white, and sometimes had the appearance of having a calf-skin wrapped round it. The prisoner said, he was in great trepidation, when instead of the ghost answering him when called on, it advanced straight up towards him. It was a very dark night, and the event took place betwixt two high hedges, so that it was really difficult to discover any body. The witness advised the prisoner to go to his lodgings, and there remain till the matter was investigated; on which he said that he was perfectly willing to surrender himself into custody, and for that purpose he proposed that the witness should send for some person empowered to do so. As to the prisoner's general character,

the witness always understood that he was a very mild, generous, and humane man.

William Grinfield, a watchman in Hammersmith, at half-past ten, saw the deceased lying on his back quite dead, being wounded on the left side of the jaw. He had been called to the White Hart, in Hammersmith, and was there when the prisoner came. The prisoner said to him, "I have hurt a man, and I am afraid it is very bad." The witness carried Smith to the Black Lion, another house in the neighbourhood. Previous to the unfortunate accident, the witness had met the prisoner, who told him he was going to search for the ghost, and seemed armed with a fowling-piece for the purpose. The prisoner wished the witness to come and meet him, in order to assist in the discovery of the ghost, which the witness agreed to do as fast as he possibly could. They agreed to make use of the watch-word, "Who comes there?" the answer to which was to be, "A friend."—"Advance, friend." The witness then went to execute some business of his own, and soon after heard a gun fired, just before he had reached Black-lion-lane; but he did not take any notice of it, as he had often heard guns firing in the night-time. A young woman called the witness, and said he was wanted to go along with Mr. Smith; which he accordingly did, and met Smith at the corner of Baver-lane, armed with his gun. The prisoner was in company with Mr. Lock, to whom he said he would deliver himself up immediately.—(*Cross examined.*) It was a very dark night. He was armed with a pistol, but that was his usual custom. He had often heard the ghost talked of in Hammersmith, and had even seen it



it himself the very Thursday before the event, which happened on Tuesday. It appeared to him to be covered either with a sheet, or a large table-cloth, and was just opposite to the four-mile stone, near Baver-lane; he pursued it, and in doing so, he saw it put the sheet or table-cloth round its head, and run off. This ghost had alarmed the neighbourhood about six weeks or two months, and many people were very much frightened. There was a rumour of mischief having been occasioned by it, though he himself did not know what the mischief was. He had been acquainted with the prisoner for some considerable time past, and always found him an exceedingly good-tempered young man; and never discovered any thing like a cruel disposition.

Ann Milward, the sister of the deceased, said, that she lived with her father, and that betwixt the hours of ten and eleven o'clock, on the night of the 3d of January, her brother (who lived at his father-in-law's) came to her father's house, and said he had been seeking for his wife, who was at a Mr. Smith's; the witness, as well as her father and mother, were just going to bed. She asked her brother to sit down, which he did, and remained about half an hour; he then bad his father, mother, and the witness good night, and walked out, having heard the watchman calling the hour. The witness having occasion to go the door, almost immediately after her brother, she heard a voice calling out, "Tell me who you are, otherwise I will instantly shoot you." Soon after a gun actually went off, and she saw her brother fall. She called out, "Thomas!" and returning to her mother, she said to her, "I believe my brother

is shot." Neither her father nor mother would believe it; she then went out, and discovered her brother lying perfectly dead; the prisoner was not present, but she afterwards saw him, in company with Mr. Lock. She returned home very much shocked, and was at that time unable to learn any more of the transactions.—(*Cross examined.*) Her brother had on his working dress, which consisted of long white trowsers and waistcoat. She had often heard of the ghost, and it was described in various ways; but was said to be dressed particularly in white, with long horns, and glass eyes; she never thought of cautioning her brother of any danger he might be in from wearing a dress so similar in appearance to that of the ghost. She knew nothing of any animosity subsisting betwixt the deceased and the prisoner; and she believed they hardly knew each other but by sight.

Mr. Flower, a surgeon, deposed, that he examined the body of the deceased, and found that he had received a gun-shot wound in the lower part of the left jaw; it appeared to have been occasioned by a ball of the size of No. 4: it had penetrated the vertebræ of the neck, and had injured the spinal marrow of the brain. He entertained no doubt of the wound having been the real and sole cause of the deceased's death; it was such a wound as is well known to occasion immediate death; it disfigured the jaw, and he observed that the face was all blackened with the powder from the gun.—(*Cross examined.*) He did not know Mr. Smith personally, but he understood that his character was very good, his temper was very mild, and that he was very far from being of a vindictive disposition.



The prisoner, on being called on for his defence, said, he would leave it to his counsel; but on being told that they could not speak in his behalf, being only allowed to examine his witnesses, he stated, that on the day on which that fatal catastrophe happened, he went out with a good intention, and at the very moment of the affair taking place, he did not know what he was doing. He spoke to the person twice, and was so much agitated on receiving no answer, that in his confusion and dread, he was unfortunate enough to commit the rash action; but he solemnly declared to God, that he had no malice against the deceased, nor any intention of taking away the life of any individual whatever.

On behalf of the prisoner, his counsel called Phebe Foulbrook, mother-in-law of the deceased, who lived at her house; she had frequently heard of the ghost. On the Saturday evening, the deceased said to her, that he had been taken for the ghost, and that two ladies and a gentleman had been frightened at him coming along the terrace; and that he told them, that he was no more a ghost than they were. On hearing this, the witness advised him to put on a great coat for fear of accident, and not to frighten any person again: this was the only time she thought of cautioning him relative to this matter.

Thomas Groom, servant to Mr. Burgess, a brewer, in Hammer-smith, deposed, that he had heard a great deal of talk concerning the ghost; and that one night lately, about nine o'clock, when he and a fellow-servant were walking through the church-yard, he met with it, and was very much alarmed; that it laid hold of him by the chin,

and that he put forth his hand, on which it disappeared, but he thought he felt something soft.

A great many witnesses were then called, to speak solely to the prisoner's character; and all concurred in giving him one of the very best, and proved that he was a young man of a remarkably mild temper, and of a humane, generous, and benevolent disposition.

On the conclusion of the evidence relative to this unfortunate affair, the lord chief baron addressed the gentlemen of the jury to the following effect:—

“The prisoner at the bar stands indicted of the wilful murder of Thomas Milward, by shooting him with a gun so as to have been the occasion of his death. It is proper for me to state to you, that although it is necessary, in order to constitute the crime of murder, that malice must be proved to have existed betwixt the accused and the deceased; yet I must here take the opportunity of explaining to you what the law intends by the expression *malice*. It is not necessary that he who has killed should have known any thing of the deceased, or have entertained spite against him; but it is that disposition to kill, and the act of killing, for which the law finds no excuse or extenuation. Suppose that a man fires a gun into this hall, in which we are now assembled,—if he were thereby to kill any individual, he is to be deemed in the eye of the law guilty of murder. If a man intends to shoot at one person, and instead of doing so he kills another, against whom he might be able to prove that he entertained no malice or spite, he is nevertheless guilty of murder. The killing of a person through apprehension for one's own safety, or by mere accident, may indeed be styled



styled only *manslaughter*; but unfortunately such circumstances cannot be found in this case. It is important to observe, that neither you nor I, on this occasion, need to take upon us any province which does not belong to us, the law having already sufficiently described the circumstances which constitute murder. If then there appear to you none of those excuses or extenuations which I have alluded to, the crime at present under our consideration must necessarily be denominated murder. If the law were otherwise, and if a man could say that he thinks another deserves death for having committed such and such an act, and therefore goes to the highway, and executes judgment with his own hands, by shooting robbers, or others, whom he may deem troublesome, dreadful might be the consequence. It is fortunate that the law of this country has made such an offence to be murder. Even in the case before us, no person can be allowed to say, "I will of my own accord go out and shoot this abominable person, who has alarmed the whole neighbourhood," however much disgusted he may be at the crime. It was sufficient to endeavour to apprehend him, for such is the law on the subject. If therefore, gentlemen, you entertain no doubt with respect to the fact, I should betray my duty, and injure the public security, if I did not persist in asserting that this is a clear case of murder, if the facts be proved to your satisfaction. All killing whatever amounts to murder, unless justified by the law, or in self-defence. In cases of some involuntary acts, or some sufficiently violent provocation, it becomes manslaughter. Not one of these circumstances occurs here. There

is here no apparent intention of the prisoner's wishing only to apprehend this person; instead of that, which would have been the proper step in such a case, he is proved to have taken out a gun in order to shoot him, erroneously imagining he was entitled to do so. He has been proved to have fired at the deceased with a degree of rashness which the law does not justify. What may be the effect of such a degree of malice, more properly belongs to another, and a much higher tribunal to determine; but in this court no such crime can be deemed to amount to less than murder."

His lordship then recapitulated the whole of the evidence to the jury, who, after retiring for about an hour and a quarter, returned, and gave in their verdict—*Guilty of manslaughter*.

On hearing this verdict, it was stated by the bench, that such a judgment could not be received in this case, for it ought either to be a verdict of *murder* or of *acquittal*. If the jury believed the facts, there was no extenuation that could be admitted; for, supposing that the unfortunate man was the individual really meant to have been shot, the prisoner would have been guilty of murder. Even with respect to civil processes, if an officer of justice uses a deadly weapon, it is *murder*, if he occasions death by it, even although he had a right to apprehend.

Mr. justice Rooke entirely concurred in the sentiments of the learned judge who presided, and which were the sentiments of the whole court.

Mr. justice Lawrence was entirely of the same opinion. The person who had imposed on the credulity of the neighbourhood of Hammersmith



Hammersmith was undoubtedly guilty of a misdemeanour, for which the prisoner would have been warranted in apprehending, but not in shooting him. Supposing that the deceased had committed a felony for which he might have suffered death, the law was clearly laid down that the person who killed that felon was guilty of murder. In a civil case, where a person was vested with legal authority to apprehend a delinquent, it was laid down by judge Foster as law, that if a person in execution of such a power use a deadly weapon, not necessary for the apprehension of the delinquent, he is guilty of murder. In the present case the prisoner had not been taken by surprise, or influenced by any sudden and involuntary impulse. He had gone out with the expectation of meeting what he supposed he had actually encountered. The evidence too proved that he was fully aware of what he was doing at the time, he having threatened the deed which he performed before its actual execution. It was of infinite consequence to the law of the country, and to the safety of the public in general, that this case should be determined agreeably to the established law, which had been so clearly laid down to the jury by the learned judge who presided at the trial.

The jury were, therefore, desired to reconsider the case, and amend their verdict; which they accordingly did, and returned a verdict of—*Guilty*.

The recorder then proceeded to pronounce the awful sentence of death upon the prisoner, who seemed to be very much affected by his unfortunate situation. Silence being called, he addressed him nearly as follows:—

“Francis Smith, you have been tried by the most attentive and intelligent jury, to whom the law on this unfortunate case has been fully and ably stated, that in all cases of homicide it is murder, unless the person occasioning the death can prove that the act was done under authority, by accident, self-preservation, or by a voluntary act arising from sudden and sufficient provocation. It was, therefore, incumbent on you to have given such evidence in mitigation of your heinous offence, if any such proof could possibly have been adduced. That not having been done, the jury have very properly, and according to law, found you guilty of the wilful murder of Thomas Milward. The law of God and man is, That whosoever sheddeth man's blood, shall atone for his offence by his own.” The prisoner was then sentenced, in the usual manner, to be executed on Monday next. On hearing his sentence, he was so much agitated that he was unable to walk back to prison without the assistance of two of the keepers.

*Admiralty-office, Jan. 31.*

Copy of a letter from rear-admiral sir John Thomas Duckworth, K. B. commander in chief of his majesty's ships and vessels at Jamaica, to sir Evan Nepean, bart. dated at Port Royal, the 26th of Oct. 1803:

Sir,

I herewith transmit, for the information of the lords commissioners of the admiralty, two letters from captain Ross, of his majesty's ship *Desirée*, relative to vessels captured and destroyed.

I am, &c.

J. T. DUCKWORTH.

*Desirée,*



*Desirée, Mancinelle, 19th Aug, 1803.*

Sir,

Having fetched into this anchorage last evening, and seeing from the mast-head, over the land, several vessels at anchor in Monte Christe roads, I dispatched the boats armed, under lieutenant Caning, of his majesty's ship I command, to bring them out; which service he performed with credit, under a heavy fire from the batteries, and returned at daylight this morning with five schooners and a sloop.

I have the honour to be, &c.

C. B. H. Ross.

To capt. Bligh, &c.

*Desirée, Mancinelle Bay,  
Sept. 4, 1803.*

Sir,

I have pleasure in informing you, that your boats, accompanied by those of his majesty's ship I command, returned early this morning, having brought out of Monte Christe all the vessels at that anchorage, to the amount of six sail of schooners, under a smart fire from the batteries, without loss.

I have the honour to be, &c.

(Signed)

C. B. H. Ross.

Captain Bligh.

Copy of another letter from rear-admiral sir J. T. Duckworth, K. B. dated at Port Royal, the 10th Nov. 1803.

Sir,

Accompanying this you receive, for the information of the lords commissioners of the admiralty, an account of vessels captured and destroyed by his majesty's ships and vessels under my command, since the return of September last.

I am, &c.

J. T. DUCKWORTH.

A list of vessels captured, detained, and destroyed by his majesty's ships and vessels, at and about Jamaica, under the orders of sir John Thomas Duckworth, K. B. rear-admiral of the red and commander in chief, &c. &c.

French schooner Aimable Sophie, laden with provisions; captured by the *Desirée* and squadron, Sept. 17, 1803. B. Waterhouse and co. agents.

French ship *La Sagesse*, in ballast; captured by the *Theseus* and squadron, Sept. 9, 1803. B. Waterhouse and co. agents.

French brig *Papillon*, of 6 guns, 55 men, and 100 tons, in ballast; captured by ditto, same date. G. and A. Stewart, agents.

French brig *Trois Amis*, of 12 men, and 200 tons, in ballast, captured by ditto, same date, and the same agents.

French schooner *Le Coureur de Nantz*, of 17 men and 70 tons, laden with flour, wine, &c.; captured by ditto, same date, and the same agents.

Schooner *Sally*, of 8 men and 130 tons; captured by ditto, same date, and the same agents.

Schooner *Mary*, of 5 men and 90 tons; captured by ditto, same date, and same agents.

Schooner *Two Friends*; captured by the *Desirée* and squadron, Sept. 9, 1803. B. Waterhouse and co. agents.

French sloop (name unknown) in ballast; captured by the *Hunter* and *Inglefield*, same date, and the same agents.

American schooner *Polly*, laden with coffee and sugar: captured by ditto, same date, and the same agents.

Schooner *Ursula*, laden with flour and provisions; captured by the



the Gipsy, same date, and the same agents.

Schooner *Esperanza*, laden with cattle; captured by ditto, same date, and the same agents.

American schooner *Little Sarah*, laden with coffee, &c.; captured by the *Bellerophon* and *Loring*, same date, and the same agents.

Spanish ship *Cosmopolite*, laden with negroes and trinkets; captured by ditto, same date, and the same agents.

French schooner *Jeune Adelle*, laden with ballast, a few dry goods and ironmongery; captured by the *Racoon* and *Bissell*, Oct. 14, 1803, same agents.

French cutter *L'Amitié*, laden with ballast, a few dry goods and ironmongery; captured by ditto, same date, and the same agents.

French schooner *La Liza*, laden with ballast, a few dry goods and ironmongery; captured by ditto, same date, and the same agents.

French schooner No. 1, (name unknown) laden with ballast, a few dry goods and ironmongery: captured by ditto, October 13, 1803, same agents.

French schooner No. 2, (name unknown) laden with a few dry goods; captured by ditto, same date, and the same agents.

French ship *Catherine* and *Adelaide*, laden with sundry dry goods and ironmongery; captured by the *Cumberland* and *Serrill*, same date, and the same agents.

French ship *Sophie*, laden with sundry dry goods and ironmongery; captured by ditto, same date, and the same agents.

French schooner *Lalitte*, laden with dry goods and ironmongery; captured by ditto, same date, and the same agents.

French ship *Mars*, of 1 gun, 33 men, and 560 tons, laden with bal-

last, some provisions and passengers, 230 soldiers with officers; captured by the *Elephant* and squadron, same date. *R. Lake* and co. agents.

French brig *Goelan*, in ballast, capitulated at *Aux Cayes* to *La Pique* and *Pelican*, *Cumberland* and *Whitby*, October 13, 1803. *B. Waterhouse* and co. agents.

French schooner *Tricolor*, in ballast; capitulated at *Aux Cayes* to ditto, same date, and the same agents.

French cutter *Sandwich*, in ballast; capitulated at *Aux Cayes* to ditto, same date, and the same agents.

French schooner *Pierre Chenie*, in ballast; capitulated at *Aux Cayes* to ditto, same date, and the same agents.

French brig *Vigilante*, in ballast; capitulated at *Aux Cayes* to ditto, same date, and the same agents.

French schooner *Courier et Conquereur*, in ballast; capitulated at *Aux Cayes* to ditto, same date, and the same agents.

French schooner *Aiguille*, in ballast; capitulated at *Aux Cayes* to ditto, same date, and the same agents.

French brig *Concorde*, in ballast; capitulated at *Aux Cayes* to ditto, same date, and the same agents.

French brig *St. Antonio y les Animas*, in ballast; captured by the *Mignonne*, same date, and the same agents.

American schooner *Nancy*, laden with coffee, &c.; captured by the *Bellerophon* and squadron, same date, and the same agents.

French schooner *Rosino et Rosario*; captured by the *Pique*, &c. same date, and the same agents.

French schooner *L'Heureux Rencontre*; captured by the *Blanche*, &c. same date, and same agents.

French



French schooner *Charlotte*; captured by the *Pique*, &c. same date, and same agents.

American schooner *Amphion*; captured by the *Blanche* and squadron, same date, and the same agents.

French schooner *Concord*; captured by the *Blanche* and squadron, same date, and the same agents.

American ship *Elk*; recaptured by the *Bellerophon* and squadron, same date, and the same agents.

American ship (name unknown); captured by ditto, same date, and the same agents.

American schooner (name unknown); captured by ditto, same date, and the same agents.

French schooner *Fanny*; captured by the *Echo* and *Badger*, same date.

Privateer run on shore by the *Gipsy* schooner, and destroyed.

*L'Esperance* privateer schooner run on shore by the *Snake*, and destroyed; her crew, consisting of sixty persons, sent to Port Royal.

J. T. DUCKWORTH.

## FEBRUARY 1.

### EAST INDIA INTELLIGENCE.

*Ship Caledonia*.—It is with extreme concern we have to state the melancholy fate of the ship *Caledonia*, captain Thomas. The *Caledonia* left Balasore roads on the 18th of May, bound to Bombay, with the following passengers on board:—Mrs. Thomas, lieutenant-colonel James Paterson, of the Bombay military establishment, Mr. Rose, lieutenant Kennedy, and thirty-seven of his majesty's 78th regiment, four women, and several children. On their passage they fell in with an American ship from Prince of Wales's island, bound to

America. On Friday the 29th ult. they had struck soundings, and were in about 45 fathoms, running in for the land, blowing exceedingly fresh, and a heavy sea, running under close-reefed topsails and a foresail, when about eleven o'clock in the forenoon, when captain Thomas was aft on the poop, looking out for a double altitude of the sun, not having had an observation for some days before, a smoke was observed coming up the fore hatchway, and a cry of "Fire." The fire-buckets were immediately filled with water, and every precaution taken; but on removing the fore hatch the flames and smoke broke out so rapidly as is supposed to have suffocated some of the people, and the flames raged with such extreme violence as to preclude the possibility of stopping their progress. The ship was kept directly before the wind, with a view of preventing the fire from communicating abaft; the boats were hoisted out, and people placed in them to prevent the crew from deserting the ship, or permitting too many to get on board the boats so as to endanger their safety. It was soon discovered that the fire had communicated generally in the hold, the main and after hatches having been burst open by the violence of the flames. It now became necessary to attend to the preservation of the lives of as many of the crew as their means would admit of. Captain Thomas, Mrs. Thomas, col. Paterson, Mr. Rose, Mrs. Joyce, serjeant major's wife of the Bengal artillery at Tannah, Mrs. Fraser and one child, wife of a private of the 78th, in all fifty-three people, embarked in the long boat. In the pinnace, ten sea cunnies and lascars quitted the ship, seven of whom were unfortun-



nately lost on the rocks when landing. In the jolly boat there embarked from the ship, the gunner and 14 lascars, four of whom were dashed to pieces on the surf on Malabar Point in attempting to land. The total number of souls on board were 157, out of which only 71 were saved. We are sorry to add that lieutenant Kennedy of his majesty's 78th regiment; Mr. Thompson, the chief officer; Mr. Herring, the 2d officer; Mr. Collins, the 3d officer; and Mr. Cranston, the 4th officer, were left on board the ship, and it is supposed must have perished. The preservation of lieutenant-colonel Paterson's life was truly miraculous, having jumped from the window of the quarter gallery, at the time the long boat was dropping astern. The situation of Mrs. Fraser may be easier conceived than described; for, although she escaped with her own life and one child, she was under the necessity of leaving two other helpless infants to fall victims to the flames. Immediately after the boats quitted the ship the main-mast went over the side, and soon afterwards the ship blew up abaft, having about 14 barrels of gunpowder on board; in a few minutes after which she disappeared.

The fire is supposed to have originated from some oil having leaked down upon the gunnies in the hold, and causing a spontaneous ignition.

The following is a list of the people who embarked on board the long boat, and who were landed at Versovai on Saturday morning last.

Mrs. Thomas, captain George Thomas, commander; col. Paterson, Mr. Rose, Mrs. Joyce, serjeant major's wife of the Bengal artillery at Tannah; Mr. Fraser, and one

child; a private's wife of the 78th regiment; James Coates, carpenter; Andrew Ker, butcher; Donald Mackay, serjeant; Finlay M'Rea, corporal; W. Mayo, Donald Fraser, Robert M'Lean, John Shortland, George Luke, Finlay Mackenzie, John Bowman, Robert Macquerious, John M'Iver, Murdoch Fraser, Christian Constance, Owen Macqueris, Andrew M'Rea, Finlay Henry, and Alexander Mackay, privates in his majesty's 78th regiment; Bermanne Allemande, sea cunny; Buxo, syrang; 16 lascars, 2 sepoy, and 17 servants; total 53.

Government immediately dispatched the Wasp, lieutenant Sam. Snook, in quest of the wreck of the Caledonia, which vessel is since returned, after an ineffectual cruise.—*Bombay Gazette, Aug. 3.*

4. Last Wednesday, a coal pit in the neighbourhood of Renfrew was discovered to be on fire, the flames bursting out with great violence at the mouth of the pit. Six unfortunate men were working under ground at the time. It is uncertain whether the accident was occasioned by the explosion of gunpowder, or foul air. The fire continued to burn for nearly two days, at which time the mouth of the pit was covered up, in expectation of smothering the flame. No person, on Saturday, had ventured to go down, to bring up the bodies of the poor men, or to ascertain in what state they were, but it was to be attempted, if practicable, yesterday.

#### SUICIDE.

11. On Tuesday last an inquisition was taken at the house of Mr. Hunt, a hair-dresser in Charles-street, Portman-square, on the body of John Pauley, who, on the same



same day, put a period to his existence by nearly severing his head from his body. After the jury had examined the body, which had a shocking appearance, the witnesses were called in, and stated as follows:—The deceased resided in the neighbourhood for a number of years, and was generally known as a brush-maker: he lodged at a milk-house in King-street. On the morning of Tuesday last, a little girl who was accustomed to take him his breakfast, carried up his tea as usual, which he drank, and appeared very much dejected; he shortly after went out, and about ten o'clock came to the shop of Mr. Hunt, where he said he wanted to be shaved. Mrs. Hunt, who had frequently seen the deceased before, observed, her husband was not then at home, but that she expected him shortly: the deceased then cast his eye on the shop window, perceived the razors, and took one of them in his hand; after which he used the suds in the shaving box, looked wildly round, and immediately lifted the razor, and inflicted a dreadful wound on the left side of his neck; the blood instantly flowed over his clothes. Mrs. Hunt, who saw the act, gave a loud scream, and fell into fits. Persons at that moment, attracted by the noise, rushed to the door, and among them Mr. Hunt. His wife, being recovered, ran out, exclaiming—"A man has cut his throat!" and Hunt endeavoured to take the razor from the deceased, who sat in a chair with his head held down; but he made several cuts at Mr. Hunt, resisted for some length of time, and, finally, seized the razor in his left hand, and drew it with violence again across his neck; he then fell down, with his head nearly se-

vered from his body, and expired.

Mr. Bath, a surgeon in the neighbourhood, attended, but assistance was useless. The jury, after a minute investigation, brought in their verdict—*Lunacy*. The deceased has left no family; he had been long considered in a state of mental derangement, and several times had endeavoured to take away his life previous to the fatal accident.

#### GUILDHALL SESSIONS,

February 13.

#### *Child Stealing.*

Mary Brown, alias Mary Moody, was tried upon an indictment charging her with stealing an infant-child, twenty-two days old, from its mother, in the workhouse of St. Andrew's. The public will no doubt remember the trial of this prisoner at the Old Bailey, for the same offence, where a flaw appeared in the indictment, and the present indictment was preferred by the parish officers of St. Andrew's.

Mary Johnston, the mother of the child, stated its birth to have taken place in the workhouse of St. Andrew's parish, Holborn; that the prisoner came to her on the 16th of August, 1802, and asked her if she would take a wet-nurse's place; that if she would, she would recommend her to a lady who wanted such a person. Witness replied, she had begun to suckle her child, and did not like to part with it; when the prisoner informed her, that she would procure her a nurse for her infant, at only eighteen-pence more than the workhouse price. She was positive the lady whom she should recommend would be a good friend to her, and desiring her to tell her husband of



the business. The prisoner came again the next day, about six o'clock in the evening, and said that the lady wished very much to see her child; on which the prosecutor described herself as being too weak to go out, she having been delivered but three weeks. The prisoner entreated her to trust her with her child, who stated that she would be very careful of it, she being pregnant herself. This proposal was readily agreed to, from the genteel appearance of the prisoner. The prisoner went away with the child, and left the mother two half-crowns, and she had never seen or heard of her infant since. She saw the prisoner again in June 1803. She was positive as to the prisoner being the same person, and described the dress she had on. Those circumstances were corroborated by Mrs. Bennet, mistress of the workhouse, and the servant who introduced her to the housekeeper, who all took the prisoner to be far advanced in pregnancy. They recollected the conversation that took place at the time, which more fully convinced them that the prisoner was the same person. The prisoner did not employ counsel, but asked the witnesses questions concerning her dress. She positively denied the facts, and called on a woman, named Murray, to prove that she was never out of her company on the 16th of August, the day mentioned as her first appearance with Mrs. Johnston.

Mrs. Murray declared she lodged in the same house with the prisoner on College-hill, and that she was never from her company on the 16th and 17th of August, but confessed, that the prisoner had abruptly left her company in Cheapside, and was absent till ten o'clock. —She was found guilty.

OLD BAILEY.

Thursday, Feb. 16.

ROBERT ASTLETT.

*Decision of the twelve judges in the case of Robert Astlett.*

This morning, at ten o'clock, the judges having taken their seats upon the bench, the recorder directed Mr. Kirby to put Robert Astlett to the bar.

Mr. Astlett was accordingly brought into the dock, and on his entrance bowed respectfully to the court.

Mr. baron Hotham then addressed the prisoner nearly as follows: —Robert Astlett, you were tried and convicted in this court, at the sessions held in September 1803, for embezzling exchequer bills, you being an officer employed in the service of the bank of England, and having such bills in your care and custody. The indictment states, that you, being an officer, was intrusted with certain papers, commonly called exchequer bills, one of which was for the sum of five hundred pounds, belonging to the governor and company of the bank of England; also several other bills for different sums; the whole of which you, being such officer, did feloniously secrete and run away with. It is admitted on the part of the prosecution, that these exchequer bills were not legal, not having been signed by a person duly authorised by government; but you were convicted, and your judgment was respited, in order that your counsel might submit to the judges, under the 15th of George II., what then appeared to them relative to your case. Eleven of the twelve judges have since met in the exchequer chamber, and the objection taken by your counsel was ably and legally discussed. The judges have since, in conference, sat together on the subject.



subject, and it is now my duty to inform you of their mature deliberation. There are two points that have been argued in your favour: namely, that you cannot be convicted under the 15th Geo. II. as the 39th Geo. III. repealed the former. In the present instance it is unnecessary to dwell long, as the judges are generally of opinion, that there is nothing in the last-mentioned act that can repeal the other: the question was, whether the bills were effects within the meaning of the act? and the general opinion is, that they are effects within the meaning of the act. (Here the learned judge read the preamble of the act which justified the decision.) The great object of the legislature in framing the act, he said, was to afford additional security to the bank, and the principle of legislation must be applied to a regard for the general utility; and when this law is considered in the large and liberal view in which it was framed, the recollection of the enormous weight of exchequer bills in circulation, must impress upon every individual, that they are fairly bought, and become the property of the bank for a fair consideration; yet it has been argued, that they are not such bills as come under the act of parliament; and though the bills, upon the face, do not carry legal value, yet they carry a validity of the greatest importance to the bank. It is expressly stated in the act, that the offence of embezzling them is not larceny, but felony: the bills are, therefore, certainly such a species of securities that no man would hesitate to receive them. If an insolvent debtor was to omit placing any such bills in his schedule, every honest mind would revolt at the idea: in short,

many cases might be found to prove their value: it was proved, that if trifling articles, belonging to the bank, were considered effects under the statute, it might lead to make old stumps of pens and blotting paper of that description. But the judges had only gone to such effects as were intrusted to the servants of the bank. The bills in question fell under that consideration, as the judges are of opinion they are effects according to the 15th Geo. II.; and that the embezzlement of them by you, subjects you to conviction, on the count upon which you were found guilty. The count was that which charged the bills as effects belonging to the bank, and subjects the prisoner to the pain of death.

## COURT OF KING'S BENCH.

Feb. 28.

*Susan Uzell v. Robert Fisher.*

The plaintiff acted in the capacity of maid servant to a lady formerly kept by the defendant, who is an attorney, and a captain in the London volunteers.

It happened that the lady so kept was a Mrs. Perry, who went under the defendant's own name: by her he had had six children, five of whom were now alive. The plaintiff acted in the capacity of maid-servant to attend upon these children, and this action was brought for wages (10*l.*) due for the discharge of that duty.

Mr. Erskine expressed his astonishment that the defendant should so far forget his own character as to introduce such circumstances into a court of justice, by the defence of this action. He understood Mr. Fisher had married another lady, and he did not blame him for exchanging an illicit connection for one that was legal and

(B 3) honour.



honourable ; but he must censure him most severely for abandoning to poverty the unfortunate victim he had seduced, and for even withholding the wages that were due for attendance on his own offspring. The learned counsel then produced witnesses, who deposed to the situation of Mrs. Perry, and to the business in which the plaintiff was employed.

Mr. Garrow, on the part of the defendant, lamented extremely the indiscretion too apparent in this case ; but if his instructions were correct, he had a valid defence ; and with respect to the rest, he felt very much as every man in court must do, but on which it would be neither proper or necessary that he should detain the court and jury. He then called several witnesses, one of whom directly said, the plaintiff had been discharged by him (the witness on the part of the defendant), and that she had acknowledged the discharge, by saying “ she accepted such notice.”

This evidence was opposed by Mrs. Perry, who was again called, and who said the plaintiff was continued in the service by the express orders of the defendant.

Lord Ellenborough—“ The result must depend upon the credit you give to the respective witnesses. If you believe Mrs. Perry, there was a continuation of the contract. The children certainly did require the assistance of this person ; these it seems were removed in November last, when a year’s wages would have been due. The new connection did not discharge the solemn duty imposed by nature upon the defendant, to support and protect his own children by this unfortunate lady.”

His lordship then commented on the suspicious circumstances in the

testimony of the clerk of the defendant, and on the clear and consistent evidence of Mrs. Perry.—Verdict for the plaintiff.

## MARCH 2.

### PUBLIC OFFICE, BOW-STREET.

Yesterday William Morgan, the driver of a hackney-coach, was examined before Sir Richard Ford and Mr. Robinson, on a charge of wilfully driving his coach against a chair in which the duke of Portland was returning from the opera on Tuesday night last, whereby the chair was broken to pieces, and his grace’s life much endangered. By the testimony of the chairmen, it appeared that as they were crossing Piccadilly, they observed the prisoner driving his coach furiously towards them, when one of them called out to him to stop ; but he paid no attention to it, and continued his course, and in a moment the pole of the coach struck the glass of the chair, which it shattered to pieces, overturned the chair, and threw down the men, who, as well as his grace, were in the utmost danger of being trampled to death by the horses : however, they fortunately escaped with little injury. The fact being so very clear, the prisoner was ordered to find bail for the assault, and in default was committed to prison.

### *Admiralty-Office, March 3.*

Copy of a letter transmitted in one from vice-admiral lord viscount Nelson, K. B. commander in chief of his majesty’s ships and vessels in the Mediterranean.

*His majesty’s sloop Morgiana,  
off Cape Spartevento, Oct. 16.*

Sir,

I have the honour to acquaint you that, being in chase of two vessels



vessels on the morning of the 15th instant, I observed a vessel under lateen sails, with her sweeps out, haul out from under the land, and give chase to us with English colours and a red flag flying. I continued my course until she came within gunshot; when, discovering us to be a man of war, she made sail from us. I immediately gave chase, and fired several shot at her; when she hoisted French colours, and soon after came to an anchor. I then sent the boats, under the command of lieutenant Lawrence, with orders to examine her, and, if he met with resistance, to bring her off. This service was executed with great gallantry by him and the people under his command, who boarded and carried her, under a smart fire of grape-shot and musketry. She proves to be La Marguerite French privateer, mounting two six and two four pounders, manned with forty men, three of whom only remained on board on taking possession. I am sorry to add, that I had one seaman badly wounded, who is since dead.

I have the honour to be, &c.

R. RAYNSFORD.

Copy of another letter from vice-admiral lord viscount Nelson, K. B. to sir Evan Nepean, bart. dated on board his majesty's ship Victory, at sea, Nov. 16, 1803.

Sir,

You will please to acquaint the lords commissioners of the admiralty, that this morning the squadron under my command captured Le Renard French national schooner, mounting twelve four-pounders, with six swivels, and manned with eighty men; also Le Titus transport, having on board

ninety-six soldiers, from Corsica bound to Toulon.

I am, &c.

NELSON and BRONTE.

Copy of another letter from vice-admiral lord viscount Nelson, K. B. to sir Evan Nepean, bart. dated on board his majesty's ship Victory, at sea, the 10th of January, 1804.

Sir,

I herewith transmit you, for their lordships' information, a copy of a letter from captain Gore, of the Medusa, to captain Hart, of the Monmouth, giving an account of the capture of L'Esperance French privateer, and the destruction of Le Soreier, on the 8th ult., and beg leave to express the very high opinion I entertain of captain Gore's conduct in putting to sea immediately on the appearance of these vessels, and his very able manœuvres in capturing and destroying them.

I am, &c.

NELSON and BRONTE.

*His majesty's ship Medusa, off the Mole Head, Gibraltar, Dec. 8, 1803.*

Sir,

As from your situation you could not see the cause of the manœuvres of his majesty's ship Medusa this day, I have the honour to acquaint you, for the information of the right honourable lord Nelson, commander in chief, &c. &c. that at ten P. M. I observed a cutter standing in westward, and two French privateers (felucca-rigged), standing out from under Tarrife, attack her. I immediately ordered both the Medusa's cables to be slipped, and proceed to her assistance; as we approached they hauled from her.—Favourable wind

(B 4)

and



and current aided the Medusa's sailing; and at eleven o'clock we opened our fire upon one (as she crossed on the opposite tack) with effect: the other we ran close alongside and captured, as per annexed report, then tacked, and continued firing upon the other until she rowed amongst the rocks, within a shot of the battery to the westward of Cabrita Point. She received so many of our shot, and from both her yards being shot away, and nearly all her oars broken, I have no doubt she is effectually destroyed. I understand she was called *Le Sorcier*, of two twelve and two six pounders, with seventy men.

I am, &c.

(Signed) JOHN GORE.

George Hart, captain of his majesty's ship *Monmouth*, and senior officer in Gibraltar bay.

*L'Esperance*, M. Martin, master, of two twelve and two six pounders, and seventy men, captured; boatswain killed. *Le Sorcier*, of two twelve and two six pounders, destroyed.

#### THE DEY OF ALGIERS.

"On the night of the 15th of January, the *Superb*, commanded by captain Keats, anchored at Algiers, having Mr. Falcon, the consul general, on board, and a letter from lord Nelson to the dey, demanding that Mr. Falcon should again be received as consul there, and that all the Maltese who had been lately captured by the dey's cruisers, should be liberated and given up as British subjects. On the following morning, at day-break, a salute was fired from the fort; which, however, captain Keats did not return, but sent a lieutenant on shore with a letter, to request an audience of the dey; which was accordingly granted. Captain Keats, accompanied by Mr. Scott, chaplain to lord Nelson, who speaks

the Arabic fluently, and who acted as interpreter there, waited upon the dey, and presented lord Nelson's letter, with a suitable and spirited remonstrance on the occasion. Throughout the interview, which lasted nearly an hour, the dey's conduct was very violent and outrageous, and it concluded with his positively refusing to receive either Mr. Falcon back again, or to give up any of the Maltese in his possession.

"On the 17th, in the morning, our fleet of ten sail of the line came in sight of Algiers; when captain Keats again went on shore to wait upon the dey, who, however, refused to see him, he being then busily employed on the batteries; and after waiting for nearly two hours, capt. Keats returned on board, and on our fleet entering the bay captain Keats went on board the *Victory*, and communicated to lord Nelson all that had passed with the dey.

"Under these circumstances his lordship did not think it advisable to attempt further intercourse with the dey, or to make use of any threat he was not prepared to realise, as, though we could easily in a few hours have destroyed his whole fleet, which was then lying in the Mole, and have knocked down the town about their ears, we might have crippled some of our ships in such a manner as to render them unable to resume the blockade of Toulon at this season of the year, which was deemed a much more important object at the present moment. We therefore today left Algiers, on our way to Toulon again.

"The whole squadron were more disappointed than I can possibly express, at not being permitted to humble the dey, and extirpate for a time this nest of pirates. Two hours would have done



done the business completely, and I trust we shall one day make the experiment. I am perfectly convinced, from my own observation, and it was also the opinion of the ablest officers in the fleet, that four sail of the line would certainly destroy all their works and all their navy in one morning with very little loss. They have, indeed, a great number of guns mounted on their principal battery, which defends the Mole where their fleet is laid up, and it has a formidable appearance from the bay; but, it is so injudiciously constructed, that line-of-battle ships can anchor upon each flank of it, within half pistol shot, where not a gun could be brought to bear upon them, and in which situation they would soon lay the whole work in ruins. This work is the sole defence of the town from the sea side, except an old wall without a single gun mounted upon it, and which a few broadsides would crumble into dust.

“The garrison does not amount to above four thousand soldiers (if they can be called such), who have neither discipline or courage, and who particularly dread the English; not only from our naval skill, but from an antient prophetic tradition they have among them, and which they all firmly believe, “that Algiers is to be taken and destroyed by the English on a Sunday.” The prophecy may be easily fulfilled by us whenever we choose; and we must shortly take some decided steps to humble the dey, unless we are content to pay him tribute, like most of the other European powers. No consul now can ever be sent back with honour or safety, till satisfaction is obtained for the insults we have received.”

“*Gibraltar, Feb. 4.* The dey of Algiers is entirely guided by some

Jew merchants residing at Algiers. It was through their persuasion and influence Mr. Falcon was driven out of the country, under the pretext of some Moorish women being found in his house; though the real cause was his having constantly resisted the attempts that were made to induce him to connive at their covering French property during the war, and his uniformly opposing the rapacious demands of the dey on Great Britain.”

*March 8.* A duel has been fought between lord Camelford and captain Best, of the royal navy, in the fields behind Holland-house, near Kensington. The meeting is said to have taken place in consequence of a quarrel between the parties, who were intimate friends, on the preceding evening, at the Prince of Wales's coffee-house.

About half past eight o'clock the parties and their seconds arrived, two on horseback and two in a post chaise, opposite to Holland-house, and were observed to pass over into the fields. In a short time the firing of pistols was heard, and when a labourer, who was working in an adjoining garden, repaired to the spot, he found lord Camelford lying on his back, in the lower part of the field, which was overflowed to the depth of several inches in water. Captain Best and his friend had rode off directly after the shot took effect, and the other gentleman followed their example immediately on the countryman's coming up, on the pretence of going for a surgeon. His lordship was unwilling to be removed, and it was with difficulty that those who came to his assistance got him placed on a chair, and conveyed to Mr. Ottey's, at little Holland-house, where he still remains. His adversary's ball had penetrated his right



right shoulder, and, though still in life, very faint hopes of his recovery are entertained. When questioned as to the names of the other gentlemen who had accompanied him, he declined giving any satisfaction on the subject, and said he knew nothing of them. He was attended in the course of the day by Mr. Heaviside, Mr. Thomson, and Mr. Home, surgeons.

His lordship was alive at a late hour last night.

A Mr. Nihell or Nield, we understand was second to captain Best; and the honourable Mr. Devereux was second to lord Camelford.

12. On Saturday evening this unfortunate nobleman breathed his last. The whole of his deportment since the unhappy duel has greatly interested the public in his favour, as it has displayed the most generous magnanimity. His character, too, is now better understood than it was before. It appears that with all his chivalrous notions, and with that irascible temper which brought him into so many broils, he was warm in his affections, and liberal in his benevolence. We have heard of many acts of splendid munificence, which, even to the most rigid censurers of his folly, must endear his name. He sent for his solicitor, Mr. Wilson, of Lincoln's-inn-fields, and made his will on the night after the accident; and he maintained the most perfect composure under his sufferings to the last.

We are authorised to say, that lord Camelford has left behind him a paper in his own hand-writing, fully acquitting his antagonist from any blame on the late unfortunate transaction.

Yesterday, about four o'clock in the afternoon, the body was opened by several professional gentle-

men, in order to be able to give satisfactory information to the coroner's jury, who are summoned to sit this day at the Horse and Groom public-house, and his body will be afterwards conveyed to Camelford-house.

13. An inquest was taken yesterday morning, at the White Horse, Kensington, before George Hodgson, esq. his majesty's coroner for the county of Middlesex, on view of the body of the honourable Thomas Pitt, lord Camelford.

The jury after having attended the coroner's charge, proceeded to Mr. Ottey's, Little Holland-house, where the deceased lay. Upon examining the body, there appeared immediately below the right shoulder a wound, which was evidently the cause of his lordship's death. The jury returned to hear the evidence.

James Sheers, gardener to lord Holland, stated, that previous to the transaction he was about to relate, he had no personal knowledge of the deceased. On Wednesday morning last he was at work at lord Holland's, digging in the shrubbery, when he heard the report of two pistols. He told the man at work with him (one John Murray) that he thought it was a duel. He ran down to the pales adjoining the field, and saw the smoke in the second field, about ten yards distance from the hedge, and nearly three hundred yards from him. He observed the deceased (lord Camelford) lying on the ground, and a person, his second, supporting him. The witness ran down, and there were two other gentlemen coming from lord Camelford. He went to the gap, and saw the deceased lying—he was then only fifteen yards from him; the same gentleman was still supporting him, and begging of the witness to come to his assistance. The witness



witness called through the hedge to the rest of the men, his fellow-labourers, and desired them to stop the gentlemen. They went in pursuit of them, but did not stop them. The deceased begged very hard of the witness to assist him: accordingly he took hold of the cape of his coat, and the gentleman who had been supporting him ran for a surgeon, and left him with the deceased. Soon after surgeon Thomson came, the deceased asked the witness why he called out to stop the gentlemen? to which he replied, that he wished to stop them, as he did not know what had been the matter. Lord Camelford observed, that he did not wish to have them stopped—that he was the aggressor—that he forgave the gentleman who had shot him, and he hoped God would forgive him too. In five or six minutes John Irons and several other persons came to his assistance. The witness asked the deceased whether he knew his friend, or any of the opposition party, and the answer was, “that he knew nothing, for he was a dead man.” The remainder of lord Holland’s gardeners, with Mr. Robinson, the head gardener, and Mr. Thomson’s son came up: a chair was sent for, and the deceased was put in it, and carried to Mr. Ottey’s. The witness got the deceased up stairs, and helped to put him to bed; his neckcloth was taken off, and his shirt pulled over, when he appeared to have received a wound in his right shoulder. The witness went to town to call in Mr. Holmes, the surgeon, of Sackville-street, Piccadilly. He saw no pistols, or any arms at all.

George Robinson, chief gardener at Holland-house, said, he had no knowledge of the deceased, or

any of the parties. He saw the gentleman walking in the field where lord Camelford fell, on Wednesday morning last, about a quarter before eight o’clock; they were at the top of the field; there were four gentlemen between three and four hundred yards distance from him. Several persons were with the witness. At first they saw them walking in the field; then they heard the report of one pistol, and afterwards of another, at the interval of two or three seconds. They saw the smoke, and perceived one gentleman fall. Two of the gentlemen ran up to him. The witness met those two gentlemen coming up the field. They spoke to him, and desired him for God’s sake to go and assist the wounded gentleman. He went to the ground, and found lord Camelford on the ground, and Sheers lifting him up. He assisted in taking him to Mr. Ottey’s. He could distinguish, from the situation in which they stood, that the deceased fired first. They stood at the distance of thirty paces, which on being measured, proved to be exactly twenty-nine yards. It was easy to ascertain the distance, because he saw where lord Camelford fell, and twenty-nine yards off could plainly observe the mark of his antagonist’s heels in the dew: the deceased did not say any thing about the affair in the hearing of the witness. He knew nothing of the gentlemen present, never having seen them before.

Mr. Nicholson, surgeon of Sackville-street, stated, that on Wednesday morning last, he was called on to attend the deceased who had received a small wound on the right side of his chest, near the shoulder, which appeared to have been made by the ball of a gun or pistol.



pistol. The deceased complained of considerable pain in his chest, and violent shooting pains from his chest to his back, particularly when he spoke. He also complained of a pain in his lower extremities, from which the witness supposed the ball had passed through the lungs, and lodged in the spine. The deceased never recovered the use of his lower extremities, but languished till Saturday evening last, about eight o'clock, when he expired. The witness opened his body, and discovered that the ball had fractured the fifth rib, and had passed through the right lobe of the lungs, and lodged in the passage of the spinal marrow through the sixth vertebra of the back bone. In the chest there were more than six quarts of extravasated blood, which had compressed the lungs so as to prevent them from performing their functions.

No further evidence was offered to the jury.

Mr. Hodgson, the coroner, said, his duty called upon him to make but very few observations. It was evident the deceased had been killed by a shot fired at him by some person, of whose identity the jury had no direct or admissible proof. The laws of this country admitted of no excuse for one man killing another in a private duel; but supposing the person who had slain the deceased to be able, before a superior tribunal, to offer circumstances and facts in palliation of his offence, they could not have any weight on this inquest. He had, strictly speaking, been guilty of murder, and to that effect must necessarily be the verdict of the jury. In the present case there was no doubt of the deceased having been feloniously killed; but there was no evidence who was the

principal, or who were the seconds. In point of fact, all were equally guilty; for in the crime of murder, accessories, before the facts, were considered as principals. He did not see how it was possible to refer the death of lord Camelford to accident, for there was positive proof that he had fallen by the hand of some person; therefore the jury had no alternative but that of saying he had been killed by some person or persons unknown. There was hardly a doubt but the expressions and avowal of the deceased, so honourably made in favour of his opponent, would, if the latter were arraigned in a superior court, induce his acquittal; but that was a consideration which ought not to operate on the minds of those whom he was addressing. Had the parties been in a room, and upon a sudden quarrel, the deceased, having given the first provocation, had been killed, it might have been justifiable homicide; but, on the contrary, it appeared they had deliberately gone out to commit an unjustifiable act. Had it been proved who the person was who fired the shot at the deceased, the jury would have been bound to have returned an identical charge of murder against him, and those who were present aiding and abetting him; but as the case stood, they would only pronounce the verdict to which he had alluded.

The jury declared themselves perfectly satisfied.

Mr. Wilson, the secretary of the lord chancellor, and solicitor for the noble relatives of the deceased, declared on their part, that he was as well satisfied as the jury with the impartiality of the investigation, and the very candid and honourable manner in which the coroner had



had pointed out their duty to them on the occasion.

The jury unanimously returned a verdict of wilful murder, or felonious homicide, by some person or persons, to the jurors unknown.

Several gentlemen, friends to the deceased, attended this inquest, which was held at a very early hour of the morning.

*Admiralty-Office, March 17.*

A letter from commodore Hood, commander in the Leeward Islands, to William Marsden, esq. dated at Martinique, the 27th January, 1804.

Sir,

I send you herewith copies of two letters from captain Nourse, of his majesty's sloop Cyane, giving an account of the capture of a privateer of eight guns, and 84 men, and recapture of a valuable Guineaman.

I have the honour to be, &c.

SAM. HOOD.

*His majesty's sloop Cyane, Jan. 20.*

Sir,

I beg leave to inform you of my having re-captured the ship Westmoreland, from the coast of Guinea, taken by the General Ernouf privateer, who was in sight at the time, but escaped. JOSEPH NOURSE.

To commodore Hood, &c.

*His majesty's sloop Cyane, Jan. 20.*

Sir,

I beg leave to acquaint you of his majesty's sloop under my command having, in the latitude of Barbadoes, fallen in with, and after a chase of five hours, captured La Bellone French privateer, of eight guns, and 84 men, last from Surinam, out seven days, and had taken

nothing. Her guns thrown overboard during the chase.

I am, &c. JOSEPH NOURSE.  
To commodore Hood, &c.

Letter from lord Keith, K. B. to William Marsden, esq. dated off Ramsgate, the 13th instant.

Sir,

Be pleased to acquaint their lordships that captain Heywood, of his Majesty's sloop the Harpy, yesterday captured and sent into the Downs the Penriche French gunboat of two guns, and two small transports, part of a convoy proceeding under her protection from Calais to Boulogne. KEITH.

EAST INDIA HOUSE, MARCH 29.

This morning the following dispatches were received by the secret committee of the court of directors of the East India company, from the governor in council at Bombay.

Extract of a letter from the governor in council at Bombay, to the secret committee of the court of directors, dated Bombay Castle, Oct. 8, 1803.

Our president has received from the honourable major-general Wellesley a dispatch of the 25th ultimo, as per copy enclosed. From the report contained in it, your honourable committee will observe, that the general attacked the combined forces, of Dowlut Row Scindia, and the Berar Rajah, on the 23d of September, in the vicinity of the Adjunty Pass, with the division of the army under his own immediate command, and that the very obstinate action that ensued terminated in the complete defeat of the confederates, with the loss to them of ninety pieces of cannon, which the honourable general Wellesley has



has captured. We have not received an official report of the casualties during the engagement, but the general states our loss of officers and men to have been great. As far as private information has enabled us, we have endeavoured to supply this deficiency in the enclosed list of killed and wounded on that occasion: it is considered to be incomplete, in not containing the names of all the officers who suffered, but in other respects it is supposed to be correct.

From the most recent private accounts from the honourable major-general Wellesley, it appears, that Scindia and Berar Rajah had descended the Adjanty Ghaut, and that the British forces were immediately to proceed in pursuit of them beyond the Nizam's frontier.

(ENCLOSURE, NO. I.)

*Jonathan Duncan, esq. &c. &c.*

Sir,

I attacked the united armies of Dowlut Row Scindia and the Rajah of Berar with my division, on the 23d, and the result of the action which ensued was, that they were completely defeated with the loss of 90 pieces of cannon, which I have taken. I have suffered a great loss of officers and men.

I enclose a copy of my letter to the governor-general, in which I have given him a detailed account of the events which led to, and occurred in the action.

I have the honour to be, &c.

(Signed) ARTHUR WELLESLEY.  
Camp, Sept. 25, 1803.

(ENCLOSURE, NO. II.)

*His excellency the governor-general,  
&c.*

My lord,

I was joined by major Hill, with the last of the convoys expected

from the river Kistna. On the 18th, and on the 20th, was enabled to move forward towards the enemy, who had been joined in the course of the last seven or eight days, by the infantry under colonel Pohlman, by that belonging to Begum Sumroo, and by another brigade of infantry, the name of whose commander I have not ascertained. The enemy's army was collected about Bakerdun, and between that place and Jaffierabad.

I was near colonel Stevenson's corps on the 21st, and had a conference with that officer, in which we concerted a plan to attack the enemy's army, with the division under our command, on the 24th in the morning, and we marched on the 22d. colonel Stevenson by the western route, and I by the eastern route, round the hills between Beednaporer and Julnah.

On the 23d I arrived at Naulaiah, and there received a report that Scindia and the Rajah of Berar had moved off in the morning with the cavalry, and that the infantry were about to follow, but were still in camp, at the distance of about six miles from the ground on which I intended to encamp.—It was obvious that the attack was no longer to be delayed, and having provided for the security of my baggage and stores at Naulaiah, I marched on to attack the enemy. I found the whole combined army of Scindia and the Rajah of Berar encamped on the bank of the Kistna river, nearly on the ground which I had been informed that they occupied. Their right, which consisted entirely of cavalry, was about Bakerdun, and extended to their corps of infantry, which were encamped in the neighbourhood of Assye: although I first came in front of their right, I determined to attack their left, as the defeat of their corps of infan-



infantry was most likely to be effectual. Accordingly I marched round to their left flank, covering the march of the column of infantry by the British cavalry in the rear, and by the Mahratta and Mysore cavalry on the right flank.

We passed the river Kistna, at a ford beyond the enemy's left flank, and I formed the infantry immediately in two lines, with the British cavalry as a reserve in a third, in an open space between that river and a nullah running parallel to it. The Mahratta and Mysore cavalry occupied the ground beyond the Kistna on our left flank, and kept in check a large body of the enemy's cavalry, which had followed our march from the right of their own position.

The enemy had altered the position of their infantry previous to our attack; it was no longer as at first, along the Kistna, but extended from that river across to the village of Assye upon the nullah which was upon our right. We attacked them immediately, and the troops advanced under a very hot fire from cannon, the execution of which was terrible.

The picquets of the infantry and the 74th regiment, which were on the right of the first and second lines, suffered particularly from the fire of the guns on the left of the enemy's position, near Assye. The enemy's cavalry also made an attempt to charge the 74th regiment at the moment when they were most exposed to this fire, but they were cut up by the British cavalry, which moved on at that moment. At length the enemy's line gave way in all directions, and the British cavalry cut in among their broken infantry; but some of their corps went off in good order, and a fire was kept up on our troops

from many of the guns from which the enemy had been first driven, by individuals who had been passed by the line, under the supposition that they were dead.

Lieutenant-colonel Maxwell, with the British cavalry, charged a large body of infantry which had retired, and was formed again, in which operation he was killed; and some time elapsed before we could put an end to the straggling fire which was kept up by some individuals from the guns from which the enemy were driven. The enemy's cavalry also, which had been hovering round us throughout the action, was still near us. At length, when the last formed body of infantry gave way, the whole went off, and left in our hands 90 pieces of cannon. This victory, which was certainly complete, has, however, cost us dear. Your excellency will perceive by the inclosed return, that our loss in officers and men has been very great, and in that of lieutenant-colonel Maxwell, and other officers, whose names are therein included, greatly to be regretted.

I cannot write in too strong terms of the conduct of the troops; they advanced in the best order, and with the greatest steadiness, under a most destructive fire, against a body of infantry far superior in numbers, who appeared determined to contend with them to the last, and who were driven from their guns only by the bayonet, and, notwithstanding the numbers of the enemy's cavalry, and the repeated demonstrations they made of an intention to charge, they were kept at a distance by this infantry.

I am particularly indebted to lieutenant-colonel Harness, and lieutenant-colonel Wallace, for the manner in which they conducted their brigades, and to all the officers



cers of the staff, for the assistance I received from them. The officers commanding brigades, nearly all those of the staff, and the mounted officers of the infantry, had their horses shot under them. I have also to draw your excellency's notice to the conduct of the cavalry, commanded by lieutenant-colonel Maxwell, particularly that of the 19th dragoons. The enemy are gone off towards the adjuttee Ghaut, and I propose to follow them as soon as I can place my captured guns and the wounded in security. I have, &c.

(Signed) A. A. WELLESLEY, M.G.  
Camp at Assye, Sept. 24, 1803.

(ENCLOSURE, NO. II.)

*List of killed and wounded in the action of the 23d of September, 1803.*

KILLED.

19th light dragoons—lieutenant-colonel Maxwell, captain Boyle.

4th regiment nat. cav.—captain Mackay.

5th ditto—lieutenants Bonami and Macleod.

74th regiment—captains Macleod, Ayton, Dyce, and Maxwell; lieutenants J. Campbell, — Campbell, Thomas Grant, Morris, and Nelson; volunteer Moore.

78th regiment—lieutenant Douglas

1st battalion 2d regiment of nat. inf. lieutenant Brown.

Artillery—captains Fowler and Steel; lieutenants Lindsay and Griffiths.

WOUNDED.

19th light dragoons—captains Cathcart, Sale, and lieutenant Wilson.

4th regiment nat. cav.—lieutenant Paley, cornet Meredith.

5th ditto, captain Colebrooke.

7th ditto, captain Magregor.

74th regiment—major Swinton, captain-lieutenant Moore, lieute-

nants Shawe, Main, Macmurdo, and Langlands, ensign Keerman.

78th regiment—captain M'Kenzie, lieutenants Larkens, Kinloch, ensign Bethune.

1st battalion 2d regiment nat. inf. —lieutenant Walker.

1st battalion 8th regiment nat. inf.—lieutenants Fair, Davie, Fenwick, and Hunter.

1st battalion 12th regiment nat. inf.—lieutenant-colonel Macleod, major Macally, lieutenants Hervey, Smith, Decruz, and Boadler.

1st battalion 10th regiment nat. inf.—lieutenant Patery.

N.B. Europeans killed and wounded, including artillery and officers, is upwards of 600. Of the natives no account has yet been received, but supposed about 900.

	Killed.	Wounded.
74th regiment	124	- 270
78th regiment	29	- 76
	—	—
Total	153	346

(A true Copy.)

(Signed) JAMES GRANT,  
Sec. to government.

SECRET DEPARTMENT.

To William Ramsay, esq. secretary at the India House, London.

Sir,

I am directed by the honourable the governor in council, to transmit to you the enclosed copy of a letter of the 10th ult. as just received from the chief secretary at the supreme government, with the Gazettes Extraordinary, published by his excellency's command, on the 8th and 9th of September, as therein referred to. According to the Shroff's letters from Janagahur, general Perrou is said to have since surrendered and come in, and the British forces to have obtained

pos-



possession of Agra and Delhi, early in the last month.

I have the honour to be, &c.  
(Signed) J. A. GRANT,  
Sec. to government.  
Bombay Castle, Oct. 5, 1803.

(ENCLOSURE, NO. 1.)

To J. A. Grant, esq. secretary to  
the government at Bombay.

Sir,

I am directed by his excellency the most noble the governor-general, and council, to desire that the enclosed gazettes extraordinary, published by his excellency's command on the 8th and 9th inst., may be laid before the governor in council of Bombay. I have the honour to be, sir, your most obedient humble servant,

(Signed) J. LUMSDEN,  
Chief sec. to government.

A true copy.

(Signed) JAMES GRANT,  
Sec. to government.  
Fort William, Sept. 10, 1803.

(ENCLOSURE, NO. II.)

*Calcutta Gazette Extraordinary.*

Tuesday, Sept. 8, 1803.

Fort William, Sept. 8, 1803.

A dispatch, of which the following is an extract, has been received this day by his excellency the most noble the governor-general, from his excellency the commander in chief.

To his excellency the most noble marquis  
Wellesley, governor-general, &c. &c.

My lord,

I have the honour to inform your lordship that I attacked Mr. Peron's force this morning, which was strongly posted with their right extending to the fort of Ally Ghur, and their entire front protected by a deep morass, which obliged me

to change my original plan of attack, and detour considerably to the right to turn their left flank, which I completely effected, dislodging a body of troops, which were posted in a village in the enemy's front. On moving forward with the cavalry in two lines, supported by the line of infantry and guns, the enemy immediately retired, after a very few shot from the cavalry guns, which did some execution. Several attempts were made to charge some considerable bodies of cavalry, who made an appearance of standing; but the rapidity of their retreat prevented the possibility of effecting it so completely as I could have wished: but I have reason to believe, that in consequence of the operations of this day, many of his confederates have left him.

My loss in men and horses is very inconsiderable, and no officer.

I have the pleasure to assure your lordship, that the zeal, activity, and steadiness displayed by both officers and men, afforded me entire satisfaction, and deserve my warmest praise.

My staff afforded me every assistance, and I feel myself under great obligations to them.

From every information I can obtain, immediately on our advancing, Mr. Peron, with his body guard, retired towards Agra, and has left colonel Pedron in charge of the fort.

I am at present encamped to the southward of the fort, and the town of Coel is occupied by one of my battalions.—I have the honour to be, my lord, your lordship's most faithful and humble servant,

(Signed) G. LAKE.  
Head-quarters, camp before Ally  
Ghur, Aug. 20, 1803.



Published by command of his excellency the most noble the governor-general in council.

(Signed) J. LUMSDEN,  
Chief sec. to government.  
A true copy.

(Signed) A. GRANT,  
Sec. to government.

(ENCLOSURE, NO. III.)  
*Calcutta Gazette Extraordinary*,  
Friday, Sept. 9, 1803.

Fort William, Sept. 9, 1803.

A dispatch, of which the following is an extract, has been received this day by his excellency the most noble the governor-general, from his excellency the commander in chief.

My lord,

It is with infinite satisfaction I inform your lordship, that the inhabitants of this part of the country are coming in fast, and manifest a wish of being protected by the British government, and that, in consequence of my having caused it to be made known to the head men of the villages in the neighbourhood, that it is not my intention to molest either the persons or properties of such of the inhabitants as shall claim my protection, I have the pleasure to say, that the people who had deserted the town of Coel, on our approach yesterday, are returning fast to their houses, and the town is nearly re-peopled; indeed, they have every reason to be satisfied, as the instant this position was gained, a battalion was posted in Coel to prevent plunder, by which means very little loss was sustained by the inhabitants.

I learn from all quarters that most of the enemy's cavalry, who opposed us yesterday, have returned to their homes, declaring their inability to oppose the English. From every account I can receive,

the number of cavalry opposed to us amounted to fifteen or twenty thousand. The country in our rear is in a state of perfect tranquillity, nor has it been molested by a single horseman. I have sent into the fort a summons, in English and French, which will, I trust, have the desired effect. I have the honour to be, my lord, your lordship's most faithful and humble servant,

(Signed) G. LAKE.  
Head-quarters, camp before Ally  
Ghur, Aug. 30, 1803.

Published by command of his excellency the most noble the governor-general in council.

(Signed) J. LUMSDEN,  
Chief secretary.

(ENCLOSURE, NO. IV.)

*Calcutta Gazette Extraordinary*,  
Saturday, Sept. 10, 1803.

To captain Lionel Hook, secretary to  
the government military department.

Sir,

I have the honour, by order of the commander in chief, to forward to you, for the information of his excellency the most noble the governor-general in council, a return of the killed, wounded, and missing, in the action which took place yesterday, between the British army and that of general Peron. I have the honour to be, sir, your obedient servant,

(Signed) D. OCHTERLONY,  
Dep. adj. gen.  
Head-quarters, camp at Coel,  
Aug. 30, 1803.

Return of the killed, wounded, and missing in the 2d and 3d brigades of cavalry.

Camp at Coel, 29th August, 1803.  
Killed—Men, 1; horses 3. Wounded—Men, 4; horses, 8. Missing—Horses, 10.  
Published by command of his excellency the most noble the governor general in council.

(Signed)  
L. Hook, sec. to gov. mil. depart.

APRIL.



## APRIL.

## TRIAL OF THE DUKE D'ENGHIEN.

Special military commission, constituted in the first military division, in virtue of a decree of the government, dated the 29th of Ventose (20th of March) in the year 12 of the republic, one and indivisible.

*Judgment*

In the name of the French people, this 30th Ventose (March 21), in the twelfth year of the republic.

The military and special commission, formed in the first military division, in virtue of a decree of the government, dated the 29th Ventose (March 20), composed, agreeably to the law of the 19th Fructidor (Sept. 6), in the year 5, of seven members, consisting of

Citizens Hulen, general of brigade, commander of the foot grenadiers of the consular guard, president :

Guiton, colonel commander of the first regiment of cuirassiers :

Bazancourt, colonel commander of the fourth regiment of light infantry :

Ravier, colonel commander of the eighteenth regiment of infantry of the line :

Barrois, colonel commander of the ninety-sixth regiment of infantry of the line :

Rabbe, colonel commander of the second regiment of the municipal guard of Paris :

D'Autancourt, captain-major of the selected gendarmerie, now in the exercise of the functions of reporting captain :

Molin, captain in the eighteenth regiment of infantry of the line, register.

The whole of these were named.

by Murat, the general in chief, governor of Paris, and commander of the first military division.

The said president, members reporting, captain and register, neither being relations nor persons connected within the degrees of affinity prohibited by the law, met according to appointment.

By orders of the general in chief, governor of Paris, the commission was opened at the castle of Vincennes, in the house of the commander of the place, for the purpose of proceeding in the trial of Louis Antoine Henry de Bourbon, duke D'Enghien, born at Chantilly the 2d of August, 1772; of light hair and eye-brows, black eyes, small mouth, aquiline nose, and a handsome figure.

The accusations against him included six charges.

He was accused, first, of having carried arms against the French republic; secondly, of having offered his services to the English government, the enemy of the French people; thirdly, of receiving and having, with accredited agents of that government, procured means of obtaining intelligence in France, and conspiring against the internal and external security of the state.

The fourth charge was, that he was at the head of a body of French and other emigrants paid by England, formed on the frontiers of France, in the districts of Fribourg and Baden. Fifthly, of having attempted to foment intrigues at Strasburg, with the view of creating a rising in the adjacent departments, for the purpose of operating a diversion favourable to England.

The last charge was, that he was one of those concerned in the conspiracy planned by the English for the assassination of the first consul,



and intending, in case of the success of that plot, to return to France.

The commission being opened, the president ordered the officer appointed to conduct the accusation, to read all the papers which went either to the crimination or acquittal of the prisoner.

After the reading of these papers was finished, the accused was introduced by the guard, free and unfettered, before the commission.

He was interrogated as to his name, surname, age, place of birth, and abode.

In his answer he stated, that his name was Louis Antoine Henry de Bourbon, duke D'Enghien, aged 32 years, that he was born at Chantilly, near Paris, and that he had left France in the year 1789.

After the president had finished his interrogatories respecting all the points contained in the accusation, and after the accused had urged all that he could allege in his defence, the members were next asked if they had any observations to offer on the subject?—They all replied in the negative, and the accused was ordered to be taken out of court, and conducted back to prison. The officer conducting the prosecution, and the register, as well as the auditors, were then ordered to withdraw by the president.

The court deliberated for some time, with closed doors, on the respective charges as already stated. The question was put by the president on each of the charges separately. Each of the members in succession delivered his opinion. The president was the last in delivering his judgment. The result was, that the court unanimously found the prisoner guilty of all the six charges. The next question put was as to the punishment to be in-

flicted. The question was here again put in the same way as before, and the following was the sentence of condemnation:

The special military commission condemns unanimously to death, Louis Antoine Henry de Bourbon, duke D'Enghien, on the ground of his being guilty of acting as a spy, of correspondence with the enemies of the republic, and of conspiracy against the external and internal security of the republic.

This sentence is pronounced in conformity to the second article, title 4, of the military code of offences and punishments passed on the 11th of January, in the year 5, and the second section of the first title of the ordinary penal code, established on the 6th of October, 1791, described in the following terms:

Art. II. (11th Jan. year 5,) Every individual, whatever be his state, quality, or profession, convicted of acting as a spy for the enemy, shall be sentenced to the punishment of death.

Art. I. Every one engaged in a plot or conspiracy against the republic, shall, on conviction, be punished with death.

Art. II. (6th October, 1791,) Every one connected with a plot or conspiracy, tending to disturb the tranquillity of the state, by civil war, by arming one class of citizens against the other, or against the exercise of legitimate authority, shall be punished with death.

Orders were given to the officer who conducted the accusation, to read the above sentence to the prisoner, in presence of the guard drawn up under arms.

It was at the same time ordered, that a copy of the sentence should, as soon as was consistent with the forms of law, be transmitted, signed.



ed by the president and the accuser, to the minister of war, to the grand judge, minister of justice, and the general in chief, governor of Paris.

Signed and sealed the same day, month, and year aforesaid,

Guiton, Bazancourt, Ravier, Barrois, Rabbe, D'Autancourt, captain reporter: Molin, captain register; and Hulen, president.

17. A most lamentable accident occurred on Easter Sunday at the chapel of Roscommon.—The chapel was unusually crowded, and one of the pillars which supported the gallery gave way—no less than fourteen persons were killed at the moment, and more than double that number were so severely injured, that little hopes of their recovery can be entertained. The confusion that ensued, the shrieks of the sufferers, and lamentations of their relatives and friends, formed altogether one of the most afflicting scenes ever witnessed.

#### EAST-INDIA INTELLIGENCE.

*From the London Gazette, April 21.*

The following dispatches have been received at the East-India House, by way of Bagdad:

To his excellency the most noble marquis Wellesley, &c.

*Camp, four miles to the westward of Cassowly, Nov. 1, 1803.*

My lord,

I have the honour to inform your excellency that I marched from Agra upon the 27th ult. in pursuit of the Mahratta force, which was composed of the brigades which had been detached from the Dekkan in the early part of the campaign, and of a few battalions which had effected their escape from Delhi. I was the more anxious to defeat this corps, from its

being furnished with a numerous artillery. Owing to the detention the army met with from a heavy fall of rain, it was not till the 29th that it reached a camp to the westward of the Futtipoor. From intelligence I received here of the rapid manner in which the Mahratta army was moving, I determined to leave the heavy artillery, with a proper detachment of infantry for its protection, and to pursue the enemy by forced marches, in the hope of being able the more speedily to come up with him. On the 31st the army encamped at a short distance from the ground which the enemy had quitted the same morning. Possessed of this intelligence, I resolved to make an effort to overtake him with all the cavalry of the army, in the intention of delaying him by a light engagement, until the infantry should be able to come up. To this end the cavalry marched at twelve last night, and, having performed a distance of more than forty miles in twenty-four hours, came up with the enemy this morning soon after day-break. From the sudden manner in which I came upon the enemy, I ventured to make an attack with the cavalry alone, supported by the mounted artillery; but finding him too advantageously posted to hope for complete success without too much risk, I drew the cavalry out of reach of cannon-shot, and waited the arrival of the infantry. Soon after their arrival, I made a general attack upon the enemy's position, the result of which I have the satisfaction of informing your excellency has been a complete, though I sincerely lament to add, dear-bought victory.

The enemy were totally defeated, with the loss of all their cannon, tumbrils, and baggage; but this



important advantage has only been gained by the loss of many valuable officers, the principal of whom are major-general Ware, colonel Vandeleur, major Griffith, major Campbell, the deputy quarter-master general, and my aid-de-camp, lieutenant Duval, who gloriously fell in this honourable contest.

I have not been able to ascertain the exact account of our loss in killed and wounded, returns of which, with a detailed account of this important affair, I shall have the honour of transmitting to your excellency by the first opportunity.

I have the honour to be, &c.

(Signed) G. LAKE.

To his excellency the most noble  
marquis Wellesley, &c.

My lord,

In my dispatch of yesterday's date I did myself the honour to state, for your lordship's information, some particulars of the march of the army from Agra to the camp it now occupies, together with the general result of the action which took place yesterday. I now have the honour to send your excellency a more detailed account of that affair.

After a forced march of twenty-five miles, which was performed by the cavalry in little more than six hours, I came up with the enemy, who appeared to be upon their retreat, and in such confusion, that I was tempted to try the effect of an attack upon him with the cavalry alone. By cutting the embankment of a large reservoir of water, the enemy had rendered the road very difficult to pass, which caused a considerable delay in the advance of the cavalry: of this the enemy had availed himself to take an advantageous situation, having his

right upon a rivulet, which we had to cross, and his left upon the village of Saswaree: the whole of his front was amply provided with artillery. I was prevented from discovering this change in the situation of the enemy, by the quantity of dust, which, when once clear of the water, totally obscured him from our sight; I therefore proceeded in the execution of my design, by which I hoped to prevent his retreat into the hills, and secure his guns; directing the advanced guard, and first brigade, commanded by colonel Vandeleur, upon the point where I had observed the enemy in motion, but which proved to be the left of his new position; the remainder of the cavalry I ordered to attack in succession, as soon as they could form after passing the rivulet.

The charge of the advanced guard under major Griffith, and that of the first brigade led by colonel Vandeleur, were made with much gallantry; the enemy's line was forced, and the cavalry penetrated into the village; they still however continued to be exposed to a most galling fire of cannon and musquetry, which, as it was impossible under such circumstances to form the squadrons for a fresh attack, determined me to withdraw them. The guns which had fallen into our hands, could not be brought away from the want of bullocks. In this charge colonel Vandeleur fell, mortally wounded; in him the service has lost a most valuable officer.

The attacks of the other brigades were conducted with the same spirit; but after taking several of the enemy's guns, being still fired upon without being able to discover the enemy, they retired in good order, retaining possession of  
a part



a part of the artillery. In the performance of this service, the third brigade, consisting of his majesty's 29th regiment, and the 4th regiment of native cavalry, under the command of that meritorious officer colonel Macan, met my entire approbation.

The infantry having marched at three A. M. arrived upon the banks of the rivulet about eleven o'clock. After so long a march, it was absolutely necessary to allow some time for the men to refresh themselves; during which the enemy sent in to say, that if certain terms were allowed them, they were willing to surrender their guns. Anxious to prevent the further effusion of blood, I directed a letter to be written, acquiescing in their proposal, and allowing them an hour to decide. In the mean time the several columns for the attack were formed. The infantry formed in two columns upon the left; the first, composed of the right wing, under the command of major general Ware, was destined to gain the enemy's right flank, which he had thrown back since the morning, leaving a considerable space between it and the rivulet, and to assault the village of Saswaree; the second, composed of the left wing under major general St. John, was to support the first column; the third brigade of cavalry, under colonel Macan, was to support the infantry; the second brigade, under lieutenant-colonel Vandeleur, was detached to the right, to be ready to take advantage of any confusion in the enemy's line, and to attack him upon his retreat. The brigade under colonel Gordon composed the reserve, and was formed between the second and third brigades. As many of the field-pieces as could be brought up, with

the gallopers attached to the cavalry, formed four different batteries.

At the expiration of the time which I had allowed the enemy to decide, I ordered the infantry to advance; as soon as they became exposed to the enemy's guns, the four batteries commenced their fire, and continued to advance, though opposed by a great superiority, both in number and weight of metal.

When the 76th regiment, which headed the attack, had arrived at the point from which I intended to make the charge, they were so much exposed to the enemy's fire, and losing men so fast, that I judged it preferable to proceed to the attack with that regiment, and as many of the native infantry as had closed to the front, to lose no time in waiting until the remainder of the column should be able to form, the march of which had been retarded by the impediments in the advance.

As soon as this handful of heroes were arrived within reach of the enemy's cannister shot, a most tremendous fire was opened upon them. The loss they sustained was very severe, and sufficient alone to prevent a regular advance. At this moment the enemy's cavalry attempted to charge, but were repulsed by the fire of this gallant body: they, however, rallied at a short distance, and assumed so menacing a posture, that I thought it advisable to order them to be attacked by the cavalry. This service fell to the share of his majesty's 29th regiment, commanded by captain Wade (major Griffith having at that instant been unfortunately killed by a cannon shot), and was performed with the greatest gallantry, and in a manner



which entitles captain Wade, and every officer and soldier in the regiment, to my warmest acknowledgments. The remainder of the first column of infantry arrived just in time to join in the attack of the enemy's reserve, which was formed in the rear of his line, with its left upon the village of Saswaree, and its right thrown back.

About this time major-general Ware fell dead, his head being carried off by a cannon shot. He was a gallant officer, and one whose loss I deeply lament. On his death the command of the column devolved upon colonel Macdonald, who, though wounded, continued to acquit himself in this important command, very much to my satisfaction.

The enemy opened a vigorous resistance to the last, and it was not until he had lost his guns that he abandoned his post. Even then his left wing did not fly, but attempted to retreat in good order; in this, however, they were frustrated by his majesty's 27th regiment, and the 6th native cavalry, under the command of lieutenant-colonel Vandeleur, who broke in upon the column, cut several to pieces, and drove the rest in prisoners, with the whole of the baggage.

Severe as the loss has been which we have sustained in the achievement of this complete victory, that of the enemy has been far greater. With the exception of upwards of two thousand, who have been taken prisoners (of which number I have only detained the principal officers, amounting to forty-eight), I have reason to believe that very few escaped the general slaughter.

It would be a violation of my feelings were I to close my dispatch, without bearing testimony to the gallant conduct of major

M'Leod, and captain Robertson of his majesty's 76th regiment, and of every officer and soldier of that inestimable corps, in the attack of the village of Saswaree. Major Gregory, too, at the head of the 2d battalion 12th native infantry, in the same service, displayed a conduct highly meritorious.

In the list of those officers who particularly distinguished themselves, I cannot omit the names of lieutenant Wallace, of his majesty's 27th regiment, who was intrusted with the command of a battery of gallopers, nor that of lieutenant Dixon, of the 6th regiment of native cavalry, who was employed in the same service.

The whole of my staff upon this, as upon every former occasion, are entitled to a large share of praise, and to my warmest gratitude. The zeal which they displayed upon this memorable day, is too plainly proved by the enclosed returns of the killed and wounded. I have sustained a great loss by the death of major William Campbell, the deputy quarter-master-general, and by that of my aid-de-camp, lieutenant Duval, of his majesty's 19th light dragoons, who was a young man of great promise.

Herewith I have the honour to enclose returns of the ordnance and colours which were captured upon this occasion.

I have the honour to be, &c.

(Signed) G. LAKE.

*Head quarters, camp near  
Saswaree, Nov. 2, 1803.*

P. S. In the hurry in which I wrote my dispatch of yesterday's date, I fear I did not explain to your lordship, that the enemy's corps which we have defeated, comprised the whole of the fifteen regular battalions which had been sent from the Deckan, under the command



command of monsieur Duderne, and two battalions of the same description, which had escaped from Delhi. I therefore have the satisfaction of congratulating your excellency upon the annihilation of the whole of the regular force in Scindiah's service, commanded by French officers.

(Signed)

G. L.

Return of officers and men killed and wounded in the action of Nov. 1, 1803.

Total.—1 major-general, 1 colonel, 2 majors, 1 captain, 4 lieutenants, 2 quarter-masters, 2 cornets, 11 serjeants, 4 matrosses, 67 rank and file, 1 subadar, 7 havildars, 6 naicks, 60 privates, and 3 lascars, killed; 1 colonel, 2 lieutenant-colonels, 2 majors, 7 captains, 12 lieutenants, 3 quarter-masters, 1 cornet, 1 ensign, 27 serjeants, 6 matrosses, 248 rank and file, 1 drummer, 4 subadars, 7 janadars, 26 havildars, 19 naicks, 279 privates, 5 lascars, and 1 beast, wounded.

Grand total.—172 killed, and 652 wounded.

Return of horses killed, wounded and missing, in the action of Nov. 1, 1803.

Total.—277 killed, 154 wounded, and 122 missing\*.

List of officers killed in the action of the 1st Nov. 1803.

Major-general Charles Ware.

General staff.—Major William Campbell, deputy quarter-master-general; lieutenant Duval, aid-de-camp to the commander in chief.

His majesty's 8th regiment light dragoons, colonel T. P. Vandeleur; captain Story.

His majesty's 29th ditto, major Griffith; cornet Fitzgerald; quar-

ter-masters Philley and R. Magoughy.

1st regiment nat. cav. cornet Coxwell.

His majesty's 76th regiment of foot, lieutenant and adjutant Meuth, and lieutenant Hurd.

1st battalion 15th regiment nat. inf. lieutenant Lambeth.

List of officers wounded in the action of the 1st of Nov. 1803.

General staff.—Lieutenant-colonel Gerard, adjutant-general; major G. A. F. Lake, secretary to the commander in chief; captain J. Campbell, grain agent, attached to head-quarters; lieutenant Ashurst, commanding the escort with his excellency the commander in chief.

His majesty's 8th regiment of light dragoons, lieutenants Lyndon (since dead) and Wellard.

His majesty's 27th ditto, captains White, Mylne, and Sandys; lieutenant Gore, major of brigade.

His majesty's 29th ditto, captain Sloane; lieutenants Holstead (since dead) and Thorne; quarter-master Tallen.

1st regiment nat. cav. lieutenant Cornish.

4th ditto, lieutenant Reid.

6th ditto, cornet Dickson.

His majesty's 76th regiment of foot, captain Robertson; lieutenants Marston, Wimber and Sinclair.

1st battalion 12th regiment nat. inf. ensign Dalton.

2d battalion 12th ditto, major Gregory; captain Fletcher; lieutenant Ryan.

1st battalion 15th ditto, colonel Macdonald.

2d battalion 16th ditto, lieute-

\* The totals correspond with the original.



nant, colonel White; ensign G. Deane Heathcote.

(Signed)

J. GERARD,  
Adj.-general.

Ordnance captured.—71 pieces of cannon of different calibre, 64 tumbrils complete, laden with ammunition, and 41 stand of colours. Fifty-seven carts or hackries, laden with matchlocks, muskets and stores; also twelve artificers' carts.

The whole of the above-mentioned ordnance appears serviceable, with the exception of those mentioned in the remarks.

The iron guns are of European manufacture. The brass guns, mortars, and howitzers have been cast in India, one Dutch six-pounder excepted. The dimensions are in general those of the French. The mortars and howitzers are furnished with elevated screws, made, by a simple and ingenious adjustment, to give either of them the double capacity of mortar and howitzer. The ammunition is made up in the same manner as that taken at Delhi.

Fifty-seven carts or hackries, laden with matchlocks, muskets, and stores; also twelve artificers' carts.

(Signed) J. ROBINSON,  
Captain commanding the artillery.

(Signed) J. GERARD,  
Adj.-general.

Extract of a letter from the governor in council at Bombay, to the secret committee of the court of directors of the East-India company, dated Nov. 4, 1803.

The official advices here enclosed, convey the important intelligence of colonel Stevenson's having taken possession of the city of Berhampore, on the 15th of October; of his having marched to Asseer Ghur, a strong fort in that vi-

cinity, on the 17th; taken the pettah on the 18th, opened a battery against the fort on the 20th, and obtained possession of it on the morning of the 21st. General Wellesley's dispatch, of the 6th instant, contains a detail of these operations, and of circumstances connected with them.

(ENCLOSURE, NO. 1.)

Letter from major-general Wellesley to his excellency the governor-general, dated camp at Ferdapoor, 24th of October, 1803, of which the following is an extract:

I have the pleasure to inform your excellency that colonel Stevenson took possession of the city of Berhampore, without opposition, on the 25th instant; he marched to Asseer Ghur on the 17th; took possession of the pettah on the 18th; opened a battery against the fort on the 20th, and obtained possession of it on the morning of the 21st. I have not yet received a detailed account of the manner in which colonel Stevenson obtained possession of this important fortress, or whether he sustained any loss in the attack of the pettah on the 18th, or of the fort.

After I had arrived at Poolmurry, about sixteen miles north from Aurungabad, I found that the enemy did not advance to the southward, as I had been informed they first intended; and on the night of the 15th I received a particular account of the disposition of their troops, baggage, &c. which convinced me that they intended to endeavour to interrupt colonel Stevenson's operations at Asseer Ghur.

I therefore marched on the 16th to the northward, and descended the ghaut of Adjuntee on the 19th; Scindiah



Scindiah had moved to the northward, but he halted as soon as he found that I had returned, and he was yesterday at Ahoonah on the Taptee. The raja of Berar has separated from him, and, it is said, gone towards Chandore. I suspect that report has been circulated with a view to draw me to the southward again; but as colonel Stevenson has got possession of Asseer Ghur, and is fully equal to any thing that can be brought against him, it is my intention to re-ascend the ghaut immediately.

Sixteen officers and serjeants belonging to the Campoos have joined colonel Stevenson, under your excellency's proclamation of the 29th August. I will hereafter send a list of their names, and an account of the pay which each is to receive. The infantry returned towards the Nerbudda, when colonel Stevenson approached Burhampoor, and by all accounts, it is completely destroyed and disorganised; it is impossible to form it into corps again, and it is not probable that it ever will be of any service to Dowlut Rao Scindiah.

I have directed colonel Stevenson to place a garrison in Asseer Ghur, and to deliver the districts depending upon that fortress to the charge of the servants of the soubah of the Deckan. Your excellency will observe, that this is the last of the possessions of Dowlut Rao Scindiah in the Deckan; and the operations of the troops will now be directed against those of the rajah of Berar.

(ENCLOSURE, NO. II.)

Letter from major-general Wellesley to his excellency the governor-general, dated camp, Nov. 6, 1803.

My lord,

I now proceed to give your excellency a detailed account of colonel Stevenson's operations against Asseer Ghur.

On the 17th of October he advanced to Asseer Ghur, and encamped three miles south of the fort; the remains of the enemy's infantry had fled towards the Kerbuddah, on the preceding day, in the state in which I reported them to be in my letter of the 24th of October, and colonel Stevenson, therefore, determined to attack Asseer Ghur.

On the 18th he reconnoitred the fort, attended by a squadron of cavalry, and the Julien pickets of the infantry; and, having seen a favourable opportunity, attacked the pettah, and carried it, and made a lodgment within one hundred-and-fifty yards of the lower wall of the fort. In the evening he reinforced the troops in the pettah by a battalion.

On the 19th all the preparations were made for carrying on the siege, and two batteries were ready to open at two o'clock in the afternoon of the 20th; one to break the upper wall, and another, of four brass twelve-pounders, to destroy the defences of the lower wall.

On the 18th colonel Stevenson had sent a flag of truce to the killedar, to summon him to surrender the fort; to which message he did not receive a decided answer.

The communication was continued; but colonel Stevenson did not relax his operation against the fort, as there was reason to believe that the negotiation was carried on only to give time to Dowlut Rao Scindiah to come to its relief. Before opening his batteries, colonel Stevenson



Stevenson apprised the killedar of the terms on which he should surrender the fort; which were, that the garrison should march out with their private property, and be allowed to go where they might think proper, and that their arrears should be paid to the amount of twenty thousand rupees.

After the batteries had opened about an hour, a white flag was shown from the walls of the fort, which was the signal which had been agreed upon, in case the terms should be accepted: hostages were sent down, and an engagement made, that the fort should be delivered up on the following morning. It was accordingly evacuated; the garrison carried off their property in security, and received the sum agreed to be paid to them.

Colonel Stevenson mentions, in high terms, the conduct of the officers and troops under his command; and I cannot omit to take this opportunity of expressing to your excellency my sense of the merits of colonel Stevenson, and of the body of troops under his command. Upon every occasion I have received the most cordial and zealous assistance, and the troops under his command are in the highest state of discipline and order, and fit for any service on which they can be employed.

On the 16th, nine officers, four serjeants, and one matross, formerly in the service of Dowlut Row Scindiah, delivered themselves up to colonel Stevenson, under your excellency's proclamation of the 29th August.

I have the honour to enclose a list of their names, and a copy of the order issued by colonel Stevenson, to provide for their subsistence. Lieutenant Stuart also delivered

himself up at Poonah, in the end of the last month. I have called for accounts of the regulated pay and allowances which those persons received, in the service of Dowlut Rao Scindiah, which I shall hereafter have the honour of transmitting to your excellency.

I have the honour to enclose a return of the killed and wounded, of the troops under the command of colonel Stevenson, during the operations against Asseer Ghur. Hereafter I shall have the honour of transmitting a return of the ordnance stores, grain, and other articles, captured in the fort.

I have the honour to be, &c.

ARTHUR WELLESLEY.

Camp, Nov. 6, 1803.

Roll of Europeans late in the service of Dowlut Rao Scindiah, who have surrendered themselves to colonel James Stevenson.

Captain John James Dupon, a Dutchman; captain-lieutenant John Mercier, a Frenchman; ensign Alexander Marrs, an Englishman; ensigns John Berdard, Jookeen Caumbza, John Padroos, Francis Carviole, Manuel Joaza, and Joaza Cartoo, Portuguese; serjeants Antony Dalmaid, Joseph Roman, and Joseph Antony, ditto. Matross John Ammaral, a ditto. A boy, name not ascertained, ranked as serjeant.

(Signed) J. COLEBROOKE,

Dep. adj. gen. subsid. force.

Camp at Berhampore,

Oct. 16, 1803.

Extract from G. O. by colonel James Stevenson, commanding the subsidiary force.

The European officers and serjeants, who have this day been received



ceived from the service of Dowlut Rao Scindiah, and all Europeans who may in future come in from the service of that chief, or any power confederated with him, are to be under the charge of the deputy adjutant-general, who will draw pay for them agreeably to rates which will be hereafter determined.

(Signed) J. COLBROOKE,  
Dept. adj. gen. subsid. forces.  
Camp at Berhampore,  
Oct. 16, 1803.

Extract of a letter from the governor in council at Bombay, to the secret committee of the court of directors of the East-India company, dated 31st Dec. 1803.

We have not received any advices from the honourable general Wellesley, of a later date than the 5th instant, nor are we in possession of intelligence of the operations of the army under his command, of a date subsequent to his report to us of the victory obtained on the plains of Argaum, on the 29th ult. as per duplicate now forwarded with our address to the honourable court of the 12th of December\*, nor has any private intelligence reached from the same quarter for these twenty days past, at which period the siege of the Hill Fort of Gyaul Ghur was about to be entered on.

Extract of a letter from the governor in council at Bombay, to the court of directors, dated 3d Sept. 1803.

Major-general Wellesley having commenced his operations against the fortress of Ahmednagar, on the 8th of August, we had the satisfaction to learn that the above-

mentioned fortress fell into the major-general's hands on the 11th following. The achievement of this enterprise was attended with the loss of several brave officers and men, as will appear by the list of the former inserted in the margin; but the acquisition of it is of great importance, as it is considered to be one of the strongest positions in that country: on this ground, therefore, general Wellesley has for the present taken possession of the forts and districts dependent thereon, and placed them under the management of captain Graham, of the Madras establishment, with orders to collect the revenues, and to render the resources of that acquisition as subservient as possible to the objects of the campaign. In advising of this result, we beg leave to offer to your honourable court our congratulations on the distinguished and rapid success which attended the British arms, under the direction of the honourable major-general Wellesley, in the reduction of Ahmednagar: trusting also that we shall shortly be enabled to report an equally favourable result with respect to the fort of Broach, the measures for reducing of which are now in progress.

Killed—Captain Grant, of the 78th regiment, captain Humberston, of ditto, lieutenant Anderson, of ditto, lieutenant Planderleath, 1st battalion of 3d regiment, Madras. Wounded—Lieutenant Neilson, of 74th regiment, lieutenant Larkins, of 78th ditto.

Extract of a letter from the governor in council at Bombay to the court of directors, dated 4th of September, 1803.

\* N. B. Neither the address of this date, nor the duplicate above mentioned, has been received at the East-India House.



Since closing our general address under date of the 3d instant, we have received from lieutenant-colonel Woodington, the officer commanding at Broach, the dispatch of which a copy is enclosed, advising of the reduction of that fortress by assault, on the 29th ult. an achievement which has been accomplished with a rapidity, energy, and success reflecting the highest credit on that respectable officer, and on the officers and men under his command.

To major-general Wellesley, commander in chief, &c.

Sir,

I have the honour to acquaint you, that at three *p. m.* I stormed the fort of Broach, and carried it with little loss, although the Arabs made considerable resistance, particularly on our entering the breach. The Arabs have suffered very considerably, and we have taken a great many stands of colours. A more steep ascent to the breach, and of such length, is seldom seen. I cannot express myself in sufficient terms on the gallantry of the officers and men. I have the honour to command. I shall have the honour to address you more fully to-morrow. I write this for your early information, immediately after we have got possession of the place, which will, I hope, be an excuse for haste. I have the honour to be, sir, your most obedient servant,

(Signed) H. WOODINGTON,  
Lieut.-colonel.

Broach,

29th August, 1803.

To colonel Murray, commanding the forces in the Guzerat.

Sir,

In consequence of your communication to me last night, that you

had not received my official communication on the surrender of Powanghur by capitulation, I have the honour to address you again on the subject.

After a breach had been effected in the wall of the inner fort, as also that another was almost practicable in a tower at the angle of the outer fort, the garrison offered to capitulate on the morning of the 17th, on condition of being protected in their persons and private property.

To these terms I agreed, on condition of immediately taking possession of the breach in the inner wall, with a company of sepoys. They, however, tacked other stipulations to the capitulation, viz. that I should agree to pay them the arrears due from Scindiah; and that two of the commanders of the Gwicarwar cavalry with me (amounting to about 300 horse) should sign the agreement. To these latter articles I would on no account agree; and it was not until four *p. m.*, when they found from our continuing to batter that I would admit of no delay, that they agreed to the original terms, which were immediately carried into full effect by their evacuation of the fort and mountain, of which we took possession.

If this had not taken place, I had made the necessary arrangements for storming both breaches on the morning of the 18th, and I conceive that the garrison were intimidated, from a knowledge that if they opposed us on our entering the breaches, their communication with the upper fort would be cut off, and they had no other way to escape than the road which led down by our battery.

Could they have obtained possession of the upper fort, or Balla Killa, at the top of the mountain,

I am



I am inclined to think it utterly impregnable.

I have left captain Cliffe, of the engineers, to take a plan and view of the forts and works on the mountain, which, I doubt not, from his known abilities, will be ably executed.

It is with the greatest pleasure that I embrace this opportunity of submitting, for your notice, the merits, zeal, and great exertions of all ranks on this service.

I have the honour to be, &c.

HENRY WOODINGTON,

Lieut.-colonel, &c.

Baroda, 21st Sept. 1803.

Fort William, Dec. 25.

A dispatch, of which the following is a copy, has been this day received by his excellency the most noble the governor-general, from the honourable major-general Wellesley :

Camp at Parterly,  
Nov. 30, 1803.

My lord,

Having found that the rajah of Berar was moving towards his own territories, that the body of troops he had with him was but small, and decreasing in numbers daily, and not likely to do much mischief to the territories of the soubah of the Deckan, I descended the ghauts by Rajoora, in order to support and cover colonel Stevenson's operations against Gawilghur, in Berar. Colonel Stevenson had equipped his corps at Asseer Ghur for the siege of that fort, and had marched to Ballapore, where he was joined on the 24th by the Brinjarries, and other supplies which had been saved from the enemy by captain Baynes's affair at Amber; and he marched forward on the 26th.

Your excellency has been inform-

ed, that on the 23d I had consented to a suspension of hostilities with the troops of Dowlut Rao Scindiah, in this quarter and Guzerat. The condition on which this agreement depended, viz. that Scindiah should occupy a position 20 coss to the east of Elichpour, had not been carried into execution; and Scindiah was encamped at Sersooly, about four miles from the camp of Munnoo Bapoo\*, which was at this place. The army of the former consisted only of cavalry; that of the latter was cavalry, a great part, if not the whole, of Ragojee Bhoosla's regular infantry, and a large proportion of artillery. In the course of the 28th, the vakeels from Dowlut Rao Scindiah urgently pressed me not to attack these troops; but I informed them repeatedly, that there was no suspension of arms with Ragojee Bhooslah; and none with Scindiah till he should comply with the terms of his agreement; and that I should certainly attack the enemies of the company wherever I should find them. Colonel Stevenson's division and mine both marched to this place yesterday; the colonel having with great prudence and propriety halted on the 28th at Hattee Andojah, to enable me to co-operate in the attack of the enemy. We found on our arrival that the armies of both chiefs had decamped; and I could perceive, from a tower in Paterly, a confused mass, about two miles beyond Sersooly and Scindiah's old camp, which I concluded to be their armies in march. The troops had marched a great distance on a very hot day, and therefore I did not think it proper to pursue them; but shortly after our arrival here, bodies of horse appeared in our front, with which the

\* Brother to the rajah of Berar.



Mysore horse skirmished during part of the day; and when I went out to push forward the picquets of the infantry, to support the Mysore cavalry and to take up the ground of our encampment, I could perceive distinctly a long line of infantry, cavalry, and artillery, regularly drawn up on the plains of Argaum, immediately in front of that village, and about six miles from this place, at which I intended to encamp. Although late in the day, I immediately determined to attack this army. Accordingly I marched on in one column, the British cavalry leading in a direction nearly parallel to that of the enemy's line; covering the rear and left by the Mogul and Mysore cavalry. The enemy's infantry and guns were in the left of their centre, with a body of cavalry on their left. Scindiah's army, consisting of one very heavy body of cavalry, was in the right, having upon its right a body of Pindaries and other light troops. Their line extended above five miles, having in their rear the village and extensive gardens and inclosures of Argaum, in their front a plain, which however was much cut by water-courses, &c. &c. I formed the army in two lines, the infantry in the first, the cavalry in the second, and supporting the right, and the Mogul and Mysore cavalry the left, nearly parallel to that of the enemy, with the right rather advanced to press upon the enemy's left. Some little time elapsed before the lines could be formed, owing to a part of the infantry of my division, which led the column, having got into some confusion. When formed, the whole advanced in the greatest order; the 74th and 78th regiments were attacked by a large body (supposed to be Persians), all of which

were destroyed. Scindiah's cavalry charged the 1st battalion of the 6th regiment, which was on our left, and were repulsed; and the whole line retired in disorder before our troops, leaving in our hands 38 pieces of cannon, and all their ammunition. The British cavalry then pursued them for several miles, and destroyed great numbers, and took many elephants and camels, and much baggage. The Mogul and Mysore cavalry also pursued the fugitives, and did them great mischief. Some of the latter are still following them; and I have sent out this morning all of the Mysore, Mogul, and Mahratta cavalry, in order to secure as many advantages from this victory as can be gained, and complete the enemy's confusion. For the reasons stated in the commencement of this letter, the action did not begin till late in the day, and, unfortunately, sufficient day-light did not remain to do all that I could have wished; but the cavalry continued their pursuit by moon-light, and all the troops were under arms till a late hour in the night. I have the honour to enclose a return of our loss in this action. The troops conducted themselves with their usual bravery. The 74th and 78th regiments had a particular opportunity of distinguishing themselves, and have deserved and received my thanks. I am also much indebted to col. Stevenson, for the advice and assistance I received from him; to the hon. lieutenant-colonel St. Leger, for the manner in which he led on the British cavalry; and to lieutenant-colonels Wallace, Adams, (who commanded lieutenant-colonel Harness's brigade, the latter being absent on account of severe indisposition), Haliburton, Maclean, Pogson, and major Huddleston,



stone, who commanded brigades of cavalry and infantry; to major Campbell, commanding the 94th reg.; to captain Beauman, commanding the artillery, with the division under my immediate command; to captain Burke, commanding the artillery with the subsidiary force; and to the officers of the staff with my division, and belonging to the subsidiary force. I have also to inform your excellency, that the Mogul cavalry under Solabut Khan, and the Mysore cavalry under Bistnapah Pundit, distinguished themselves. The former took a standard from Scindiah's troops. The Mahratta cavalry were not engaged, as the person who went to them with orders missed his road. Amrut Rao was not in the action, as he had encamped some distance in my rear on the 28th, and he could not march the whole distance to Paterly yesterday morning; but he sent for orders as soon as he heard that I intended to attack the enemy. I propose to march to-morrow towards Gawil-ghur, and I shall lose no time in attacking that place. I have the honour to be, my lord, your excellency's most obedient and faithful humble servant,

(Signed) ARTHUR WELLESLEY.

Abstract of the killed, wounded, and missing.

The honourable major-general Wellesley's division of the army—13 Europeans killed, 101 wounded; 21 natives killed, 93 wounded, and 4 missing.

The troops composing the subsidiary force—2 Europeans killed, 44 wounded, and 2 missing; 10 natives killed, 55 wounded, and 1 missing.

Officers wounded in the honourable major-general Wellesley's divi-

sion of the army—captain J. M. Vernon, 2d battalion, 12th regiment native infantry; lieutenant Langlands, H. M. 74th regiment; and lieutenant A. Turner, 1st battalion, 3d regiment native infantry.

Officers wounded in the troops composing the subsidiary force—captains Burke and Darymple, of the artillery; lieutenant Barnby, 6th regiment cavalry; lieutenant James Donald, John Robertson, and Frederick Cambell, of his majesty's 94th regiment.

24. Dispatches, of which the following are copies, were this day received by the right honourable lord Hobart, one of his majesty's principal secretaries of state, from colonel John Fraser, commandant of the settlement of Goree, on the coast of Africa.

Goree, Africa, Feb. 5, 1804.

My lord,

On the 17th of January, about noon, a negro arrived from Yoff, and reported that a fleet had been seen from thence that morning at day-light, and appeared to be standing for Goree.

Before two o'clock, vessels were seen from the hill behind Cape Emanuel; near four they came round the Cape; the squadron, consisting of one ship carrying a commodore's pendant, and five armed schooners, with pendants, all showing French colours, and with large boats towing after them.

The commodore fired a gun, and hoisted a red flag at his foremast-head; which we have since learnt was meant as a signal for us, that in case of attack during the night no quarter would be given.

About sun-set the squadron tackled, and before dark was near the anchorage, standing in.

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The inhabitants having agreed to assist in defending the island against any attempt that should be made from Senegal, and being of opinion that the present force was of that nature, such measures were taken as appeared most likely to prevent the enemy from landing during the night. All the arms that could be procured were accordingly issued to the inhabitants, who, with the garrison, were stationed at the different posts round the island.

The moon set at eleven, and affairs remained in the situation described until about three o'clock on the 18th; when shortly after I had returned to the beach battery from visiting the posts, a fresh firing commenced on the east side of the island from boats; at the same instant a schooner came in sight, standing directly for the beach: a strong and well-directed fire of great guns and musketry was immediately opened upon her, and the people on board being either wounded or driven below, she drifted on shore.

In the mean time the boats, to the number of eight, full of troops, had unfortunately effected a landing on the rocks to the east side of the town, where the surf happened to be unusually low; and having overcome the force which was opposed to them, they had penetrated through the town as far as the main guard, of which, after being once repulsed, they gained possession, making some prisoners.

The inhabitants having given way nearly on all sides; and the enemy being now in such force on our right, it appeared advisable to form a junction with the soldiers in the north point battery, where we should retain the command of the beach, and be ready to check any

further attempt to land, until some information could be received of the strength and situation of the enemy, to enable me to judge what ought to be done. The firing continued till towards six o'clock; when being yet uncertain what number had landed, and in hopes that the main guard was the only post held by the enemy, I directed that it should be attacked by the soldiers I had with me; which was executed with great alacrity, and the post carried, with considerable loss on the part of the enemy; on our side it was less as to numbers, but I lost the assistance of a very gallant officer, Dr. Heddle, he being shot through the breast in the attack, when captain Lloyd was also slightly wounded. We now learned that the enemy had possession of the hill—where captain Lloyd proposed to attack them—a measure I should gladly have adopted, but the day beginning to break, we had the mortification to see them appear in such numbers, as left no room to suppose there was any probability of success, our force being reduced by killed, wounded, and prisoners, to about twenty-five soldiers, captain Lloyd, lieutenant Christie, and myself. At this time the enemy's vessels were standing closer in, apparently to land a reinforcement; and the inhabitants, seeing French colours on the hill, came to me, asking leave to treat. Under these circumstances, and exposed to the enemy's fire on all sides, further resistance appeared vain; I therefore felt it my duty to comply with the request of the inhabitants, and sent an officer with them, proposing terms of capitulation for the garrison. The officer who commanded the storming party having been killed, the annexed terms were verbally agreed to with the senior who survived,



survived, to be communicated to the commandant of the squadron: until his answer should be received firing ceased, and we continued to occupy the battery. The terms of capitulation being confirmed by the commandant, Mahe, the soldiers grounded their arms, and the place was surrendered. We were informed, that the enemy's force consisted of four schooners, which had been fitted out at Cayenne, and supplied with soldiers for the purpose of attacking Goree; that they had touched at Senegal, where they had been furnished with additional boats, pilots, a reinforcement of soldiers, and another schooner, and where they had been joined by the ship, which happening to call at Senegal, was put in requisition for this expedition: the squadron altogether carried upwards of 60 guns, and 600 men, about 240 of whom had been landed; the whole under the command of monsieur Mahe, lieutenant de vaisseau, the commodore's pendant having been hoisted only while coming in, by the captain of the ship, who had held that rank in the navy during the late war. On the evening of the action we had 54 white men, including officers; and although the serjeant-major was the only one who was not able to come upon the batteries, when it is considered that several of the men, worn out by disease, and disabled by accidents, were incapable of making any great exertions; that, uncertain where an attack might be made in the night, it was necessary to divide our force very much to occupy the different posts—I hope and trust it will appear to our king and to our country, that the garrison I had the honour to command did not submit without discharging its duty like British soldiers.

Captain Lloyd, who has already on several occasions been mentioned as a deserving officer, both here and at Sierra Leone, continues to merit very great praise. Dr. Heddle having proposed some time back to do military duty, I gladly accepted his offer, and he has given me great assistance: his wound, which was at first thought to be mortal, having taken a favourable turn, I am now happy to think he will recover; and I earnestly wish to recommend him to your lordship's notice, as distinguished by his conduct on this occasion; and also by his attention to his medical duties since we came to Africa.

I have the honour to be, &c.

(Signed) JOHN FRASER.

Right hon. lord Hobart, &c.

Our loss consists of 1 drummer, 8 rank and file, killed; 2 officers, 8 rank and file, wounded.—Total 19.

Of the enemy, according to the most correct accounts I can procure, 3 officers and 40 men killed, or since dead; 2 officers and upwards of 30 men wounded.—Total 75.

#### TRANSLATION.

*Goree, Africa, Jan. 18, 1804.*

The French being in possession of the hill, the squadron being ready to land more troops, a considerable number of men being killed and wounded on both sides, and further resistance offering only the prospect of occasioning an unnecessary effusion of blood, the following terms of capitulation were agreed to:

Art. I. The island of Goree, with its dependencies, shall be delivered up to the French government as it now stands.

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11. The



II. The British garrison having laid down their arms in the north battery, which they continue to occupy, shall be furnished, without delay, with a sufficient vessel as a cartel, to carry them to Great Britain; colonel Fraser giving his parole of honour for himself, his officers, and soldiers, not to serve during the present war against the French republic or its allies, until regularly exchanged.

III. The officers and soldiers shall preserve their baggage and effects, which shall be embarked with them.

IV. The inhabitants shall retain possession of their properties; without prejudice, however, to any orders to the contrary which may hereafter be given by general Blanchot, commandant and administrator general of Senegal and its dependencies.

Agreed upon and executed in two copies, to be exchanged between us, the day and year already mentioned.

(Signed)

JOHN FRASER, col. African corps.  
MAHE, lieutenant de vaisseau, and  
commanding the division.

My lord,

On the 18th of January, in the evening, the British soldiers were embarked on board the French squadron, until a cartel should be made ready for them. On the 23d, the officers and soldiers went on board a sloop, which was sent as a cartel to Senegal, where a larger vessel was preparing to carry them to England. I am sorry to add, that notwithstanding the articles of capitulation, the inhabi-

tants, officers, and even soldiers, have been shamefully pillaged.

I have the honour to be, &c.

JOHN FRASER.

List of the French squadron.—Division from Cayenne, having on board troops from the 8th demi-brigade, and from the Cayenne volunteers.—Schooner *La Vigie*, M. Mahe, lieutenant de vaisseau, commandant, 2 guns, 14 swivels, and 90 men; schooner *La Renommée*, citizen Renaud, 14 guns and 87 men; schooner *Les Amis*, citizen Baudrier, 14 guns and 85 men; schooner *L'Oiseau*, 10 guns and 80 men.—From Senegal, with a detachment of the 46th brigade, *La Rosalie*, Ducraneau, ensign de vaisseau, 2 guns and 30 men.—From Rochelle, the ship *L'Oncle Thomas*, Papin, cidevant capitaine de vaisseau, 20 guns and 230 men.

*Downing-street, April 27.*

A dispatch, of which the following is a copy, was this day received by the right hon. lord Hobart, one of his majesty's principal secretaries of state, from captain Dickson, commanding his majesty's ship *Inconstant*:

*His majesty's ship Inconstant, Goree,  
Africa, 15th March, 1804.*

My lord,

I beg leave to acquaint your lordship with the recapture of the island of Goree; and I have the honour to inclose you the articles of capitulation\*.

I have appointed captain William Murray, the senior officer of the African corps, commandant of Goree, until his majesty's pleasure is known; and, as I had not any

\* The substance of the articles of capitulation, agreed on between lieutenant Pickford and citizen Montmayeur, French resident commandant of the island, was, that the French should march out with the honours of war; that the French troops should have their baggage, arms, &c. and private property; and the whole to be sent to Senegal.



directions relative to the cargo of the *Eagle* storeship, I took the liberty to open the letter addressed to captain Fraser, from your lordship, and have given it to captain Murray, and ordered him to follow, as close as possible, the directions contained therein.

The very ample supply of stores and provisions this vessel appears to have brought out, and the great strength of the garrison at present, enable me to assure your lordship of its perfect security.

Mr. Charles Pickford, my first lieutenant, an intelligent and deserving officer, and whom I beg leave to recommend to your lordship, will have the honour of presenting this letter. He will be able to inform you very fully of every particular relative to Goree, and its dependencies.

I hope the arrangement I have made will meet your lordship's approbation. I have the honour to be, &c.

E. S. DICKSON.

*Admiralty-office, April 24, 1804.*

Copy of a letter from captain Edward Sterling Dickson, commander of his majesty's ship the *Inconstant*, to William Marsden, esq. dated at Goree, March 15.

Sir,

I have the honour to acquaint you, for the information of my lords commissioners of the admiralty, of the arrival of his majesty's ship under my command, and the vessels named in the margin\*, off Goree, on the morning of the 7th of March; but conceiving it possible that it might be in the possession of the enemy, although English colours were hoisted on the citadel, and sentinels clothed in red placed on the different batteries, I

brought-to with the convoy, and directed Mr. Charles Pickford, my first lieutenant, to proceed on shore in the cutter, and, if he found it in the hands of the English, to make the signal I established for that purpose. At sun-set, not any signal having been made, nor the appearance of the boat, I came to anchor with the convoy a little out of gun-shot; and deeming it highly necessary to gain some information with respect to the situation of the garrison, I ordered, at ten o'clock p. m. three boats, manned and armed, under the direction of Mr. Runciman, midshipman, to proceed into the harbour, and cut out any of the vessels he could find; which he did in a gallant manner, by bringing out a ship under a heavy fire from the batteries, which sunk our cutter and wounded one man. From her I learned, that the French had been in possession of Goree since the 18th of January, and that they had three hundred white and black troops in the garrison.

On the 8th instant, at day-light, I weighed and stood to the westward of the island, to prevent any succours being thrown in by sea from Senegal; and on the evening of the same day, being determined to attack it, having ordered scaling-ladders to be made for that purpose, at nine p. m. anchored, and ordered all the boats of the convoy to be sent on board the *Inconstant*; and after embarking as many troops as they could possibly stow, I found they would not carry a sufficient number to promise success: I therefore postponed the attack until the arrival of one of our convoy, which was in sight, standing into the bay, as her three boats could carry from thirty to forty more men. At day-light in

\* *Eagle* storeship, *Hamilton*, *Venus*, *Jenny*.



the morning of the 9th instant, we were agreeably surprised by seeing the English colours hoisted over the French; and shortly after I received information from lieutenant Pickford, that the garrison had capitulated with him. I instantly stood into the harbour with the convoy, anchored, and disembarked the troops. Conceiving it of importance that his majesty's ministers should be made acquainted as soon as possible with the recapture of this island, I have purchased a small brig, and sent my first lieutenant, Mr. Charles Pickford, an intelligent and deserving officer, to England, who will have the honour to present my dispatches; and I beg leave to recommend him in the strongest manner to their lordships' favour.

I have appointed captain William Murray, senior officer of the troops, to be commandant of Goree, till his majesty's pleasure is known, and Mr. William Arnold, master's mate, to be lieutenant of the Inconstant, vice Pickford; and I hope it will meet their lordships' approbation. The moment I can get a sufficient supply of water and provisions landed, and put the island into a proper state of defence, I shall proceed and put their lordships' orders into execution. I cannot conclude my letter without assuring their lordships, that the greatest cordiality existed between the officers, seamen, and soldiers; and had an attack been found necessary, from the handsome manner they volunteered their services, I am persuaded they would have done honour to their country. Inclosed are the articles of capitulation, and the account of the ordnance and military stores found in the garrison. I have the honour to be,

E. S. DICKSON.

## MAY.

### WEST-INDIA CONVOY.

Extract of a letter from an officer of his majesty's ship Carysfort, dated off Oporto, April 2, 1804.

"His majesty's ships Apollo and Carysfort sailed from Cork the 26th ult. with a convoy of 67 sail for the West Indies; to which destination the former ship was directed to escort them, and the latter to a certain latitude.

"A gale of wind took place on the night we left Cork, and continued during the ensuing day; the convoy was, however, kept snug and collected, and proceeded with a most promising appearance of a pleasant passage, until the very night of the unforeseen and utterly unexpected disaster; a disaster, whose occurrences can only be ascribed to the setting of a current to the eastward, which carried the convoy into the longitude of Oporto, when, by their reckoning (taking that of nine in ten ships composing it), they were more than one hundred miles to the westward thereof; trusting to which reckoning, a course was steered by the Apollo (the commodore), and the majority of the convoy, calculated to clear Cape St. Vincent; but between one and three this morning, melancholy to relate the Apollo, and five-or-six-and-twenty of the convoy went on shore on and near Cape Mondego. Whether all the ships are lost, and their crews have perished, I cannot inform you; but I trust the Almighty will have rescued from the waves, and restored to their families and friends, the greater part, if not the whole, of the valuable lives, so unexpectedly, I believe I may say unprecedentedly, shipwrecked.

"The



“ The Carysfort having split her main and fore top-sails about midnight, in a most violent squall, and the wind soon after heading her three or four points, wore, in order to get her head off shore, about two o'clock in the morning; but, observing that the commodore and body of the convoy were out of sight, she again stood towards the shore till about six o'clock; when, perceiving several scattered ships under a press of sail, with their heads to the northward, she again wore off shore, and about nine o'clock hailed one of the convoy, which with difficulty had cleared the land, and reported seeing one or two sail on shore. At eleven o'clock, the Clarendon, of Bristol, reported her having seen 26 sail on shore (mostly dismasted), among which she feared was the commodore, the last certain sight of whom she had was about three in the morning, then burning false fires, blue lights, and firing guns in the direction the ships (at daylight) were seen on shore. She herself very nearly escaped shipwreck, having been actually among the breakers, when she most providentially wore. The wind still continuing dead on shore, strong apprehensions were entertained, that, as it blew very hard, several ships which escaped in the night must have been driven on shore in the course of the day: by carrying all possible sail they however held their course, and, towards evening, the wind most providentially shifted to the northward; which enabled the Carysfort to collect 38 sail, wherewith she is now proceeding to their place of destination.

“ I shall forbear making any comments on this most lamentable event, further than that nothing could exceed the zeal and attention

of captains Dixon and Fanshaw, in keeping their convoy together: and the promptitude and celerity wherewith captain Fanshaw collected the scattered ships which were saved, and proceeded with them towards the places of their destination, merits unqualified approbation; and will, I am persuaded, receive from the owners and underwriters their most cordial and justly-due thanks.”

10. Monday a court martial was held on board the *Illustrious*, in the Downs, on the Armourer belonging to the *Leda* frigate, for having thrust a red hot iron into the left side of a seaman belonging to the same ship, which pierced his heart, and occasioned his death in about five minutes after he had received his wound. The armourer is condemned to be hanged at such time, and on board such ship, as the lords of the admiralty may think proper.

*Admiralty-office, May 22.*

Copy of a letter from the right honourable lord Keith, K. B. admiral of the blue, &c. to William Marsden, esq. dated at Ramsgate, the 20th instant.

Sir,

I herewith transmit, for the information of their lordships, a letter which I have this day received from commodore sir Sidney Smith, acquainting me that the enemy's flotilla at Flushing had been pushing out from that port on the 16th instant to form a junction with that at Ostend; and that the greatest part of them had succeeded in reaching the latter place, notwithstanding the vigorous measures that were used by the commodore and his squadron to resist their progress; a circumstance which is to be imputed only to the numerous



disadvantages to which his majesty's ships were subjected in consequence of the shallowness of the water, and the effect of the enemy's field-artillery and their batteries on shore; for the commodore appears to have used every practicable exertion to defeat the design, and to have been very gallantly seconded by all the officers serving under his orders.

I also enclose a list of the killed and wounded on this occasion; and have the honour to be, &c.

KEITH.

*Antelope, at anchor off Ostend, May 17.*

My lord,

Information from all quarters, and the evident state of readiness in which the enemy's armaments were in Helvoet, Flushing, and Ostend, indicating the probability of a general movement from those ports, I reinforced captain Manby, off Helvoet, with one ship, and directed captain Hancock, of the Cruizer, stationed in shore, to combine his operations and the Rattler's with the squadron of gun-boats stationed off Ostend.

The Antelope, Penelope, and Aimable, occupied a central position in sight both of Flushing and Ostend, in anxious expectation of the enemy's appearance. Yesterday at half-past five a. m. I received information from captain Hancock, then off Ostend, that the enemy's flotilla was hauling out of that pier, and had already 21 one-masted vessels, and one schooner, outside in the roads; and at half-past seven the same morning, I had the satisfaction to see the Flushing flotilla of 59 sail, viz. two ship-rigged praams, 19 schooners, and 38 schuyts, steering along shore from that port towards Ostend, under circumstances which allowed me to hope I should be able to bring

them to action. The signal was made to the Cruizer and Rattler of an enemy in the E. S. E. to call their attention from Ostend; the squadron weighed the moment the flood made, and allowed of the heavier ships following them over the banks: the signals to chase and to engage were obeyed with alacrity, spirit, and judgment, by the active and experienced officers your lordship has done me the honour to place under my orders. Captains Hancock and Mason attacked this formidable line with the greatest gallantry and address, attaching themselves particularly to the two praams, both of them of greater force than themselves, independent of the cross-fire from the schooners and schuyts; I sent the Aimable, by signal, to support them. The Penelope (having an able pilot, Mr. Thornton), on signal being made to engage, captain Broughton worked up to the centre of the enemy's line, as near as the shoal water would allow, while the Antelope went round the Stroom Sand to cut the van off from Ostend: unfortunately our gun-boats were not in sight, having, as I have understood since, devoted their attention to preventing the Ostend division from moving westward.

The enemy attempted to get back to Flushing; but being harassed by the Cruizer and the Rattler, and the wind coming more easterly against them, they were obliged to run the gauntlet to westward, keeping close to the beach, under protection of the batteries.

Having found a passage for the Antelope within the Stroom Sand, she was enabled to bring her broadside to bear on the headmost schooners before they got the length of Ostend. The leader struck immediately, and her crew deserted her.



her. She was, however, recovered by the followers; the artillery from the town and camp, and the rowing gun-boats from the pier, kept up a constant and well directed fire for their support: our shot, however, which went over the schooners, going on shore among the horse artillery, interrupted it in a degree: still however it was from the shore we received the greatest annoyance; for the schooners and schuyts crowding along could not bring their prow guns to bear without altering their course towards us, which they could not venture; and their side guns, though numerous and well served, were very light. In this manner the *Penelope* and *Antelope* engaged every part of their long line from four till eight, while the *Aimable*, *Cruizer*, and *Rattler* continued to press their rear. Since two o'clock the sternmost praam struck her colours and ran on shore; but the artillery-men from the army got on board, and she renewed her fire on the *Aimable* with the precision of a land battery, from which that ship suffered much: captain Bolton speaks much in praise of lieutenant Mather, who is wounded.

Several of the schooners and schuyts immediately under the fire of the ships were driven on shore in like manner, and recovered by the army. At eight, the tide falling, and leaving us in little more water than we drew, we were reluctantly obliged to haul off into deeper water, to keep afloat, and the enemy's vessels that were not on shore, or too much shattered, were thus able to reach Ostend: these and the Ostend divisions have hauled into the bason. I have anchored in such a position as to keep an eye on them; and I shall endeavour to close with them again,

if they move into deeper water. I have to regret, that, from the depth of the water in which these vessels move, gun-boats alone can act against them with effect. Four have joined me, and I have sent them in to see what they can do with the praam that is on shore. I have great satisfaction in bearing testimony to your lordship of the gallant and steady conduct of the captains, commanders, officers, seamen and marines under my orders. Captains Hancock and Mason bore the brunt of the attack, and continued it for six hours, against a great superiority of fire, particularly from the army on shore, the howitzer-shells annoying them much. These officers deserve the highest praise I can give them. They speak of the conduct of their lieutenants, officers, and crews, in terms of warm panegyric. Messrs. Budd and Dalzell, from the *Antelope*, acted in the absence of two lieutenants of those ships. Lieutenants Garrery and Patful, commanding the *Favourite* and *Stag* cutters, did their best with their small guns, against greater numbers of greater calibre. Lieutenant Hillier, of the *Antelope*, gave me all the assurance and support on her quarter-deck his ill state of health would permit. Lieutenant Stokes, and Mr. Sleaser acting lieutenant, directed the fire on the lower and main decks with coolness and precision. It would be the highest injustice if I omitted to mention the intrepid conduct of Mr. Lewis, the master, Mr. Nunn and Mr. Webb, pilots, to whose steadiness, skill, and attention, particularly the former, I shall ever feel myself indebted, for having brought the *Antelope* into action within the sands, where, certainly, the enemy could not expect to be met by a ship of her size; and for having



having allowed her to continue engaged with commodore Verheul to the last minute it was possible to remain in such shoal water, with a falling tide. It is but justice to say the enemy's commodore pursued a steady course, notwithstanding our fire, and returned it with spirit to the last. I could not detach open boats into the enemy's line to pick up those vessels which had struck, and were deserted, mixed as they were with those still firing. Captain Hancock sent me one schuyt that had hauled out of the line and surrendered. She had a lieutenant and twenty-three soldiers of the 48th regiment, with five Dutch seamen on board. She is so useful here I cannot part with her yet. Enclosed is a list of our loss, which, though great, is less than might be expected, owing to the enemy's directing their fire at our masts. The Rattler and the Cruizer have of course suffered most in the latter respect, but are nearly ready for service again. The smoke would not allow us to see the effect of our shot on the enemy; but their loss, considering the number of them under our guns for so long, must be great in proportion. We see the mast-heads above water, of three of the schooners and one of the schuyts which were sunk.

I have the honour to be, &c.

(Signed) W. SIDNEY SMITH.

*The right hon. lord Keith, K. B.  
commander in chief, &c. &c.*

Return of killed and wounded on board his majesty's ships and vessels under the orders of commodore sir William Sidney Smith, knt. &c. in action with the enemy's flotilla on its passage from Flushing to Ostend, May 16, 1804.

Antelope—Two seamen and one private marine wounded.

Penelope—Three seamen killed, and four seamen wounded.

Aimable—Mr. Christie, master-mate, Mr. Johnson, midshipman, four seamen, and one boy killed; lieutenant W. Mather, Mr. Shawell, purser, Mr. Conner, midshipman, and eleven seamen, wounded.

Cruizer—One seaman killed; Mr. George Ellis, clerk, and three seamen, wounded.

Rattler—Two seamen killed, and five seamen wounded.

Total—Two petty officers, ten seamen, and one boy killed; one lieutenant, one purser, four petty officers, twenty-five seamen, and one private marine wounded.

(Signed) W. SIDNEY SMITH.

JUNE.

*Admiralty-office, June 2.*

Copy of a letter from sir John Thos. Duckworth, K. B. vice-admiral of the blue, &c. to William Marsden, esq. dated Port Royal, Jamaica, the 2d of April, 1804.

Sir,

For the information of the lords commissioners of the admiralty, I send you herewith a letter recently received from captain Roberts, of the Snake, commanding a small force stationed at New Providence.

I have the honour to be, &c.

J. T. DUCKWORTH.

*His majesty's sloop Snake, Salt Key,  
March 18.*

Sir,

This moment has arrived his majesty's sloop Lilly, capt. Lyall, from Bermuda, who has brought with him the Batavian republic schooner Draak, commanded by a lieutenant of frigate, captured on the



the 1st instant. She mounts four 4- and one 3-pounders and 50 men; seven weeks from Curacoa, and had taken nothing.

I have the honour to be, &c.

W. ROBERTS.

Copy of another letter from rear-admiral Duckworth, dated Port Royal, April 7, 1804.

Sir,

I transmit for the information of the lords commissioners of the admiralty, an account of French vessels captured and destroyed by his majesty's squadron under my command since the return of the 10th ult. I am, &c.

J. T. DUCKWORTH.

List of ships and vessels captured and destroyed by the squadron under the command of rear-admiral sir J. T. Duckworth, K. B. Jamaica.

French national transport L'Argo, of 6 guns and 50 men, commanded by a lieutenant de vaisseau, in ballast; captured by the Racoon, captain Gordon, March 16, 1804.—B. Waterhouse and Co. agents.

French felucca privateer L'Hirondelle, of 3 guns and 44 men; captured by the Stork, captain Le Geyt, off Cape Nicola Mole, March 30, 1804: same agents.

French felucca privateer L'Aventure, of 1 gun and 28 men; captured by the Racoon off Great Henage, April 5, 1804: same agents.

Felucca privateer Le Cazar, of 1 gun, 46 men, and 18 tons, from St. Jago de Cuba; captured by the Fortunée: same date, and the same agents.

A French privateer, of 2 guns and 17 men, destroyed by his majesty's ship Blanche.

(Signed) J. T. DUCKWORTH.

*His majesty's sloop Racoon, off New Providence, March 19.*

Sir,

I have the honour to inform you, that on Friday, 16th, in lat. 36 deg. 51 min. W. long. 80 deg. 21 min. N. I captured the French national transport L'Argo, mounting six guns, commanded by Thomas Dussniel, enseigne de vaisseau, with 50 troops and 20 officers and seamen, 22 days from New Orleans, bound to France.

I have the honour to be, &c.

H. GORDON.

*His majesty's sloop Racoon, Port Royal, April 5.*

Sir,

I have the honour to inform you, that on Tuesday, April 3, I captured off the Great Heneaga, after a few hours chase, the French felucca privateer L'Aventure, commanded by Jean Baptiste Gay, manned with 28 men, mounting one gun and two swivels, seven days out of St. Jago, her first cruise, and had not taken any thing. And on Wednesday, the 4th, recaptured the American schooner Elizabeth, laden with coffee.

I have, &c. H. GORDON.

*Admiralty-office, June 12.*

Copy of a letter from capt. Campbell, to the hon. William Cornwallis, admiral of the white, &c.

*His majesty's sloop Doris, off Point du Raze, 10th March.*

Sir,

I beg leave to inform you of my having taken and destroyed the French gun-boat No. 351, of the second class, carrying one eighteen pounder and 30 men, being one of a small convoy from Quimper to Brest, ultimately to Boulogne, laden with ammunition, provisions, &c.; the rest escaped into Hodi-  
erne,



erne, owing to my having sprung the main top-mast, and split the sail, in chase.

I have the honour to be, &c.

PAT. CAMPBELL.

*The hon. admiral Cornwallis, &c.*

*His majesty's ship Doris, off Point du Raze, April 30.*

Sir,

Having observed, on the clearing up of a fog, a number of gun-brigs, boats, and chasse-marées, anchored at the entrance of Hodierné harbour; I stood in at night, and anchored as near as I could to protect the boats which were dispatched under the orders of lieutenant Anderson, who succeeded in bringing out the gun-boat No. 360, of the second class, carrying one eighteen pounder and 30 men; but owing to a rapid and heavy surf, which broke at the harbour's mouth, as well as their being protected by strong batteries, prevented his being more successful.

I am, &c.

PAT. CAMPBELL.

*The hon. admiral Cornwallis, &c.*

13. Mrs. Siddons has for nearly these two months past been extremely annoyed by the innumerable applications by letters, as well as personal addresses, of a young gentleman. He began with writing letters to her, informing her of the strong affection and love he had for her person, to which, of course, she paid no attention. In consequence of which he paid daily visits at her house in Marlborough-street, to see her; but the servants had instructions not to admit him. He continued, however, to write letters to her; but Mrs. S. did not answer them till he informed her he had something of the utmost importance to communicate, and earnest-

ly requested an interview. To which Mrs. S. replied, she must decline a private interview with a gentleman she had not any knowledge of; and if he had any thing to communicate, she begged he would do it to either of her brothers, or her son. But this had no effect upon him, and he continued his troublesome applications, both by letters as well as personal obtrusions, till his behaviour became unbearable; as, when the street-door was opened to him, he would not take a denial, and insisted upon waiting to see Mrs. S., and the servants had great difficulty in forcing him away.

Mr. Kemble, in consequence, applied to Mr. Graham, the magistrate at the Public-office, Bow-street, to know how to act. Mr. G. advised, that when he called again the servant should behave kindly, and say, Mrs. Siddons had agreed to see him, and fix upon a time for him to call and see her, which was agreed to. On Monday evening he called, when the servant informed him Mrs. S. had agreed to see him, and appointed ten o'clock yesterday morning for the interview; which Mr. Graham being informed of, he sent Adkins, one of the officers belonging to Bow-street, to be in waiting, to take him into custody; Mr. Kemble likewise attended with the officer.—At the appointed time the gentleman arrived; and on his insisting upon seeing Mrs. Siddons, the officer took him into custody, and they, accompanied by Mr. Kemblé, went to the Public-office, Bow-street, where he underwent a long private examination before Mr. Bond and sir W. Parsons. The result of which was, after the magistrates, as well as Mr. Kemble, had pointed out to him the folly of his conduct



in making advances of love to a married woman, he was liberated, on his promising not to be troublesome any more to Mrs. Siddons. He proves to be a native of Ireland, and is a student of Lincoln's inn, about 23 years of age.

*Admiralty-office, June 26, 1804.*

Extract of a letter from vice-admiral Rainier, commander in chief of his majesty's ships and vessels in the East Indies, to the secretary of the admiralty, dated on board the Trident, in Bombay harbour, 24th January, 1804.

The Albion and Sceptre captured the Clarisse French privateer, of twelve guns and 157 men, on the 21st of December, in latitude 1 deg. 18 min. south, and longitude 95 deg. 20 min. east. The Clarisse sailed from the Isle of France the 24th November, victualled for six months, to cruize in the bay of Bengal; she had not made any capture.

COURT OF KING'S BENCH,  
June 28.

*Donay executor of Donay v. Sir E. Baynton, sheriff of Wiltshire.*

Mr. Garrow stated, that this was an action for a false return against the sheriff of Wiltshire; who had returned that there were no goods at Wardour castle belonging to lord Arundel, by which he could levy the debt of the plaintiff. Mrs. Donay, the plaintiff, he said, conceiving that lord Arundel was better security than the bank of England, had lent to his lordship almost all the money she had in the world; but finding that she could not get repaid, nor the interest, she had brought her action, and recovered judgment. This was fol-

lowed by an execution, which was sent to his lordship's magnificent seat at Wardour Castle, in Wiltshire; but instead of the sheriff levying the goods, he had returned that his lordship had no goods there which could be taken in execution. In short, it appeared that all the furniture from the *state bed* to the *frying-pan* were vested in trustees; and that his lordship had only the company of them and not the property in them. All this was done by order, bearing the date of 1800, which recited that lady Arundel, whose estates were settled upon herself, had agreed that 12,000*l.*; should be raised upon her estates in Shropshire, to pay such of his lordship's creditors as he should appoint; the goods and furniture of Wardour Castle to be vested in trustees, as a security for the 12,000*l.* and in default of such appointment, the money was to vest in her ladyship, or in her representatives, who were the trustees themselves, viz. Mr. E. Arundel and lord Clifford, who had married the two daughters of lord Arundel.

Mr. Garrow commented at considerable length on this deed, which he insisted was a mere fraudulent conveyance, intended to cheat the claims of legal creditors.

The original judgment in Donay and lord Arundel was put in, by which it appeared that the plaintiff moved 2,400*l.* and 42*l.* costs. The sheriff's return to the *feri facias* was next read, which returned that the defendant had only 240*l.* which could be levied.

The defence to this case was, that the whole furniture of Wardour Castle was vested in lord Clifford and Mr. Everett Arundel, by deed, as trustees for lady Arundel, in consequence of 12,000*l.* being



being raised on her estates to pay his lordship's debts. It also appeared, on cross examination of the steward and attorney of his lordship, that these deeds were kept secret, and never executed until his lordship came to be pressed by his creditors; nor did it appear that the 12,000*l.* had ever been raised or paid to creditors. A great variety of voluminous conveyances were read, to support the defendant's case.

Mr. Garrow, in reply, commented with great asperity on the whole of the defendant's case, and characterised it as a most foul, corrupt, and stinking fraud, to defeat creditors of their just demands.

Lord Ellenborough, in his summing up to the jury, left the question to them on this short ground, whether the conveyance to the trustees was *bonâ fide*, or meant in fraud of creditors.

The jury found a verdict for the plaintiff, thereby affirming the deed of trust was fraudulent.

JUNE 29.

*S. Parke v. T. Newby.*

This cause was under very singular circumstances. Both the plaintiff and defendant are hucksters in the neighbourhood of Birmingham, and the material facts in evidence were these: The plaintiff was walking in a lane in his own neighbourhood, when he heard two men rushing up to him. Having been lately robbed, he was fearful, and passed over a gate to avoid them. He presently overheard his pursuers say, "D—n him, there he is!" They instantly leaped over the hedge, seized him by the arm, and dragged him to Mrs. Rock's public-house, at the sign of the Crown, in Great Charles-street, Birmingham; there they

charged the plaintiff with an attempt to rob them, and insisted upon his being stripped naked, that they might draw forth the property he had concealed. Mrs. Whitaker, a friend of the plaintiff, happened to be present. It was in vain that these men desired her to retire, while they exposed their captive to this critical examination. The woman said he was a friend of hers, and a very honest man, and she would see justice done him. They found nothing upon him which could excite suspicion, and he was in the sequel set at liberty. The plaintiff so maltreated was of the age of 72. He felt it necessary, in order to redeem his character, to bring an action for false imprisonment against each of these persons in the hundred court. One of the men was the nephew of the present defendant. In order to rescue his relation from this embarrassment, the defendant at first entreated the plaintiff to make up the affair; but finding the latter was determined, he threatened that the two men, who had before charged him with the robbery, should next swear to his having been guilty of an unnatural crime. This was sufficient to intimidate a much younger and more courageous man than the plaintiff. His resolution, however, rose with the difficulty and danger of his situation; and although a man had been tried, convicted, and executed at the preceding assizes on the same charge, he took the daring resolution to resist this nefarious attempt on his character and life. On the 29th of July last the defendant again endeavoured to persuade the plaintiff to suspend the actions; and on finding him unmoved, either by solicitation or menace, the plaintiff was taken up on the foul charge, and



and on the 1st of August last he was conducted from his dungeon before Mr. Rix, one of the magistrates for the county of Warwick. When he arrived, he met one of the men by whom he was before molested, and against whom he had commenced an action. The name of this man was Sadler, and it was contrived that he and his wife should make this horrid accusation. The man had given his evidence, and the matter was to be confirmed by the wife, when it occurred to Mr. Paris, a reverend gentleman present, that the whole was an atrocious conspiracy. He therefore humanely interposed, and entreated that the accuser might be detained until his accomplices should be produced. The magistrate complied; the woman was sent for, and contradicted the testimony of her husband in every particular, although he had deposed that she was in company with him, and was witness to the whole transaction. It is needless to say, the plaintiff was discharged. The defendant had sustained so principal a part in this last scene, that he was under the most serious apprehensions for his own safety, and he had already become acquainted with the firm character of the plaintiff. If he were brought before a jury, and his flagitious conduct were exposed in its true colours, not only the honest indignation, but the dispassionate judgment of twelve unbiassed men, in an action for damages, would sweep away the whole of his property, and consign him for life to a gaol. In this situation he signed a bond to the plaintiff for 5000*l.* payable in six months; to obtain payment of which this action was brought.

Mr. Erskine stated the particulars to the court and jury. He

said, the charge for which this bond was intended as a remuneration was such as would leave his client's name "to stink for ever in the nostrils of mankind;" and he added, so great was the affliction of Sadler, that the pangs of conscience had occasioned insanity. He then called Mr. Fallows and his sister, who deposed to the signature to the bond to which they were witnesses. They also detailed the conversation which passed at the time, indicating that the defendant was perfectly *compos mentis*, and acquainted with the contents of the instrument.

Messrs. Gibbs and Parke, for the defendant, contended, that the testimony of Fallows was untrue, from its inconsistency; and they brought forward many witnesses to destroy the credibility of the evidence for the plaintiff, from the character of the deponent.

Lord Ellenborough drew the attention of the jury to all the material points of the cause; dilated on the credence to which Fallows was entitled; and concluded with saying that the determination of the jury would be wholly governed by their opinion, if the bond was or was not fraudulently obtained.—  
Verdict for the defendant.

#### COURT OF EXCHEQUER,

June 29.

*Admiral Berkeley v. Whiting & others.*

This was an action for a libel on the character of admiral Berkeley, which appeared in a weekly paper, called *THE ROYAL STANDARD*.

Mr. Erskine stated the plaintiff's case with great energy and eloquence. He dwelt on the value of character, and the honest pride which an honourable man must necessarily feel in the possession  
and



and preservation of it. Those who disregard it are generally negligent of the means of acquiring it. Tacitus, one of the most enlightened judges of human nature that ever wrote, observes, that they who despise fame despise the virtues which bestow it.—“*Contemptores fame contemnunt virtutes.*” The libel in question was gross and malignant, written with a view to divest this gallant officer of those qualities which are most essential to a naval or military character. It was signed an “Old Sailor,” and described admiral Berkeley as a *shy cock*—as a follower of the dastardly maxim so pointedly set forth in Butler’s humorous poem of Hudibras—

“He who fights and runs away  
“May live to fight another day;  
“But he that is in battle slain  
“Can never live to fight again.”

And the infamous publication charged him with a particular act of cowardice on the glorious 1st of June; when, as it stated, he went below, merely because he got a bloody nose by one block (his head) happening to knock against another.

The libel having been ascertained to have been published by the defendants,

Captain John Monkton, of the royal navy, was examined for the plaintiff, and stated, that he was first lieutenant on board the Marlborough, when she was under the command of captain Berkeley, in the engagement of the 1st of June 1794: he in his situation as first officer on the quarter-deck, had an opportunity of observing the behaviour of the plaintiff, who on no occasion during the action appeared to be deficient in courage, coolness, or ability, but conducted himself like a British officer. The

witness produced minutes made during the proceedings of the ship and fleet in the engagement, and read part of them to the court; by which it appeared, that on the 1st of June the signal was made by lord Howe, on board the Queen Charlotte, for the Marlborough and Defence to bear down on the enemy’s line; in compliance with which, the plaintiff conducted his ship towards the enemy, and with great precaution ordered the crew not to fire until close to the ships which they had to engage: his orders being obeyed, they did not engage till between the stern of one Frenchman and the head of another, when the Marlborough raked both, and threw the French line into the greatest confusion; she then dropped to leeward of the enemy, and was engaged by an 84 gun ship on the larboard bow, and a large ship on the starboard quarter, after having forced two ships to strike to her. By this unequal contest, and being separated from the British fleet, which was then to windward, she was totally dismasted, had upwards of thirty men killed, and a hundred wounded. The plaintiff fought on the quarter-deck the greater part of the engagement, and received a violent contusion on his forehead by a splinter shot; in consequence of which, by the advice of his officers, he went down in the cockpit to have his wound dressed, after giving his sword and the command of the ship to the witness, his first lieutenant, during the plaintiff’s absence, who remained with the surgeon. The ship was reduced to the most shattered condition; her stern was shot away; her bowsprit, masts, and the last of her colours. At the same time, Le Montagne, a French ship mounting one hundred and thirty guns on four decks, was bearing



bearing down to sink the Marlborough, but was cut off by the Royal George. Under such circumstances, the witness kept the command during the plaintiff's illness, who appeared to have been dangerously wounded. There was not the smallest want of courage to be imputed to the plaintiff, and the witness saw that he behaved like a brave British officer.

Mr. Romney, the surgeon of the Marlborough on the 1st of June 1794, proved that he dressed the wound which admiral Berkeley had received in that action; that as soon as it was dressed the admiral (then captain Berkeley) attempted to go upon deck, but fainted on the cockpit stairs, and continued for a long time in a state of insensibility. From the wound itself, and all the symptoms attending it, he was convinced that there was a serious concussion of the brain, which made it absolutely impossible for captain Berkeley to have remained upon the quarter-deck.

Mr. Forbes was a surgeon resident in London, and visited the plaintiff about the latter end of July; he had seen the wound in his forehead, which had partly exfoliated the skull; he was convinced that such a wound must have been attended with such a concussion of the brain as would render it impossible for him to remain on the quarter-deck as commander of the ship. He should have judged, from the appearance of the wound, that it must have produced insensibility and stupor almost immediately.

Admiral Duncan gave the plaintiff a most excellent character for officer-like conduct.

Lord Hood and earl St. Vincent attended for the same purpose.

The chief baron and the jury, 1804.

however, expressed their entire satisfaction with the testimony of the gallant admiral, and dispensed with examining more evidence.

Mr. Dallas, for the defendants, made a very long and able address to the jury in mitigation of damages; he described the libel to have been sent to the defendants in an anonymous letter, and from want of caution, and without any design to injure the reputation and honour of the gallant admiral, it had been published. The unfortunate men, he observed, who had been employed merely as mechanics, namely, the printer and publisher, ought, in justice, to be excluded from the quantum of damages, as they had acted under the orders of Congreve, the editor.

Mr. Dauncy followed on the defence, with arguments extenuating the defendant's conduct.

The lord chief baron observed, no defence had been made; and, having censured the publication of the libel, from its evil tendency, directed the jury to give such damages as they adjudged commensurate to the injury it produced.

Verdict for the plaintiff, One thousand pounds damages.

## JULY.

11. Last night at eleven o'clock, a most alarming fire broke out at Gandon's cooperage, George-yard, Whitechapel, which entirely consumed the premises in the space of twenty minutes. The conflagration was so great at the commencement, that the people who inhabited the contiguous houses fled naked into the street. The warehouses of Messrs. Samlin and Co. had a narrow escape, the front of the windows being at one time in a blaze, which was in time fortunately

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nately extinguished by a plentiful supply of water. This is the fourth time, within these few years, these premises have been burnt.

COURT OF KING'S BENCH,

July 12.

*Kensington v. Fenton.*

This was an action of ejectment, to recover the possession of several houses in Bartholomew-close.

Mr. Gibbs stated, that the plaintiff was the eldest son of the late lord Kensington, whose name was William Edwards, and who was tenant for life of estates left him by his brother, with remainder to the plaintiff in tail. A power had been given to the late lord Kensington, by his brother's will, to grant leases for 99 years, upon three lives, reserving the best improved rent. By virtue of that power, he had granted a lease of several messuages in Cloth-fair, near Smithfield, to a Mr. Champion, one of which was rented by the defendant. The object of this action was to vacate that lease, on the ground of the rent reserved being inadequate to the annual value of the premises at the time the lease was granted, which was in 1784. The lease in question was renewable on the death of any one of the lives, without a fine. This was also a ground of forfeiture. It had been once renewed by the late lord, who, it was supposed, had taken a fine, though the fact did not appear upon the face of the lease. The rent reserved was only 11*l.* though the premises were worth three times that sum. He should prove these facts, and the verdict of the jury must necessarily be in his favour.

Several witnesses were called, who gave their opinions as to the value of the houses in the year

1784. Some described them as worth 27*l.* a year, and others 23*l.*; but it appeared that their information on the subject was extremely vague and incorrect. The houses at the time of the demise were in a very dilapidated state, and had, at a very considerable expense, been altered and repaired by the lessee.

Lord Ellenborough, after the examination of each witness, intimated his opinion, that their testimony fell very short of proving that the late lord had made an improvident bargain with his tenant.

There were three other actions which depended on the verdict in the present one.

Mr. Erskine, in the course of a very eloquent address to the jury for the defendant, regretted that the present lord Kensington was not in court, to witness the disgraceful scene which his agents were exhibiting in his name. That young nobleman, whose gay and fashionable pursuits precluded his attention to the concerns of his fortune, would doubtless have been ashamed of having occupied the time of the court and jury, and would instantly have consented to a nonsuit. He was a young man recently come to the possession of a patrimony adequate to support, with splendour, any title his majesty could bestow on a subject; it was therefore placing him in a most invidious point of view, to advise him to appear in a court of justice, for the mean and unworthy purpose of grinding and oppressing his tenants, who had derived their titles from his father. It was a degradation of his own character, an insult to the shade of the deceased lord, and a proof of the want of filial piety, to attempt, by litigious objections, to set aside acts recognised



nised by his parent. The defendant's landlord had, on the faith of the late lord Kensington, expended upwards of 1200*l.* in repairing these premises, which were in a low neighbourhood, and, at the time he took them, in a most ruinous condition. It was an indication of an avaricious disposition on the part of the plaintiff, to wish to anticipate the enjoyment of his reversion, and, wallowing in wealth as he was, to desire to have in his possession the produce of all the money laid out on the assurance of his father's title. The learned counsel, after a variety of very severe and pointed remarks, trusted that the jury would, by their verdict, express their indignation at this action, which was only the first of a series of others that stood ready for trial.

Lord Ellenborough thought the late lord had, under all the circumstances, obtained the best improved rent he had a right to expect, and had acted with due regard to the interest of the reversioner.

The jury, without a moment's hesitation, returned a verdict for the defendant.

17. A most melancholy accident happened yesterday by the falling in of two houses in Dunk-street, near Great Garden-street, Mile-End New Town. Both these houses were let out to poor people with small families: in the first house were five families besides lodgers, and in the second about the same number. It is but justice to say, that the surveyor of the district, as well as the landlord of the premises, gave notice to the inhabitants, some weeks ago, to quit, as their lives were not thought safe; and on Monday several of the poor sufferers, in consequence of that advice, looked out for dwellings to

remove to, but, failing of success, were under the necessity of remaining where they were. As soon as the neighbours were recovered from the alarm which so dismal an accident occasioned, they set to work to clear away the rubbish, with the laudable intention of saving as many lives as possible. A person of the name of Richards was the first who relieved some of the unfortunate sufferers from their dreadful situation. The confusion of cries under the ruins rendered it almost impossible at first to discern the exact spot where they lay. At length he found one Royston, his wife, and son, who had occupied a room up two pair of stairs: they were all much bruised, and were sent immediately to the London Hospital. Next he found four children, two of whom were seriously injured, and were sent to the same hospital; the other two had the good fortune to be screened from the ruins by a piece of timber, and escaped unhurt; they were sent to Mile-End workhouse to be taken care of. On searching further, Richards found a female child, about nine months old, between two pieces of timber, unhurt; the little innocent was lying on its back, playing with its clothes, unconscious of any danger. She greeted her deliverers with a smile; and was sent after the others to the workhouse. Further assistance arriving, the search was continued with great ardour: a man, named Box, his wife, and three children, were traced by their cries to the cellar, when they were dragged from the window unhurt. It appears that this family had occupied the ground-floor, and had fled into the cellar for safety, on first hearing the crash. Two old women were found, one of the age of 90,



and the other 80; they occupied a back room up two pair of stairs. The former had been confined to her bed seven months; neither of them received the least injury, and were sent to the workhouse.

The most distressing part of this spectacle was a poor woman, who had lain-in on Sunday last: both herself and child were materially injured. The alarm of the woman was so great, that her death was the consequence.

Before nine o'clock such exertion had been used, that the whole of the persons were found who it was supposed were missing; and, however miraculous it may appear, not one of them was found dead; very few had their limbs broken. A widow and her daughter, who dwelt in a back room up two pair of stairs, were among those most hurt; also a man and his wife, who occupied a garret. When the accident happened, nearly all the people were in bed: consequently when they were taken from the ruins they were entirely naked, and had not a rag to put on except what they obtained from the humanity of the neighbours.

Out of the 35 persons who were found, 14 only were sent to the hospital; some few who were not dangerously hurt, and had friends, wished to be carried to them: those not so fortunate were lodged at the workhouse. It was a lucky circumstance that the party-wall between the two houses did not give way, or many persons must inevitably have perished.

#### CAMP, EAST BOURN.

18. This morning, about nine o'clock, whilst the troops were performing their accustomed exercise on the right of the lines, an alarm-

ing fire broke out in the centre of the camp, which brought about a great deal of bustle. The conflagration commenced in the temporary mess-room erected for the officers of the 48th regiment; and as the fabric was composed chiefly of wood and straw, it was soon reduced to ashes. The contiguity of an ammunition tent, and the very inflammatory materials of which the huts are composed, which, in the vicinity, had been built by married soldiers, caused a great degree of anxiety. Fortunately, however, the fire ceased where it commenced; and as the mess utensils were saved, little damage was sustained.

This accident excited a lively sensation in the surrounding country, and along the coast. The fire and alarm beacons, on all the different hills, were immediately seen on fire, and a considerable degree of alarm must have been the consequence.

On Sunday a man in the service of Mr. Porter, of Felixstone, Norfolk, was struck dead, from the top of a hay-stack, during a storm of thunder and lightning, and a dog killed which lay at the foot of the ladder. The stack was set on fire; and another man near it had his head singed. The storm extended over the whole of Norfolk and Suffolk, and did much injury in different quarters. At Bury, a cow was struck dead in a field belonging to Mr. Butcher. At Harwich, during the same storm, another man was struck dead, while assisting to cover a hay-stack from the rain. His watch was entirely melted, and some halfpence in his pocket were found run in a mass, as if melted in a crucible. The farmer, who was standing at the bottom of the ladder, had his foot much burnt.

*Admiralty-*



*Admiralty-office, July 21.*

Copy of a letter from vice-admiral lord viscount Nelson, commander in chief of his majesty's ships and vessels in the Mediterranean, to Wm. Marsden, esq. dated on board the Victory, at sea, May 19.

Sir,

I herewith transmit you, for the information of the lords commissioners of the admiralty, a copy of a letter from captain Pettet, commander of his majesty's sloop Termagant, giving an account of the boats of that sloop having, on the 15th instant, taken possession of the French chebeck privateer Felicité, off Port Favona in Corsica, which it appears the enemy had scuttled previous to leaving her, as she soon afterwards sunk.

I am very much pleased with captain Pettet's exertions in having destroyed this vessel, as she was one of the finest privateers in this country, and had captured two of our merchantmen last year, off Tunis.

I am, &c.

NELSON and BRONTE.

*Termagant, Port Forma Island,  
off Corsica, May 15.*

My lord,

I have the honour to acquaint your lordship, that at two p. m. I chased a strange sail under the land, but before I could arrive up with her, she got into the port Farma, and anchored behind the reef of rocks. I came to with a sloop, and sent the boats in, who brought her out; but, from the enemy's having scuttled her, she went down within half a mile of the shore, in fourteen fathoms water; she proved to be the Felicité French chebeck, commanded by captain Felix Podesta, belonging to Ajaccio, mount-

ing two long guns in the bow, and six brass swivels, besides small arms, &c. and I believe sixty men, as she appears to have rowed thirty oars.

I am sorry to add, that one man was wounded in boarding. I cannot say too much in praise of the crew and officers upon the occasion.

I have the honour to be, &c.

R. PETTET.

The right hon. viscount Nelson, &c.

*Admiralty-office, July 24.*

Copy of a letter from capt. George Morris, commander of his majesty's sloop the Penguin, to William Marsden, esq. dated off Senegal Bar, the 25th of March, 1804.

*His majesty's sloop Penguin, Senegal Bar, March 25.*

Sir,

I beg you will be pleased to acquaint my lords commissioners of the admiralty, that, cruizing off Senegal, according to their lordships' orders, on the 17th instant, a French privateer schooner, in endeavouring to avoid his majesty's brig under my command, ran on shore near the bar, where I had great reason to hope, from the surf running high, she would have been destroyed; in which I was disappointed. The surf continuing, I had no opportunity of destroying her till the 24th instant. On the 23d, in the evening, I observed two armed schooners had dropped down to the mouth of the river; and on the morning of the 24th, from the one on shore having shifted her position, I had reason to believe they were endeavouring to get her off. I therefore stood as close in shore as the nature of the coast would admit, and commenced an attack on them, in hopes of



driving them up the river, and eventually to burn the one on shore. We exchanged shot for an hour and a half; when, finding I could not get sufficiently close to effect my purpose, I stood off.

Lieutenants Williams and Rayley, with many of the crew, having volunteered their services, and fearing she might be got off, and rendered a further annoyance to our trade, I was inclined to accept their offers, though the armed schooners were then within two cables' length of her, and the surf still running high threatened much opposition to their exertions. At ten p. m. I dispatched lieutenant Williams in the jolly-boat (conceiving her best adapted to the surf), with orders to destroy her, if possible; at one a. m. I had the satisfaction to see her completely on fire, and at daylight totally destroyed. The service was performed unobserved by the enemy, and reflects great credit on lieutenant Williams and his party, for the cool and steady manner in which they conducted the enterprise, and merits my greatest acknowledgments and thanks.

I learn she was called *La Renommée*, a vessel of large dimensions, commanded by citizen Renaud, mounting 12 six-pounders, two of which were on board when destroyed, and two nines, manned with 87 men, belonging to Senegal, from Cayenne, last from Goree.

I have great pleasure in adding, that not a man was hurt on this occasion.

I have the honour to be, &c.

G. MORRIS.

W. Marsden, esq. admiralty.

*Admiralty-office, July 24.*

Copy of a letter from the right hon. lord Keith, K. B. admiral

of the blue, &c. to Wm. Marsden, esq. dated at Ramsgate, the 22d inst.

Sir,

I transmit, for their lordships' information, a copy of a letter from captain Owen, of his majesty's ship the *Immortalité*, to rear-admiral Louis, acquainting him that the enemy's flotilla, outside of Boulogne-pier, had been surprised at their moorings by the late gale of wind, and sustained very considerable loss in attempting to regain their ports.

Their lordships will not fail to observe how much captain Owen expresses himself to be satisfied with the merits of captains Jackson and Heywood, of the *Autumn* and *Harpy*, and lieutenants Richardson and Price, commanding the *Bloodhound* and *Archer* gun-brigs.

I have the honour to be, &c.

KEITH.

*His majesty's ship Immortalité,  
Boulogne east seven or eight  
leagues, July.*

Sir,

The wind yesterday set in strong from the N. N. E. and N. E. by N. and made so much sea that the enemy's vessels in the road of Boulogne became very uneasy; and about eight p. m. the leemost brigs began to get under weigh, and work to windward, whilst some of the luggers ran down apparently for Etaples; their force was then forty-five brigs and forty-three luggers.

I made a signal to look out on these vessels, which was immediately obeyed by the *Harpy*, *Bloodhound*, and *Archer*, who closed with them, giving their fire to such as attempted to stand off from the land; the *Autumn* was at this time getting under weigh, and lost no time



time in giving her support to the vessels already on this service, and continued with them, during the whole weather tide, to fire, from time to time, on such of the enemy's vessels as gave them opportunity. At day-light this morning there were nineteen brigs and eight luggers only remaining in the bay; and about six o'clock these began to slip single and run to the southward for Etaples or the river Somme, the Autumn and brigs being then too far to leeward to give them any interruption.

As soon as the tide permitted this ship and the *Leander* to weigh, we stood in with Boulogne, when I perceived that a brig, a lugger, and several large boats were stranded on the beach west of the harbour; the enemy were shipping and endeavouring to save from them what they could, but I have not a doubt the rising tide would complete their destruction; three other brigs and a lugger were on the rocks near the village of Portee, totally destroyed; a brig and two luggers remained at anchor close to the rocks with whefts up, and the people huddled together abaft; the brig had lost her topmast, top-sail, and lower yards, and one of the luggers the head of her mainmast; the sea was making a perfect breach over them, and if the gale continues their situation is hopeless.

The merits of captains Jackson and Heywood, as well as those of lieutenants Richardson and Price, are so well known to you, that I need only say, they acted on this occasion with the same decisive promptness they have always shown; and though the night prevented my seeing all that passed, there cannot be a doubt but that their well-timed attack caused the

enemy's confusion, and occasioned much of their loss, which, taking every circumstance, is, I doubt not, far beyond what fell within our observation.

I have not yet been able to collect the reports of these officers, but will forward them the moment that they join me.

I have the honour to be, &c.

(Signed)

E. W. C. R. OWEN.

Rear-admiral Louis.

26. On Friday morning last a melancholy circumstance occurred in Norwich:—As Mr. Joy, an hospital pupil, Mr. Samuel Barker, wine-merchant, Mr. Robert Barker, and Mr. Rackham, were bathing near the new mills, they swam off with an intention of going to the mills; but Mr. Joy and Mr. S. Barker, perhaps fearful of their powers, turned about with an intention of swimming back to the bath-house; but the current, or eddy, which set in for the mills that morning unusually strong, prevented them. On alarm being given, Mr. Rodwell the dyer's men, as soon as possible, put off with their boat, and took up Mr. S. Barker, (who had been supported by Mr. Rackham) after having gone down twice, and was disappearing the third time, totally exhausted. Mr. Robert Barker also made great exertions to save Mr. Joy: at one time he held him by his hair; but Mr. Joy being much heavier, and incapable at that time of assisting himself, Mr. Barker was compelled to let him go, and he disappeared: nevertheless, with a view if possible to render him assistance, Mr. Barker humanely dived near the place where he went down, but without any effect, and

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during chief part of the time the situation of all four had been extremely perilous: the mills were stopped, several boats with creepers were soon procured; but though every possible exertion was made, it is supposed he must have been under water near twenty minutes before he was found: at last, a man of Mr. Rodwell's brought him up within ten or fifteen yards of where he went down. The best professional assistance was instantly procured, the body was immersed in a copper of warm liquor, every exertion to inflate the lungs and reanimate the body, which patience and judgment could devise, was resorted to, but, we lament to say, in vain. This young gentleman, who was in his 19th year, was the son of Mr. Joy, surgeon, of Docking: the amiableness of his manners, and the rectitude of his conduct, would have rendered his life of beneficial consequence to society, and have made his untimely death a subject of the severest regret to his family, and to all who had the happiness of his friendship, or the pleasure of his acquaintance. His body was interred yesterday morning; and we are happy to add that Mr. S. Barker, whose life was nearly thus terminated, was sufficiently recovered to attend the remains of his unfortunate companion to the grave.

*Admiralty-office, July 28.*

Copy of an enclosure from captain Robert Dudley Oliver, commander of his majesty's ship the *Melpomene*, to William Marsden, esq.

*Melpomene, off Havre,*

My lord, *July 24, 1804.*

Since my letter to your lordship of the 17th instant, we had very

light and variable winds for three days, which were succeeded by a gale from the northward, when the bombs had some difficulty to keep clear of the shore. Yesterday the wind having got to the S.W., I stood in with the squadron, and at eleven made the signal for the bombs to try their range; they placed themselves with the utmost precision immediately off the pier heads, and at a quarter past eleven began a most tremendous fire of shells and carcasses, which was continued without intermission for an hour and a half. In a very few minutes the town was observed to be on fire; and as the pier was very full of vessels, it is impossible but they must have suffered considerably. The vessels which had been outside the pier, during the bombardment of the 16th, were so much annoyed as to retire, some into the pier, and some up the river; one of them was towed on shore under the batteries, and has been since taken to pieces. The enemy's mortar batteries have been very considerably increased since the attack of the 16th; and although the fire from them on the bombs was as great as, I will venture to say, was ever experienced, they being considerably within the range, yet it is with the most inexpressible pleasure I acquaint your lordship, that not a man has been hurt. A shell passed through the mizen stay-sail of the *Zebra*, another carried away the spare top-sail-yard of the *Merlin* and two chain-plats, and grazed her side; and a twenty-four pound shot cut the spare top-mast and some other spars, and lodged in the booms of the *Hecla*; this is all the damage done. It is impossible for me to find words to express my admiration of the conduct of the captains Sykes, James, Paul, and Beauchamp,



champ, and the other officers and crews of the bombs, for the able manner in which they placed and managed their vessels; and also to the officers and men of the royal artillery embarked on board of them, for the judicious manner in which they fired the shells. Some luggers came out of the pier during the bombardment and fired their guns; but they were made to keep at a respectful distance by the vicinity of the Merlin, Pluto, Locust, and cutters, which were always ready to give assistance where wanted, as were the other ships in the squadron in the situations assigned to them. I have the honour to be, &c.

ROBERT DUDLEY OLIVER.

*Right hon. lord Keith, K. B.*

[This gazette also contains a letter from vice-admiral sir J. T. Duckworth, K. B. commander in chief at Jamaica, to William Marsden, esq. dated Port Royal, Jamaica, June 10, 1804, enclosing a return of nineteen vessels captured and destroyed by his majesty ships under his command.]

## AUGUST.

*Admiralty-office, August 1.*

Extract of a letter from captain Columbine, of his majesty's ship Ulysses, to commodore Hood, dated May 7.

On April 30 we fell in with, off the Bocas, and captured, after a few hours chase, *Le Petit Décidé*, a French lugger privateer, J. Bideau master, with one long brass four-pounder, and twenty-six men, quite new, had been a fortnight from Guadaloupe, but had taken nothing.

## WARWICK ASSIZES.

*Cooke, esq. v. the earl of Warwick.*

3. This was an action to recover a compensation in damages against the defendant, lord lieutenant and *custos rotulorum* of the county of Warwick, for a trespass committed by him upon the property of the plaintiff. The damages were laid at 1000/.

Mr. Dayrell stated the case, on the part of the plaintiff, whom he described as the son of a very respectable gentleman in this county. He was possessed of a small independent fortune, was married to a lady of the greatest respectability, with whom he lives in a domestic manner; in the winter residing in London, and in the summer in various parts of the country. The learned counsel then stated the various places to which the family had gone in the course of the summer; at length the plaintiff, in the beginning of September 1803, was called to London to attend his mother, who was extremely ill. He left in the possession of George Hands, the Warwick carrier, two trunks and a hamper, to be forwarded to Hampton Lucy, near this town. These packages, on the 9th day of September (by an order which the learned counsel read, signed by the defendant), were seized by one of the constables of the parish of St. Mary, and conveyed to the guard-house. Mr. Dayrell said, he was at a loss to conceive, where the defendant could have found such a precedent,—not in military law, he was certain; the property of British subjects in British land was held sacred, where the laws would equally protect the peer and the peasant. He knew of no right, as lord lieutenant of the county, by which he was empowered to seize



on the property of a British loyal subject, and treat him as a traitor or felon. The English law did not furnish any right. The plaintiff therefore came for justice, and at the hands of a jury of his countrymen, justice he was sure to receive. The property of the plaintiff was, as he had stated, conveyed to the guard-house, and an order was sent to two military officers, high in command in the Warwickshire militia, to attend on the following Sunday, with the noble defendant, to examine the contents. Accordingly on the Sunday, the lord lieutenant, colonel Packwood, major Wheeler, the constable Kemp, and a blacksmith, who was sent for to break open the trunk, all met in the guard-house, where they began to rout out the contents, which consisted of dirty linen belonging to Mrs. Cooke and the rest of the family; these were strewed about the floor, some put in and others left out. And here he must complain of the indelicacy of the noble defendant's conduct, as Mrs. Cooke was within a short distance of the spot, and might have been sent for. They might have been well satisfied the trunks could not have run away, for they were safely deposited in the guard-house, with two colonels of battalions to guard them. But all this was done, for what purpose it was impossible for him to guess. The plaintiff had been denounced in the face of his country as a traitor or felon, no such charge had been substantiated; and yet the noble defendant, who had been the cause of his disgrace, had not tendered any amends, or, as was his duty, set the plaintiff right in the eyes of the world. His character had been outraged, and his property seized. Was it to be endured, that because a gentleman

chose to live a retired and domestic life, in the bosom of his affectionate family, that he should, at the will or caprice of a man high in office, be dragged forth from that privacy and seclusion, and denounced to the world as a felon or a traitor?

Thomas Kemp, the constable of St. Mary, proved, that on Saturday the 9th of September, 1803, he received an order from the defendant in the following words:

“I, George, earl of Brook and Warwick, do command you, and every one of you, to seize any books, papers, parcels, or packages, which may be in the hands of George Hands, the common carrier, directed for Mr. Cooke, or — Cooke, esq. at Hampton Lucy, and the same deliver over to the custody of the keeper of the guard-house at Warwick, after putting on the same your proper seal.

(Signed)

“BROOK and WARWICK.”

To the constable, &c.

The witness, Kemp, then proved, that in obedience to this order he seized two trunks and a hamper, which he delivered to major Wheeler, at the guard-house in Warwick, having first put his seal on them; that he knew Mr. Osborn, a miller and farmer, at Hampton Lucy, but knew nothing of what passed there, nor had he ever heard any cause for suspicion respecting the character of the plaintiff. He was bound to obey the orders which he had received from the lord lieutenant.

Mathew Clogie, the keeper of the military stores, proved the receipt of the trunks and hamper; was present on the Sunday when they were examined. The earl of Warwick, colonel Packwood, and major Wheeler, came together.—He was desired by his lordship to bring



bring out the trunks and hamper; the witness was asked by the noble lord how they could be opened, and whether he could send for a blacksmith; accordingly George Ireland was sent for, and he opened them with a false key. After they were opened, lawyer Woolley was sent for; the witness went for him. On his return he found the linen on the floor; there was a quantity of shirts, shoes, hose, bed linen, gentleman's apparel, &c.; and in the hamper was a quantity of books. When the gentlemen were satisfied with examining the contents, the witness was ordered to pack them up; which he accordingly did.

Mr. serjeant Vaughan then addressed the jury on the part of the defendant. He observed upon the nature of the action, which was stated to be, to recover damages "for seizing, detaining, and breaking open, and forcing certain trunks and hampers, tossing, tumbling, and damaging the same," for which the plaintiff had laid his damages at one thousand pounds. It was their province to estimate what damages the plaintiff had sustained in this tossing and tumbling bout, to entitle him to claim one thousand pounds! The learned serjeant then proceeded to comment upon the statement of the plaintiff's counsel, in which he had come to the conclusion, that all the defendant had done, was to be considered in a military capacity. He contended, the jury were not bound so to consider it—they were to recollect that the defendant united in his official capacity, the characters of not only lord lieutenant, but *custos rotulorum*. He not only, therefore, was to be considered in a military capacity, but in a civil one. As *custos rotulorum*, he was at the head of the magistracy of the county, all the

magistrates throughout the county deriving their authority from him. The learned serjeant was surprised, therefore, that the counsel for the plaintiff could find any difficulty in admitting the defendant's civil capacity; in that capacity he was amenable to the supreme government of the kingdom. The questions for the jury to decide, with respect to the law and the facts of the case, were, whether the defendant was authorised to represent to the secretary of state, circumstances which had come within his knowledge as *custos rotulorum*, respecting the plaintiff's conduct, and upon that representation the consequences that followed. With respect to the question of damages, he should submit, under the direction of the learned judge, that one penny, or one shilling, was sufficient, supposing the law or the case was in the plaintiff's favour, for no specific damage had been proved. He would put it to the candour of the jury to say, whether any thing had occurred in the course of the examination which would sanction the epithets of indecent and indecorous, as applied to the noble defendant. The learned serjeant, after commending the propriety with which the gentlemen concerned in the examination of the trunks had conducted themselves, proceeded to detail what he denominated the facts of the case; namely, that the plaintiff had come to Hampton Lucy, taken lodgings there at a Mr. Pritchard's, where his conduct had excited suspicion of his loyalty, from these circumstances, that he would not allow his letters to be fetched from the post-office, but went for them himself; that he refused to sign the paper which was delivered to him for the general defence of the country, assigning as a reason, that he had given



in his name at London: these and some other circumstances were construed by a Mr. Osborn, a miller and farmer at that place, into symptoms of disaffection, or at least, causes for that suspicion; in consequence of which he communicated the same to the defendant, and it was discovered that these packages were lying for him at Warwick. The defendant, upon this communication, wrote to Mr. secretary Yorke, and received orders from government to act as appeared best to him for the safety of the state. Under this impression he had done no more than his duty: considering the precarious situation of affairs in this critical conjuncture, no blame could possibly attach to the noble lord. If any fault was to be laid at his door, it was the fault of a strong rooted and invincible attachment to the government of his country, which government, conceiving he was entitled to protection, were now affording him that protection.

Sir Nash Grose thought the question of law was clearly in the plaintiff's favour, and therefore evidence need not be produced.

Mr. Dayrell warmly contended, that after the statement which the learned serjeant had made, it was requisite, nay his client had a right to demand to be further heard in vindication of his character. Was it to be permitted that a charge of disloyalty should attach, and a British subject not to be at liberty to repel it?

Sir Nash Grose observed, that the plaintiff had a right to recover, and to the amount of the damage he had sustained; none, however, had been proved. He then stated the whole of the evidence, and put it to the jury to say, whether any evidence was adduced to show that

the defendant acted from an evil spirit. In a crisis like the present, there was good reason for magistrates to be circumspect; if they dared to do any thing maliciously or oppressive, they would be punished.

The jury gave a verdict for the plaintiff, One shilling damages, upon an understanding that the same would carry costs of suit.

*Admiralty-office, August 7.*

Copy of a letter from vice-admiral sir Charles Cotton, bart. to William Marsden, esq. dated on board his majesty's ship the San Josef, off Ushant, August, 1804.

Sir,

Herewith I transmit a letter for the information of the lords commissioners of the admiralty, from vice-admiral sir Robert Calder, with its enclosures, giving an account of the destruction of two of the enemy's corvettes by his majesty's ship the Aigle, off Bourdeaux.

I have the honour, &c.

C. COTTON.

*Prince of Wales, off Rochefort,  
July 19.*

Sir,

I have the pleasure to inform you his majesty's ship the Aigle (whom I had placed in shore to watch the enemy's motions) fell in with two French national corvettes, which captain Wolfe drove on shore near Bourdeaux and burnt, having first used every means without effect to get them afloat. The Aigle found only twenty-six French officers and men left on board these corvettes when they took possession of them; the rest had made their escape on shore.

The names of these corvettes are La Charante and La Joie; the first  
a ship



a ship, of 20 guns and 104 men, and the other a brig, pierced for 14 guns, but had only eight mounted, and 75 men. They had on board the ordnance and stores complete for a corvette just launched at Bayonne, to which place they were carrying them.

I here enclose captain Wolfe's letter to me of his proceedings in the destroying of these vessels, and also a list of the prisoners he has got on board; these I have directed to be sent into port by the first opportunity.

I have the honour, &c.

R. CALDER.

To the hon. W. Cornwallis, &c.

*His majesty's ship the Aigle,  
July 16.*

Sir,

After passing the squadron on the 9th instant, when at the anchor-  
age No. 5, was drove to the south-  
west by the gale; on the 10th we  
lost sight of the Hawk. On the  
12th, when standing in for Cor-  
douan, in beating up for the ren-  
dezvous, saw a large brig and ship  
with all sail set, steering to the  
southward. I supposed them to  
be part of the squadron from Roche-  
fort. At five p. m. closed with  
them (they never altering their  
course from our first seeing them),  
prepared, and expected, from their  
manœuvres and signals, a close ac-  
tion, they having shortened sail,  
with men at their quarters, when  
within proper distance: but, to our  
great surprise, after firing their star-  
board broadside at us, they ran the  
ships on the strand, within a stone's  
cast of each other, and directly took  
to the boats, which instantly swamp-  
ed on touching the beach, about  
ten leagues, to the south of Cor-

douan, and some of them were  
drowned. The wind being at N. E.  
and about two points off the land,  
I had great hopes of being able to  
get one, or both of them afloat  
again, and anchored the Aigle  
about a mile from the beach; but  
after a night and part of the next  
day in fruitless efforts, from the  
very great surf set in by the late  
western gale, I was obliged to de-  
stroy them by fire; which was effec-  
tually done by Mr. Furlonge, mas-  
ter, and Mr. Steel, the gunner, as  
scarcely any part was perceptible  
when the Aigle made sail.

The prisoners on board the Aigle  
are John Sanson, lieutenant de  
vaisseau, the officers, and eight  
soldiers and sailors of the French  
national ship the Charante, of 420  
tons, 20 guns, six-pounders, four  
swivels, and 104 men.

Benjamin Godobert, lieutenant  
de vaisseau, his officers, and nine  
soldiers and sailors of the French  
national brig La Joie, 250 tons,  
pierced for fourteen, but only eight  
twelve-pounders mounted, two swi-  
vels, and 75 men. La Joie had  
sixteen six-pounders, a quantity of  
arms, powder, shot, and other ord-  
nance stores in the hold. They  
were from Rochefort, but had sail-  
ed in the morning from the Gi-  
ronde, stealing along shore for Bay-  
onne, and intended to return from  
thence with stores for the French  
marine at Rochefort, which I am  
proud in having prevented, and  
trust in meeting your approbation.  
None of their shot struck us, nor  
did ours materially injure them, as  
only their masts and sails were a  
little torn.

Had they come alongside, as ex-  
pected, the brig having shifted her  
guns for the purpose, I am certain  
the crew of the Aigle would have  
acquitted



acquitted themselves as Englishmen do on those occasions.

I have the honour to be, &c.

G. WOLFE.

Sir Robert Calder, bart. vice-admiral of the blue, &c.

*Admiralty-office, August 7.*

Copy of a letter from captain Robert Dudley Oliver, commander of his majesty's ship *Melpomene*, to William Marsden, esq. dated off Havre, the 2d instant.

Sir,

I beg leave to enclose to you, for the information of my lords commissioners of the admiralty, a copy of my letter to lord Keith, of this date.

I have the honour to be, &c.

R. D. OLIVER.

*Melpomene, off Havre,  
August 2, 1804.*

My lord,

The wind having changed yesterday to the N. E. I determined to make another attack on the numerous vessels in Havre pier, as well as those which were moored outside, amounting to twenty-eight brigs, and as many luggers, and stood in with the squadron, as per margin\*. At half-past seven p. m. the bombs were well placed off the pier-heads, when they began a well-directed fire, which was kept up with great spirit for about an hour and a half. The town was very soon observed to be on fire in two places; and seven brigs, which were on the outside of the pier, found it necessary to move; one lost her main-mast. As the wind came more off the land, and a strong ebb tide setting out, I ordered the

bombs to discontinue firing. At half-past nine we anchored with the squadron about five miles from the light-houses. As the Explosion had fired away all her shells, and the *Zebra* most of her powder, I had them supplied from the *Meteor*; and at half past five this morning got under weigh, and stood in with the squadron again. Before eight the bombs took up their position near the pier-heads, and kept up a constant fire for near three hours with shells and carcasses; so many shells burst on and about the piers, that the enemy's fire was observed latterly to slacken considerably, and it was evident they were in the greatest confusion: some brigs and luggers, however, got under weigh, and came out to endeavour to annoy the bombs: but all the other ships and vessels of the squadron were so well placed as to give chase to them immediately; and it was only by cutting away their boats, which were astern, and retreating very speedily into shoal water, that they escaped; but not before they had run the gauntlet of all the ships and cutters, and were very closely engaged for a considerable time by the *Merlin*, *Favourite*, *Locust* gun-brig, and *Hope* cutter; and on this occasion I feel particularly indebted to the exertions of captains Brenton and Foot, and lieutenants Lake and Dobbin, whose vessels were very often during the action in very shoal water, with a falling tide: indeed nothing but the bad sailing of the *Merlin* prevented captain Brenton from cutting off the sternmost brig.

The *Locust* lost her main-top-

\* *Melpomene*, *Ariadne*, *Trusty*, *Magnanime*, *Merlin*, and *Favourite*; *Hecla*, *Meteor*, *Explosion*, and *Zebra* bombs; *King George*, *Hope*, *Nancy*, *Countess of Elgin*, and *Locust* cutters.



mast, but I have not heard of any other loss. The conduct of the captains Sykes, James, Paul, and Beauchamp, commanding the bombs on both these occasions, was highly meritorious; and although their ships were frequently struck, it gives me great pleasure to add that no lives have been lost. What damage may be done to the enemy by near five hundred shells, and carcasses thrown into the town and bason last evening and this morning, it is impossible to calculate; but I may without vanity say, that if the exertions of the enemy's flotilla be not much greater on our shore than on their own, we have little to dread from them.

I cannot conclude without expressing my obligations to every officer and man employed in this squadron. I am, &c.

(Signed)

R. DUDLEY OLIVER.

Right hon. lord Keith, K. B.

14. A very extraordinary and fatal accident occurred on Sunday, at the house of Mr. Hoffman, confectioner, in Bishopsgate-street. It appears, that about two o'clock in the afternoon, one of the shopmen, having occasion to go down to the ice-well to fetch up ice, by some means set fire to a quantity of straw which covered it. The straw being damp, did not burst forth into a flame, but continued to burn in a smothered state; the man did all he could to extinguish the fire, but without effect; and it extended itself all over the well. By this time the man became so ill and faint, from the stench arising from the damp straw, that it was with difficulty he escaped suffocation. When he reached the top of the well he was still exceedingly ill, and went to

bed, but without mentioning to any one what had happened. After some time, being considerably recovered, he got up and communicated the whole of the affair to his fellow servant, and mentioned his determination to go down the well again, to make a second effort to put out the fire. He accordingly went; and having remained there a considerable time, his fellow-servant called him from the top of the well, and not receiving any answer, he became extremely alarmed, and imparted his fears to a porter belonging to the London Tavern, which is directly opposite to Mr. Hoffman's. The porter immediately went down into the well to see what had become of the shopman, whom he found to all appearance dead; and though he himself was greatly affected by the smoke, he thought he should be able to bring the deceased to the top of the ladder, upon his shoulders. The poor fellow had nearly succeeded in his humane intention, and was within a short distance of the top, when he was obliged to throw the corpse from off his shoulders, and it fell to the bottom of the well. The porter himself was so completely overcome by the stench, that he was not able to keep his hold of the ladder, and almost at the same moment dropped down himself. The man at the top was dreadfully agitated, and alarmed the whole house. As it was now supposed that the fire had nearly spent itself, and that there was less danger, a person was found, who offered to venture down into the well, to save, if possible, the life of the porter who fell from the ladder: it was too late; the man was found to be dead. This person was down only a short time before he began to experience the ill effects of the foul air; and notwithstanding



withstanding he made the best of his way to the ladder, he was so completely overpowered by the stench, as to be unable to get to it. In a short time he also became insensible, and unable to answer when called to. Mr. Hoffman's livery servant, with the greatest promptitude and resolution, then determined to venture down to save the life of the third man, who had so courageously gone down to preserve others; but he had the precaution to fasten a rope round him, and he desired the persons above to pull him up the moment they found him unable to answer them. This last effort happily succeeded; he brought up the man out of the well, who was all but dead, and has been since, with much difficulty, restored. During the whole of Sunday night he was in a delirious state. The two dead bodies were brought up out of the well, and carried to St. Peter's church, where they lay till the coroner's inquest was held on them last night at the London Tavern. The jury brought in a verdict, that the two deceased persons, named Rolfe and Robinson, died by suffocation.

16. The coroner's inquest sat yesterday afternoon, at the sign of the Hoop and Grapes public-house, adjoining Queen-square, Westminster, on the body of Mary Champante, who drowned herself on Monday last, in the canal in St. James's-park.

Robert Burnett, a waterman at the coach-standing, Buckingham-gate, swore that he saw the young lady alight from a hackney-coach near the Gate. He saw her walk down the park towards St. James's, and though it was raining very hard, she carried a parasol which she had in her hand, out by her side, instead of over her head. In

about half an hour after, in consequence of an alarm being spread, he climbed over the railing. As he went down on the Westminster side of the park, he saw the lady struggling in the water, and two men at a short distance from her. When he came up to them, they said that they did not know how to swim, and they were afraid to go in. He thought that it was not very deep, and, as he could swim a little, he went in, and with the assistance of Francis Yarrow, park-keeper, brought the body on the grass. She was taken to the Hoop and Grapes public-house, nearly opposite Queen-square police-office, as it was near that part of the canal which faces, that she was taken up. The water was not deeper than to reach up to his breast.

The park-keeper corroborated his testimony.

John Brookes, a labouring man, who happened to be passing at the time, said that the sentinel near the palace desired him, for God's sake, to run into the inside of the park, as he believed that a woman was drowning herself. He did so, and saw a female in the water; he ran up to the guard-house, gave the alarm, and then returned, but was afraid to venture in.

Mr. Whitrow stepped forward and informed the coroner that he was the partner of the young lady's father; they keep a bookseller's shop in Jewry-street, Aldgate. The deceased was in her one-and-twentieth year, and was an amiable girl, except that she was a little flighty at times; but nothing serious was apprehended from her flighty manner. Her mother had been subject to fits of insanity. On the morning of the day that the unfortunate affair took place, the deceased came from Chelsea, along with



with her sister. She wished to say something to her father, but he was busy and could not listen to her: she then said that she would go and destroy herself, but no person believed that she had any such intention. She told the clerk to call her a coach; but while he was gone for that purpose, she went out towards George-street, he believed, and got one herself.

The coroner wrote down the verdict—"Deranged in her mind, and in a fit of insanity drowned herself." This the jury subscribed their names to, and it was returned accordingly.

*Admiralty-office, Aug. 21, 1804.*

Copy of a letter from sir Charles Cotton, bart. vice-admiral of the white, to William Marsden, esq. dated on board the San Josef, off Ushant, the 16th instant.

Sir,

Herewith I transmit, for the information of the lords commissioners of the admiralty, a letter from captain Innes, of his majesty's sloop Rambler, giving an account of the capture of two sloops of the enemy, and of having driven on shore the rest of a coasting convoy at St. Gillies.

I am, &c. CHAS. COTTON.

*His majesty's sloop Rambler,  
at sea, Aug. 16.*

Sir,

I have the honour to acquaint you, that being between the Isle Dieu and the main, on the morning of the 7th inst. I observed nine sail of sloops and chasse-marées close in shore, steering to the southward and eastward. About nine it fell calm: I then sent the boats under the command of lieut. Foreman and Mr. Cox, master's mate, to take

possession of them; but, favoured by a light air, they came to an anchor under the battery of St. Gillies, and within musket-shot of the shore; notwithstanding which two of the sloops were brought off with great gallantry, under a smart fire from field pieces and musketry: the others cut their cables, and ran aground so near to the pier-head, it was impossible to get them off.

I have the honour to be, &c.

(Signed) THOS. INNES.  
Sir C. Cotton, bart. &c.

*Admiralty-office, Aug. 28.*

Copy of a letter from admiral lord Gardner, commander in chief of his majesty's ships and vessels on the coast of Ireland, to Wm. Marsden, esq. dated at Cork, the 22d of August, 1804.

Sir,

Captain Maitland, of his majesty's ship Loire (who has been cruising for the last three weeks for the protection of the homeward-bound convoys), arrived here this afternoon with the Blonde, a large French privateer, of 30 guns, 9-pounders, and 240 men. Enclosed I have the honour of transmitting to you, for their lordships' information, a copy of capt. Maitland's letter to me on the subject, together with a list of wounded on board the Loire.

I have the honour to be, &c.

GARDNER.

*Loire, at sea, Aug. 18.*

My lord,

I have much satisfaction in announcing to you the capture, by his majesty's ship Loire, of a frigate privateer, belonging to Bourdeaux, mounting thirty 9-pounders, with 240 men, which I had the good fortune to fall in with in lat. 49 deg. 30 min. long. 12 deg. 20

(F)

min.



min. on the 17th instant. She has been a wonderful annoyance to the British trade during the present war, and is the ship captain Gordon so gallantly contested with, until the Wolverine was in the act of sinking. She held the Loire a chase of twenty hours, the last quarter of an hour being a running action: from our situation, together with the darkness of the night, few of our guns took effect upon her till latterly. Seven of her men were badly wounded, two of whom are since dead. Six of the Loire's men were wounded, two only severely, and, I am happy to add, are in a fair way of recovery. I have every reason to be pleased with the conduct of the officers and ship's company. I have the honour to command, during the short time the action lasted; and feel satisfied, that had she been a frigate of equal force to the Loire, they would have lost none of the credit they so deservedly obtained on a former occasion.

The Blonde had been out twenty days from Passage, in Spain, without having made any capture. She is a very fine ship, sails remarkably fast, and appears to be very well calculated for his majesty's service. Enclosed is a list of the wounded on board the Loire.

I have the honour to be, &c.

F. L. MAITLAND.

Admiral Lord Gardner.

List of the wounded on board his majesty's ship Loire, in action with the Blonde, 17th August.

Midshipman—Mr. Connor.

Seamen—Wm. Taylor, James Thompson (severely), Joseph Covey, Dav. Light, and Alex. Brown.

F. L. MAITLAND.

last Thomas Clare, a private of the 2d Staffordshire militia, encamped at Whitley, was committed to Morpeth gaol, charged with the wilful murder of William Todd, a pitman. The following are a few particulars of the transaction:—The deceased on the Saturday before last had gone to a small public-house in the neighbourhood of Earsdon, along with his son, and there got a good deal intoxicated, and refused to go home with his son. The son, having to call at a place a little distance from the public-house, left his father. The father quitted the public-house about ten o'clock, and strayed about a mile from the house to the place where his body was found next morning.

It had been a custom with several privates of the Staffordshire militia to go out early in the morning to gather mushrooms. T. Clare, the prisoner, went out at 3 o'clock on Sunday morning by himself. He was followed by another private, and two drum-boys, who observed him in the fields, and asked him whether he was going mushrooming that morning? He answered that he was, and disappeared. Shortly after the boys heard some cries, and concluded that a farmer had caught Clare among his pease, and was chastising him. They ran towards the place, but lost the voice and heard several blows. They observed Clare's foraging cap on the footpath: immediately a man leaped from the side of the hedge, and made off over a clover field. They knew this to be Clare; and upon going to the place from whence he had come, they found the body of Todd, warm, but lifeless, and dreadfully bruised with a stake from a gate in the neighbourhood. They

28. MURDER.—On Wednesday



They returned to the camp, but found that Clare had preceded them. He was wrapped in a blanket, and pretended to be asleep. Some of the clover grass was sticking in his shoes. He was immediately secured.

The prisoner is only 21 years of age, and was married about two months ago.

### SEPTEMBER 1.

On Wednesday night a most shocking accident happened at Windsor barracks. Robert Alice, a private belonging to the Coldstream regiment of foot guards, doing duty there, was taken unwell while in bed about eleven o'clock; he got up and went to the privy, where it is supposed either for want of strength to support himself, or losing his balance, the seat being only a rail, he fell backwards, and the place being extremely large, it is supposed he was immediately suffocated, it being above six feet deep. The boy belonging to the tap adjoining the barracks, heard a noise, and having no doubt but some person had fallen in, having heard a man groan, very properly gave the alarm. He got a candle and lantern and searched, but could see nobody. The boy then went to the guard-house, and gave the alarm; but they were all in bed. Serjeant Wright and two privates arrived at the place in a few minutes: they got some strong leather straps and dragged for him, but without effect; when two of his comrades, of the names of Hughes and Rosethorne, determined on using their utmost exertions to recover him, and stripped themselves naked and were let down by sheets being fastened

round their bodies; and after some exertion, they found him suffocated and without the least appearance of life, and a most shocking spectacle. Thursday at twelve o'clock, the coroner's jury sat upon the body, and brought in their verdict—Accidental death.

It is supposed that a short time since, a private belonging to the Staffordshire militia was lost in this place in a similar way, as he was missing, and no tidings were ever heard of him.

*Admiralty-office, Sept. 4.*

Copy of a letter from Mr. Mungo Gilmor, commander of the East India company's ship the *Eliza Ann*, to William Marsden, esq. dated off the Start Point, the 31st of August, 1804.

Sir,

Having sailed from St. Helena on the 9th of July with the *Union* and Sir William Pulteney extra India ships, put under my command as senior officer, by order of governor Patton, I have the honour to acquaint you, for the information of the lords commissioners of the admiralty, that on the 22d of August, being in the lat. 48 deg. 5 min. N. and long. 13 deg. W. at daylight, a French brig privateer came down upon us, and at eight A. M. engaged the *Union*, she being the headmost ship, and struck upon the *Eliza Ann* and the *Sir William Pulteney's* coming up, after an action of about twenty minutes: she proved to be *La Venus*, mounting 16 guns, four, eight, and twelve-pounders, with 68 men on board (of her crew), commanded by capt. Pierre Henry Nicholas Benamy, a lieutenant in the French navy; out eleven days from St. Andero, had recaptured a



Spanish lugger and sloop, detained by his majesty's sloop Wasp; five men of her crew were prisoners on board; in the action the privateer had one man killed, and two badly wounded. The privateer parted company from us in the night of the 29th, to the westward of Scilly, and I am in hopes she will get safe into port, having only three prisoners left on board, the rest being on board of our ships.

I am, &c. M. GILMOR.

La Venus had seventy-three men on board when she sailed, and was fitted out for a cruise of forty or fifty days.

#### 5. LAW REPORT EXTRAORDINARY.

##### *Court of Piedpoudre.*

Before the steward of Bartholomew fair and a special homage.

##### *Castlecrantz against Brownlow.*

The plaintiff is a foreigner, a native of Bremen, and proprietor of one of the theatrical booths in Bartholomew fair. He cited the defendant, who is a respectable young man in the city, to answer for an injury, which, if repeated, might be attended with the most serious consequences to him in his profession. He had announced the play of the Tempest, or the Enchanted Island, and had filled every part of his theatre with spectators, anxious to see the performance. The curtain drew up, and the play began; but when the heroine of the piece was to have presented herself, Miranda was no where to be found. Search was made after her, but in vain—a substitute could not be procured; the audience were dissatisfied, and insisted on having their money returned. Their demand was enforced with such violence, that the manager was compelled to comply. He returned

all the door-money, amounting to 3*l.* 17*s.* He continued his inquiries, and at length learned tidings of the fair fugitive. He repaired to a house of doubtful fame in the neighbourhood of Cloth-fair, and there found Miranda *tête-à-tête* with the defendant. She refused to return with him, till the police-officers took both her and her paramour into custody, and brought them to the court appropriated to the discussion of all disputes arising within the precincts of the fair. The defendant admitted the fact of persuading Miranda to accompany him; but he contended, that as her act was voluntary, he was not accountable to any one. The steward addressed the homage, or jury, observing, that this was a case which peculiarly called for their interference. It was by acts of immorality that this antient institution had been brought into disrepute; but he hoped the verdict on the present occasion would vindicate the character of those who had the control of it. The woman, he said, was, to all intents and purposes, the servant of the plaintiff, and the successful exercise of his profession depended on her attendance. It was therefore a wrongful act to entice her away at the moment when her services were wanted.—The homage returned a verdict for the plaintiff, 3*l.* 17*s.* the amount of the money the plaintiff had been obliged to return.

##### *Riviere against Brownlow.*

This case arose out of the former. It was a complaint by the husband of Miranda, for criminal conversation with his wife. The facts proved were precisely the same, with the addition of the testimony of the waiter of the house where the defendant and the lady were disco-



discovered. There was no doubt in the minds of the homage as to the plaintiff having been dishonoured, and a verdict was returned in his favour to the amount of 5*l*. The defendant not having sufficient money about him to discharge these two sums, he was detained till he sent for his friend, who paid the whole of the damages and costs. There were several other trials; but the circumstances attending them were not of sufficient importance to merit particular mention.

8. FIRE.—A little before one yesterday morning a very destructive fire broke out in the sugar-houses belonging to Mr. Hodgson, Church-lane, Whitechapel. How it originated has not transpired; but it appears, that a short time before, the warehouseman, agreeably to custom, inspected every room in which a fire had been used in the course of the day. On looking into the sugar-loaf room, he was exceedingly annoyed by a smell proceeding from fire; and immediately procured assistance in the neighbourhood, to be ready to extinguish the flames, should they appear; he next gave notice to the commandant of the Whitechapel volunteers, who ordered the drums to beat to arms. This circumstance occasioned, at first, a little consternation among the inhabitants, who apprehended that the French were landed. Many of the corps were impressed with the same idea, and obeyed the summons with infinite alacrity. At the time above mentioned, the flames burst forth with great violence, and raged with uncommon fury. The premises were so well stocked with sugar, that it fed the flames till they increased to an astonishing height, and might be seen at

twenty miles distance from London. Several engines by this time were at work; but such was the height of the buildings, that they could do little towards extinguishing the flames. They therefore chiefly directed their attention to the houses on the right and left, which through their exertions escaped injury. The two sugar-houses continued to burn till ten o'clock yesterday morning, when they were completely gutted, and nothing to be seen but bare walls. Out of the great quantity of sugar the premises contained, only 200 loaves were saved. Besides the Whitechapel volunteers, those of Portsoken-ward and Spitalfields attended to protect the inhabitants, and the premises on fire, from being plundered; in which they fully succeeded, notwithstanding the many attempts made by the freebooters from Bartholomew fair.

10. Wednesday morning last about 3 o'clock, a most alarming fire broke out in the stables of the White Hart inn, situate in the Back-lane, in Colchester, occasioned by a lighted candle being imprudently left therein, which, setting fire to the straw, communicated in an instant to the hay and straw lofts above, and entirely destroyed the building, together with 8 horses belonging to the 21st light dragoons. The alarm was given by a party of the royal east Middlesex regiment, who were doing duty as town guard. Too much praise cannot be bestowed on the inhabitants in general for their well-timed assistance; and to the military in particular, who repaired immediately to the spot, under the directions of general sir James Craig, who was present, urging them to use every exertion in extinguishing the flames; which



were about five o'clock fortunately subdued. Many thanks are due to major Maitland, of the Fife-shire, for his unwearied exertions. The engines from the barracks, as well as those of the town, were of infinite service. Providentially it was a perfect calm, otherwise the flames would most probably have destroyed the opposite buildings; and so great was the danger at one time, that the gable end of Messrs. Can and sons' grocery warehouse had actually begun to catch the flames, but, by the well-directed use of the engines, they were prevented from spreading. The inn itself has sustained no damage, the above stables being detached therefrom.

**SHOCKING ACCIDENT.**—Lately, as a young man of the name of Robinson, a farmer, at Denham, near Uxbridge, was driving his team down Denham-hill, he took the usual precaution of locking the hind wheel, to prevent the cart running down too rapidly. The shaft horse, however, being young and mettlesome, began to plunge, and frightened the fore-horse, when they both set off on a gallop. The young man ran forward to stop them, but unfortunately fell across the road at the head of the fore horse; the cart went over him; one wheel broke his legs, and the other severed his head from his body. A poor woman with three children, at the bottom of the hill, seeing the horses approaching, endeavoured to get the children out of the way, but she had not time. The two eldest were crushed to death, and she was thrown with the youngest, an infant in her arms, into the ditch. They were both much bruised, but are likely to recover. The young man was to have been married in a few days, to miss Watts, of Denham.

*Admiralty-office, Sept. 11.*

Copy of a letter from commodore Hood, commander in chief of his majesty's ships and vessels at the Leeward Islands, to William Marsden, esq. dated at Barbadoes, 13th July, 1804.

Sir,

I enclose a list of captures by the squadron during the last six months, and an extract of a letter from captain Columbine, of his majesty's ship *Ulysses*, and have the honour to be, &c.

SAM. HOOD.

List of vessels captured by the squadron under the command of commodore Samuel Hood, from the 1st of January to the 30th of June 1804.

French privateer *Bellone*, of 8 guns and 24 men, captured by the *Cyane*, January 24, 1804.

English ship *Mercury*, laden with lumber, recaptured by the *Hippomenes*, January 26, 1804.

French privateer *Le Furet*, of 4 guns and 45 men, captured by the *St. Lucia*, same date.

English ship *Mariana*, laden with fish, recaptured by the *Heureux*, same date.

French privateer *Harmonie*, of 12 guns and 82 men, captured by the *Cyane*, January 27, 1804.

American schooner *Freedom*, laden with sugar and molasses (French property), captured by the *Drake*, February 2, 1804.

French corvette *Curieux*, of 16 guns and 105 men, captured by four of the *Centaur's* boats, February 4, 1804.

French privateer *Recompense*, of 10 guns and 80 men, captured by the *Cyane*, February 4, 1804.

French privateer *Le Bijou*, of 4 guns



4 guns and 45 men, captured by the St. Lucia, February 21, 1804.

French privateer Flibustier, of 6 guns and 68 men, captured by the Heureux, same date.

An English ship, laden with a valuable cargo, recaptured by the Imogen, March 1804.

An English ship, laden with a valuable cargo, recaptured by the Drake, same date.

French privateer Egyptienne, of 36 guns and 250 men, (formerly a national frigate,) captured by the Hippomenes, March 25, 1804.

English ship Reliance, laden with merchandize, recaptured by the Hippomenes and Osprey, same date.

English ship Rigby, with troops, recaptured by the Hippomenes and Osprey, March 25, 1804.

French privateer La Rose, of 1 gun and 49 men, captured by L'Eclair's boat, with 10 men, same date.

English ship Hope, laden with sundries, recaptured by the Osprey, April 1804.

French privateer Belle Déesse, of 1 gun and 26 men, captured by the Ulysses, same date.

Dutch national frigate Proserpina, of 32 guns, captured by the Centaur and squadron at Surinam, May 5, 1804.

Dutch national corvette Pylades, of 18 guns, captured by ditto, same date.

Dutch national schooner George, of 10 guns, captured by ditto, same date.

Dutch merchant ship Pelican, laden with sugar, &c. captured by ditto, same date.

Dutch merchant ship Johanna, laden with sugar, &c. captured by ditto, same date.

A Dutch merchant ship, laden

with sugar, &c. captured by ditto, same date.

English ship Boyd, laden with plantation stores, recaptured by the Galatea, May 19, 1804.

A French sloop, name unknown, laden with provisions, captured by the Netley, same date.

A French schooner, name unknown, laden with provisions, captured by ditto, same date.

English ship Cyrus, laden with sundries, recaptured by the Cyane, same date.

French privateer Les Trois Freres, of 1 gun and 24 men, captured by the Ulysses, May 15, 1804.

English ship Beaver, laden with slaves and ivory, recaptured by the Galatea, June 25, 1804.

English ship Esther, laden with coals and potatoes, recaptured by the Heureux, same date.

An English ship, laden with sundries, recaptured by the Busy, same date.

A Swedish galliot, laden with French property and passengers; captured by L'Eclair, same date.

SAM. HOOD.

Extract of a letter from captain Columbine, of his majesty's ship Ulysses, to commodore Hood, dated June 22, 1804.

On the 15th of last month I captured Les Trois Freres, a French schooner privateer, with 1 gun, and 24 men, Jean Detreuil master, from Martinico.

#### CRIM CON.

#### *Ennis-Summer Assizes.*

Before the honourable baron Smith, and a special jury,

This was an action for damages, brought by the reverend Charles Massy against the most noble the marquis of Headfort, for criminal



nal conversation with the plaintiff's wife.—Damages at 40,000*l*.

Mr. Hoare stated the case for the plaintiff.—The plaintiff, the reverend Charles Massy, is the second son of a gentleman of high distinction in this county, who has been more than once called to the representation of it, by a free and honourable election; and not only so descended, but is a person of liberal education, a member of one of the learned professions, in the prime of life; a man not only of inoffensive manners, and of innocent life, but a man whose virtues correspond with his situation in society, and adorn the profession he has adopted. In the year 1796, Mr. Massy became attached to miss Rosslewin. Mr. Massy being a second son, and not independent of the bounty of his father, possessed then a living but of 800*l*. a year. Sir Hugh Massy, his father, disapproved a match which had not fortune to support the claim of beauty, and had therefore proposed one with a young lady of a neighbouring county, which, he conceived, in point of fortune and of connection, far more eligible; and on that occasion had offered to settle on his son, the plaintiff, 1100*l*. a year, in landed property, together with the young lady's fortune; but, declining the hand of an amiable and accomplished lady, refusing an ample and independent establishment, with the additional enjoyment of parental bounty and approbation, and foregoing all these advantages, Mr. Massy proved the sincerity and purity of his attachment, by a sacrifice of fortune to affection, and married miss Rosslewin in March 1796; and the happiness of the young couple, for 8 succeeding years, not only seemed to be,

but really was, unmixed and unabating; he loving with constant and manly ardour, she with chaste and equal affection; and during the interval, Heaven had blessed their union with a boy, the bond and cement of their present happiness, the pledge and promise of future multiplied felicities. Then, at this period, Mr. and Mrs. Massy exhibited such an example of domestic contentment and satisfaction to their neighbours, their relatives, and their friends, as to convince them that the sacrifices he made were not too great: that her grateful and affectionate returns, to a conduct so nobly liberal and disinterestedly affectionate, were not too little. Guilt and treachery had not yet made their way into the abode of peace and innocence; all was quiet, tranquil, and happy, till, to the misfortune of this couple, and of this county, the marquis of Headfort made his appearance at Limerick. Mr. Massy happened to have had some years since a living in the county of Meath, where lady Bective, the mother of the marquis of Headfort, was a principal parishioner, and from whom, during his residence in the parish, Mr. Massy received much polite and hospitable attention. From this circumstance of his acquaintance with her, Mr. Massy waited on her son, on his arrival at Limerick, invited him to his house, and strained his narrow means to give the son of lady Bective every proof of his sense of her former attentions and politeness. But, whilst indulging the hospitable spirit of our country, little did Mr. Massy think he was introducing into his house the man who could conceive the blackest and basest designs against his peace and honour; that this stranger,



ger, so hospitably received, and affectionately cherished, was to pour poison into his peace, and make him a wretch; for no reasonable man could suppose that lord Headfort, at his time, would ever disturb the peace of any family—his age (for he is above fifty), his figure, his face, made such a supposition not only improbable, but almost ridiculous: yet, so it happened, this hoary veteran, in whom, like *Ætna*, the snow above did not quench the flames below, looked at Mrs. Massy, and marked her for ruin. And nothing more beautiful could he behold, and nothing upon whom it was more unlikely that such a venerable personage as his lordship could have made an improper impression. Lord Headfort spent four days at Summer-hill, on his first visit, and was introduced by Mr. Massy to the gentlemen of the first rank and consideration in the county; the bishop of Limerick, brother-in-law to Mr. Massy, and every other gentleman and nobleman in the neighbourhood. I need not, in this most hospitable part of Ireland, mention to you the consequence. Lord Headfort was received, entertained, and cherished, by the friends and relatives of Mr. Massy. Whilst Mr. Massy was endeavouring, by every polite and hospitable attention in his power, to render his temporary stay in this country not unpleasant to him, some anonymous letters first created in the breast of the plaintiff, not suspicion, but conveyed an intimation, that the marquis of Headfort was too attentive to Mrs. Massy. Too confident in the virtue of his wife, too generous to credit information so conveyed, and yet too prudent wholly to overlook or disregard it, Mr.

Massy prohibited his wife's visits to Limerick; and this was followed up, by intimating to lord Headfort, that his lordship's visits would be dispensed with at Summer-hill, his (Mr. Massy's) place of residence. Lord Headfort's visits were discontinued. His lordship promised not to repeat them.

The unaffected liveliness and simplicity of her manners, the decency of her deportment, her endearing attentions to him and her child, left not the shadow of suspicion on the mind of Mr. Massy, that she could in any wise forget her sex, her situation, or her duty; much less that she could run into the coarse toils spread for her by lord Headfort. It will shock and appall you, gentlemen, to hear the time and occasion which lord Headfort selected for the final accomplishment of his designs upon the honour of this unfortunate woman, and the happiness of his host and his friend. The day was Sunday, the hour the time of divine service; yes, gentlemen, on that day, and on that hour, set apart for the service of our Creator, whilst the reverend rector was bending before the altar of his God, invoking blessings, not only on his flock there assembled, but on the heads of the unfeeling and profligate destroyers of his comfort and honour; on such a day, at such an hour, upon such an occasion, did the noble marquis think proper to commit this honourable breach of hospitable faith, this high-minded violation of the little laws of your diminutive country, this contempt, I would almost call it, this defiance of the Almighty himself!

I have to state, what will be proved, that on Sunday, and at this hour, marquis Headfort took off Mrs. Massy from her husband's house



house at Summer-hill: they crossed the Shannon in a boat, got into a chaise in waiting for them on the road, and from thence posted to Pallas, eighteen or nineteen miles only from Summer-hill: there he and Mrs. Massy, heedless of the misery and distraction of her unhappy husband, remained in the same room the whole of Sunday night:—the noble peer did not fly—no—he made short and easy stages—not fearful of pursuit, not as a criminal endeavouring to effect his escape, but as a conqueror parading slowly through the country, and quietly enjoying the glory and honour of his triumph. What was his triumph?—The distraction of the friend he maddened with agony, the pollution of a till then spotless and innocent woman. From Pallas his lordship pursued his route to Clonmell, and there rested a night; from thence to Waterford, then to England; where, I trust, he will ever remain; because I am satisfied, that no advantage to be derived to the country from the most ample fortune expended here, could countervail the mischiefs that must flow from the application of enormous wealth to extravagant vices, and the example of such prodigal profligacy amongst us.

The first witness called was the reverend Dr. Parker, who proved the marriage of the plaintiff with Mary Ann Rosslewin, his wife, in 1796. Mr. Massy was then about 23, the lady 18, lively and beautiful.

John Stackpole, esq. said, he is uncle to the plaintiff, and also uncle to his wife. Plaintiff is the second son of Sir Hugh Dillon Massy, of Donass, in the county of Clare, and possessed of two livings, of about 1000*l.* a-year. The lady being the youngest of

many sisters, her fortune was only about 200*l.* Sir Hugh Massy, the father of the plaintiff, possesses an estate of 5000*l.* a-year. Plaintiff has an elder brother, married, who has only one child, a daughter. Plaintiff has one son by his wife. His marriage with miss Rosslewin was a love match. They were a very affectionate couple.

Patrick Dunn, servant to the plaintiff, saw the defendant at Donass, the time he took Mrs. Massy away. It was about one o'clock on a Sunday, after Christmas, when Mr. Massy was at church. She came to the defendant, into the drawing-room, and desired witness to go to her room, and wait for her there. Witness went, and Mrs. Massy came to him, and asked him to carry a bundle and a dressing-box for her, which he did. The defendant was in the drawing-room at the time, with a pistol in his bosom, the stock of which was sticking out. Defendant handed Mrs. Massy down stairs, and they crossed the river Shannon in a boat. Witness, having carried the box to the water side, went back for the maid, who followed her mistress. There was a carriage at the other side just ready; a pair of hackney horses—saw marquis Headfort hand in Mrs. Massy—he put in the maid and two bundles, and went in himself, and desired the driver to go off to Limerick. Heard Mrs. Massy desire the maid to make haste.

Jane Apjohn lived as housemaid at the inn, at Pallas, about January last; remembers the marquis of Headfort and Mrs. Massy coming there, and sleeping together in the same bed.

Here the counsel for the plaintiff closed his case.

Mr. Quinn



Mr. Quinn stated the case for the defendant.—He insisted that the plaintiff was a careless and negligent husband; that Mrs. Massy was young, volatile, and giddy; beautiful and vain, of uncommon levity of disposition, and addicted to the love of dress, even beyond the ordinary passion of her sex. She passed, he said, months at the houses of single gentlemen, unaccompanied or unattended, save occasionally, by the plaintiff; and at Galway in particular, where she went on an excursion, the attentions of a military man of rank became so remarkable, and her encouragement so glaring, that her own connections found it necessary to snatch her from the spot, as from impending infamy, and hurried her to Limerick. Thus engaged in fashionable life, defendant met her first at the races of Limerick, then at the races of Mallow, unattended by the plaintiff at either place. The attentions of a man of such superior rank were too flattering to be declined—they passed under public observation at all places of public and private fashionable resort; the eyes of all companies were fixed upon them; and her reception of them, being too obvious to pass unnoticed, became the subject of general conversation. She avowed to her relations her attachment to the defendant, and her determination to go off with him.

Colonel Pepper saw Mrs. Massy, some time in September or October last, at the races of Limerick; often met her at the marquis's and elsewhere—dined with her at the marquis's—does not recollect positively whether other ladies were always in company; but, to the best of his recollection, dined with her there when she was the only

female present. Mr. Charles Massy was not always of the party. These dinners were at the earl of Limerick's house, in which the marquis resided. He knew Mrs. M. to remain there after dinner. Witness met the plaintiff in company with his wife, at the marquis of Headfort's. The latter paid her much attention in the husband's presence, and she seemed much flattered by it. His attentions were so marked, that they drew the observation of the gentlemen at the table. The company were generally composed of the officers of the marquis of Headfort's regiment.

Cross examined by Mr. Curran.

Q. You are a young man, colonel.—A. Yes, I am young.

Q. Pray, colonel, how long since the marquis left college?—A. I can't tell.

Q. You and the marquis were in college together, were you not?—A. No.

Q. Pray, how stands his account with the calendar?—A. I have taken no calendar of his age, but he is pretty far advanced.

Q. Are not there, now, a few white memoranda on his forehead; a few grey hairs, colonel?—was he not gray before he was good?—A. He is gray.

Q. You have heard him talk of action, passion, and so forth, on the general topic of gallantry?—A. Sometimes.

Q. Could you give a rough guess at the number of saints on his calendar, or how many Bessys or Pollys he may have drunk bumpers to? (On witness hesitating), I see, colonel, it is very well; I respect a soldier's taciturnity on subjects of this sort.—(No answer.)

Q. Some



Q. Some of those ladies were married, some unmarried, colonel?—A. Yes, some were and some were not.

Q. Was it not mortifying to his vanity to talk of his being so unfortunately seduced? (No answer.) Is he not vain of these gallantries of his?—A. I cannot say I perceived it.

Q. Has he not boasted of them?—A. I never heard him, that I recollect.

Q. The marquis is very rich, has a very large fortune?—A. He has, sir.

Q. The marquis is married, and has a wife, a very amiable woman?—A. He has.

Q. How many children has he?—A. He has two grown up, and two young ones; he has a son not yet gone to college.

Q. Did not other ladies dine at lord Headfort's when Mrs. Massy dined there?—A. I have seen other ladies also dine there on these occasions, and also at the bishop's house.

Q. How nearly connected is the bishop's wife to Mrs. Massy?—A. She is her sister.

Q. The bishop's is next door to lord Limerick's, in which lord Headfort resided?—A. It is.

Q. Is it not natural, from the ill state of the bishop's health, that her sister should have attended her?—A. It was, in my opinion, perfectly natural.

Q. Do you conceive that a woman living next door to a man of fifty would be equally criminal in visiting him as she would a man of twenty-five?—A. I do not think there is much difference.

Q. Were there not many ladies of distinction present at these dinners?—A. There were.

Q. Give me leave, colonel, to

ask, what do you call marked attentions? for instance, if a gentleman should ask a lady, "Madam, permit me to pour a little melted butter on your greens;" if he should ask her to take a glass of wine with him; would you call those marked attentions?—A. No.

Q. Pray, colonel, be so good to show the manner in which it should be done.—A. The attentions were such as to make her smile.

Q. Do you not believe that Mrs. Massy is now living with the marquis in England publicly?—A. I believe she is.

Q. Do you not believe that he bore her off in his own carriage publicly, without disguise?—A. Yes, I have heard it, and I believe it.

Q. By the court. You say the marquis of Headfort paid Mrs. Massy marked attentions: were they such as a husband should have disapproved?—A. They were.

Q. By Mr. Curran. There was no touch of the person?—None I saw.

Q. By a juror. Was the plaintiff ever present when those marked attentions were paid by the defendant to Mrs. Massy?—A. He was.

G. Evans Bruce, esq. examined by Mr. Goold.

Q. Are you acquainted with Mr. and Mrs. Massy?—A. I am.

Q. How long?—A. Very long with Mr. Massy; since marriage only with Mrs. Massy.

Q. How long have you known the marquis of Headfort?—A. Six or seven years.

Q. Did the marquis of Headfort know the plaintiff before he came to Limerick?—A. No.

Q. Had you any opportunities of



of knowing Mrs. Massy and the marquis of Headfort?—A. Many.

Q. Did the marquis of Headfort pay attentions to Mrs. Massy in the presence of Mr. Massy?—A. He did.

Q. Were they the same as he paid other ladies?—A. No. They were marked attentions.

Q. When did the marquis of Headfort see Mrs. Massy?—A. First time I ever saw them together was before the races of Limerick, at dinner at the bishop's.

Q. Were you last summer at the races of Mallow?—A. I was.

Q. Was the marquis of Headfort there?—A. He was. I saw him with Mrs. Massy at the assembly.

Q. Did Mr. Massy go with her?—A. He did. He left her there the first period, and went away.

Q. Did Mrs. Massy go to the public rooms while at Mallow?—A. I met her there.

Q. Did you observe Mrs. Massy expensively dressed?—A. About six weeks before her elopement, she wore very expensive trinkets, particularly a large necklace and ear-rings. I think a topaz.

Q. Did her husband observe them?—A. He must.

Q. Did Mr. Massy observe those attentions?—A. He was present when I saw what I considered attentions.

Q. Did you take any step to inform Mr. Massy of those attentions?—A. In consequence of what Mrs. Massy told me, I informed her sister, and the bishop and his brother, of her intention to elope.

Q. After this information, was the marquis of Headfort allowed to visit Mrs. Massy?—A. He was.

Q. Did the bishop do any thing in consequence of your informa-

tion?—A. He wrote a letter, addressed to Mr. Massy, which I delivered to him.

Q. Did lord Headfort see her after that, and where?—A. Yes. He did at Summer-hill, at her husband's house.

Q. Do you remember her returning from Limerick with him in his carriage to Summer-hill tête-à-tête?—A. I do. When I saw them they were tête-à-tête.

Q. Was this before or after the delivery of the letter?—A. Before.

Q. Did Mr. Massy see the marquis of Headfort after being in the carriage?—A. Often saw him after, at Summer-hill.

Q. Did you see the marquis of Headfort at Donass?—A. Often.

Q. How long before elopement was it that you saw them in the carriage?—A. About three weeks.

Q. How long did the marquis of Headfort, after the carriage scene, dine at Donass?—A. I dined with him there two days after.

Q. Do you remember any day Mrs. Massy was left alone at Summer-hill?—A. Yes, the day previous to the elopement I dined at Donass. I walked with Mr. Charles Massy from his own house to Donass. The marquis of Headfort was not there.

Q. Are you related to Mrs. Massy?—A. I am.

Q. Did she seem to you a woman of levity?—A. Always gay in her manner, and dressed remarkably well.

Q. Did you ever see any body else show Mrs. Massy any marked attention?—A. I have—more than one, besides the marquis of Headfort.

Q. Were those attentions a topic of public conversation?—A. In one instance I know they were.

Q. Was



Q. Was this before she knew the marquis of Headfort?—A. It was before.

Cross-examined by Mr. Curran.

Q. You are an intimate friend of the marquis of Headfort's?—A. Of late very intimate, since he came to Limerick; but, before that, I knew him during the rebellion at Waterford.

Q. How long before the elopement, did you know of its likelihood to take place?—A. About two months.

Q. How long before, in consequence of what the marquis of Headfort told you?—A. He never spoke to me on the subject.

Q. Did you know it would take place the day it did?—A. I did not.

Q. Was not Mrs. Massy always neat in her dress?—A. Always remarkably so.

Q. What time of the day was it you saw her in the carriage alone with the marquis of Headfort?—A. In the middle of the day, near dean Crosbie's.

Q. Was it extraordinary to see a lady with a man of fifty?—A. No.

Q. Was not Mr. Massy highly inflamed when he heard of it?—A. I am sure he was.

Q. Don't you believe he prevented her going to Limerick after that?—A. I do not; she was in Limerick after that; how often, I do not recollect.

Q. Don't you believe Mr. Massy was excessively attached to this unhappy woman?—A. I always thought so.

Q. Don't you believe his harsh reprimand of her proceeded from extreme fondness for her?—A. I always thought he loved her very much.

Q. Was it not his fondness for her made him oppose his father, and sacrifice his prospects from him?—A. I believe it was.

Q. Did sir Hugh Dillon Massy offer to settle 1100*l.* a year on him, if he married a lady of his choosing?—A. Sir Hugh could do so, and was disposed to do every thing for his children.

Q. Did plaintiff forbid the marquis of Headfort his house?—A. I heard he did from one gentleman, who said he only heard it, and I believe he did.

Q. You doubt the truth of it, because you saw the marquis of Headfort at the house?—A. Yes.

Q. Is not Limerick a calumniating place, and deals more in poetry than history?—A. Never knew a small town that was not; and Limerick is as much so in proportion as any other.

Q. Do you believe, on your oath, as a man of honour, and in the presence of your country and your God, that plaintiff connived at the conduct of his wife?—A. I believe not—I am sure he was incapable of it—his fault was more of the head than the heart.

Mr. George Ponsonby made a very able speech to evidence on the part of the defendant; and Mr. Curran addressed the jury on behalf of the plaintiff with his usual eloquence.

Baron Smith then proceeded to recapitulate the evidence as it appeared upon his notes; and, having done so, closed his charge without any further observations on the law.

Trial lasted twelve hours—Verdict for plaintiff 10,000*l.* at twelve o'clock at night, with costs.



## OCTOBER.

3.—About four o'clock, on Monday afternoon, a man, apparently about thirty-five years of age, went into the parlour of the Three Goats public-house, not far from Vauxhall gate, where he sat for some time, without calling for any refreshment, and walked out without speaking to any one; he soon after returned, and called for a pipe of tobacco, which he paid for. The tobacco was carried to him by a woman of the name of Ann Young, about forty years of age, and who acts as servant in the house: on her return to the bar, after delivering the pipe of tobacco, she requested her mistress to go into the parlour, and ask the gentleman if he wanted any thing to drink: this Mrs. Sad (the landlady) declined doing, saying, if he wanted any liquor, he might ring the bell. However, the servant again entreated her to go, saying, there appeared something so strange about him, that she wished her mistress to go and see him. Mrs. Sad complied, and went towards the parlour to see the stranger; but fortunately for her, her attention was arrested by a man, who spoke to her at the door, and to answer whom she was obliged to pass the parlour. At this instant, the unfortunate maniac rushed from the parlour, having his throat much cut, (supposed to have been done with a small penknife which he held in his hand,) and, unperceived by any one, made his way through the tap-room, to the bar, where he found the female servant Ann Young alone, whom he stabbed in the throat twice, and then knocked her down with his fist. On her attempting to rise, he plunged the

knife into her shoulder, and, on quitting her, seized a poor old man, of the name of Thomas Sutherland, who has for many years acted as ostler to Mr. Sad, and struck him with great violence on the temples, when, in one of his blows, the knife which he held entered the head of the old man, who fell to the ground. This last act of violence was committed in the presence of nine or ten men, who were sitting in the tap-room with Sutherland, yet none of them even heard or saw the outrage committed at the bar on the poor woman. After striking Sutherland to the ground, he made for the door, where Mrs. Sad was still standing, engaged in conversation, and at that time unacquainted with what had happened in the house; when she perceived that the unfortunate man was bleeding copiously at the neck. He made an attempt to stab her, and also struck at the man she was in conversation with, both of whom he providentially missed. He ran off, and was followed by one Joice, who had witnessed what passed in the tap-room. On Joice's overtaking him, the maniac furiously turned round, seized him, and unfortunately succeeded in plunging the knife into his shoulder, and wounded him so severely as to oblige him to let go his hold. The maniac being still at liberty, ranged about the road, endeavouring to stab every person that came in his way; but did not go far from the house whence he first set out. In this mischievous and dangerous state he continued for some time, there being no individual that would venture to seize him; at last, the persons who assembled were obliged to resort to stratagem, to secure him. A gentleman on horseback



horseback made a feint of attacking him, in order to attract his attention, as, from the advantage of being mounted, he could easily elude him; whilst others, armed with large sticks, kept advancing from different directions towards him, several of whom he put to the route: he was, however, at last brought to the ground, by a man who attacked him with a large broom, which he thrust into his face, and succeeded in throwing him down: great precaution and much force were obliged to be used, to wrench the knife from his hand. On being carried to the public-house, he was asked, what he could mean by making such shocking attempts on the lives of innocent persons? and the only answer that could be extorted from him was, that he meant to kill them all. The state of the unfortunate persons who suffered, is as follows:—Ann Young, wounded twice in her throat (one of which wounds has severed the wind-pipe), and stabbed in the shoulder; little hopes are entertained by the faculty of her recovery; she is attended by four surgeons. Thomas Sutherland, the old man, is likely to recover, though he still continues very ill. Thomas Joice, who was wounded in his arm, is out of danger, but will be deprived of the use of it for a considerable time.

From papers found in the maniac's pocket, his name appears to be Charles M'Kee. There was a letter from the Sick and Wounded office, dated the 10th of January 1804, informing him, that the board were of opinion that his ability as a surgeon entitled him to a better situation in the service than that which he held (which was a mate on board the Vir-

ginia frigate); and that they had been pleased to promote him to be surgeon's first mate on board the Unicorn, third rate. This commission, which bore date the 9th of Jan. 1804, was found in his pocket. He was last night sent to St. Thomas's hospital, and an expectation is entertained of his recovery.

#### EXPERIMENT AGAINST THE BOULOGNE FLOTILLA.

*Deal, Oct. 4.* The attempt at Boulogne was to try the practicability of burning the enemy's ships, when out in Boulogne roads. For this purpose a new sort of fire-ship was invented. Three smacks were loaded with barrels of gunpowder, covered with flint stones, closely stowed together, so as to make the greater explosion. The smacks were sunk very low in the water, painted to resemble the sea; so that at night they could scarcely be distinguished from the water: they looked like a large chest or a large plank floating. Below them was hung a box of machinery, something like clock-work: it would go any time from ten minutes to six hours, after a line was pulled. The person conducting it was to time the period of explosion, so that it might go off with most effect.—The smacks being towed by our ships as near as possible to the enemy, were then to be towed by a person in a small boat, called a catamaran, which he was to paddle, the catamaran being very low in the water. The whole of this apparatus could scarcely be distinguished from the sea. Of the smack only a plank could be seen floating, and only the person's head above water in the catamaran could be distinguished. Besides these smacks there were five sloops



sloops fitted as fire-ships; they were towed in by Deal boats. The coffers or smacks were silently conducted inside the French ships, that is, between them and the shore. They were not at all discovered, nor did the enemy seem to apprehend what was going on. The smacks were conducted up to the enemy's ships, laid close alongside of them, and fastened to them. The persons conducting them then set off the machinery, giving themselves time to escape, and then paddled away in their catamarans. The explosion took place most happily, and three vessels of the enemy, of the largest class, were immediately on fire. The French now began to fire their cannon and musquetry, and make a terrible bustle; but they were so taken by surprise and astonished, they knew not what to do. At this time the five sloops fitted as fire-ships were sent down upon them; one of them, by some accident, burnt too soon; another the French boarded as a prize, and a great many of their boats filled with soldiers were around it when it blew up. The other five sloops went away in fine style, and did great mischief. The explosions and illuminations were beyond every thing grand; many vessels all on fire, with their yards and rigging blazing, were seen sailing, some to devour, some trying to escape. The whole of our Boulogne squadron were close to the enemy, out of reach of the land batteries. Lord Keith and sir Home Popham were on board the *Monarch*; lord Melville was either on board the *Monarch* or the *Aimable*. All the boats of the fleet were ordered out, and were rowing about, to pick up any of our men that might be wounded, and thrown into the water. Hap-

pily not one life was lost, and only one midshipman was wounded in the cheek. Such were the good consequences of keeping this attack secret. The enemy had no expectation of it, and were completely astonished. The tremendous explosions and blazes struck them with a panic. They took to their boats, fired musquetry and cannon without object.—After our fire-ships had all been properly disposed of, our squadron drew off, as they were very near the shore. Before the attack, 53 of the enemy's ships were counted outside of Boulogne; at day-light, after the attack, only seven or eight could be seen. Eleven were at one time counted on fire, and it is supposed about forty were destroyed, though some, perhaps, escaped into Boulogne harbour before day-light in the morning. The attack began at ten at night, and the last explosion was a little before four in the morning. A gale springing up, our fleet stood away for the Downs, where they arrived last night. Lords Melville and Keith, and a large party went to Mr. Pitt, at Walmar, to congratulate him on the success of this experiment.

*Admiralty-office, Oct. 3.*

Copy of a letter from the right hon. lord Keith, K. B. admiral of the blue, &c. to William Marsden, esq. dated on board his majesty's ship the *Monarch*, off Boulogne, the 3d. inst.

Sir,

Their lordships are aware that my attention has, for some time past, been directed to the object of ascertaining the most effectual mode for annoying the enemy's flotillas at their anchorage in front

(G)

of



of their ports, under protection of their land batteries.

Having, on the afternoon of the 1st instant, arrived at this anchorage, and finding the weather promising to be favourable, and about one hundred and fifty of the flotilla on the outside of the pier, I resolved to make an experiment, on a limited scale, of the means of attack which had been provided.

The final arrangements for this purpose were made on the morning of yesterday. The officers named below\* were put in charge of the principal vessels which at this time were to be used. The armed launches, and other boats of the squadron, were appointed to accompany and protect them; the *Castor*, *Greyhound*, and some smaller vessels were directed to take up an advanced and convenient anchorage for covering the retreat, giving protection to men who might be wounded, and boats that might be crippled, and for towing off the boats in general, in the event of the wind freshening, and blowing upon the coast.

The operation commenced at a quarter past nine o'clock last evening, and terminated at a quarter past four this morning, during which time several vessels, prepared for the purpose, were exploded amongst, or very close to, the flotilla; but on account of the very great distance at which they lay from each other, no very extensive injury seems to have been sustained, although it is evident that there has been very considerable confusion among them, and that two of the brigs and several of the smaller vessels appear to be missing since yesterday at the close of day. I have great satisfaction in reporting, that, notwithstanding a very heavy discharge of

shells, shot and musquetry was kept up by the enemy throughout the night, no casualty whatever, on our part, has been sustained. The enemy made no attempt to oppose their rowing-boats to ours.

Their lordships will not expect that, at the present moment, I am to enter much into detail; but I think it my duty to state to them my conviction, that, in the event of any great accumulation of the enemy's force in their roadsteads, an extensive and combined operation of a similar nature will hold forth a reasonable prospect of a successful result.

The conduct of the officers and men who have been employed on this occasion deserves my highest commendation: I cannot more forcibly impress their merits upon their lordships' attention, than by remarking, that the service was undertaken not only in the face of, but directly under, the whole line of the enemy's land batteries, and their field artillery and musquetry upon the coast, but also under that of upwards of one hundred and fifty armed vessels, ranged round the inner side of the bay; and that the officers and men who could so deliberately and resolutely advance into the midst of the flotilla, under such circumstances, must be considered worthy of being entrusted with the performance of any service, however difficult or dangerous it may appear to be, and consequently to be highly deserving of their lordships' protection.

I have the honour to be, &c.

KEITH.

William Marsden, esq.

\* Officers in charge of the explosions above referred to:

Captains---Macleod, of the *Sulphur*; Jackson, of the *Autumn*; Edwards, of the *Fury*; Collard, of the



the *Railler*; Searle, of the *Helder* defence ship.

Lieutenants—Stewart, of the *Monarch*; Lowry, of the *Leopard*; Payne, of the *Immortalité*; Templer, of the *Sulphur*.

Midshipman—Mr. Bartholomew, of the *Inflexible*.

Captains Winthrop, of the *Ardent*, and Owen, of the *Immortalité*, most zealously and usefully superintended the opérations from the southward, and the hon. capt. Blackwood, of the *Euryalus*, from the northward.

KEITH.

Copy of a letter from vice-admiral lord viscount Nelson, K. B. commander in chief of his majesty's ships and vessels in the Mediterranean, to William Marsden, esq. dated on board his majesty's ship *Victory*, at sea, the 7th of August, 1804.

Sir,

I herewith transmit you a copy of a letter from lieutenant Harding Shaw, commanding his majesty's brig *Spider*, acquainting me with his having, on the 11th ultimo, captured *La Conception* French privateer, mounting two brass guns, and manned with 47 men, which you will please to lay before my lords commissioners of the admiralty for their information.

I am, &c. NELSON & BRONTE.

*His majesty's brig Spider,  
Alicata Roads, July 12, 1804.*

My lord,

I have the honour to inform your lordship, that I yesterday fell in with and captured *La Conception*, French privateer, mounting two brass guns, and 47 men, *Alicata*, bearing E.N.E. three leagues; fitted out from *Ajacia*, in *Corsica*, and sailed from *Girgenti* yesterday morning: have sent her into *Malta*, and sent on shore here 33

of the prisoners. She has made no capture since her leaving *Corsica*, which has been about a month. I have the honour to be, &c.

(Signed) HARDING SHAW.  
Right hon. lord visc. Nelson, &c.

Copy of another letter from the right hon. lord visc. Nelson, K. B. &c. to William Marsden, esq. dated on board his majesty's ship *Victory*, at sea, Aug. 12, 1804.

Sir,

Herewith I transmit you, for the information of the lords commissioners of the admiralty, copy of a letter from captain Donnelly, of his majesty's ship *Narcissus*, with copy of one to him from lieutenant Thompson, of the said ship, detailing the destruction of several of the enemy's coasting vessels: the importance of this service may be but little, but the determined bravery of lieutenants Thompson, Parker, Lumley, and Moore, and the petty officers, seamen and marines employed under them, could not be exceeded. I am concerned to observe that lieutenant Lumley has been obliged to suffer amputation at the shoulder joint; but I have much pleasure in saying, that this fine young man is fast recovering; his sufferings, I am sure, will meet their lordships' consideration.

I am, &c. NELSON & BRONTE.

*His majesty's ship Narcissus,  
Hierres Bay, July 11, 1804.*

My lord,

Last night we attacked about a dozen of the enemy's vessels at *La Vandour*, in this bay, with the boats of the *Narcissus*, *Seahorse*, and *Maidstone*, commanded by lieuts. Hyde Parker, J. R. Lumley, and Ogle Moore, the whole



under the orders of Mr. John Thompson, first lieutenant of this ship, who, with his gallant companions, boarded and destroyed almost the whole, under a prodigious and incessant fire of great guns and musquetry, as well from the vessels as from a battery and the houses of the town, close to which they were hauled in and well secured.

I refer your lordship to the inclosed letter from lieut. Thompson for an account of that affair; and I beg to add, that it is impossible for me to express the praise due to that intrepid officer, and the men, as well as officers of every description under his command, whose conduct I viewed with admiration. Herewith I also transmit a list of the killed and wounded, which, I am extremely grieved to say, amounts to twenty-seven.

I have the honour to be, &c.

(Signed) ROSS DONNELLY.

Right hon. lord visc. Nelson, &c.

*His majesty's ship Narcissus,  
Hieres Bay, July 11, 1804.*

Sir,

I beg leave to report the proceedings of the detachment of the boats under my command last night, whose conduct and gallantry I cannot sufficiently praise.

The attack commenced at midnight, under a tremendous fire of grape-shot and musquetry; notwithstanding which we succeeded in boarding and firing most of the enemy's vessels, consisting of eleven or twelve settees, chiefly laden. The enemy were fully prepared, and had taken every precaution to secure them, they being moored head and stern, with their bars on the beach, and completely propped together under water; we, how-

ever, towed one out in spite of their heavy and incessant fire.

This service, I am sorry to say, has cost us several valuable lives. Among the killed I have to regret the loss of that very promising young man T. Owen Roche, midshipman of this ship, who was shot in firing of the vessel; and lieutenant Lumley, Messrs. Bedingfield, Watt, Victor, and Mansell, midshipmen on board, wounded; I fear the former mortally; together with several seamen and marines severely.

To lieuts. Lumley and Moore of the Seahorse and Maidstone I feel greatly indebted for the steady and well-directed fire kept up from the launches of those ships under their command; also to lieut. Parker of this ship, for his very able support in boarding and destroying the enemy's vessels. Indeed my warmest thanks are due to every officer, petty-officer, seaman, and marine employed on this occasion.

I am, &c. JOHN THOMPSON.

Ross Donnelly, esq. captain of  
his majesty's ship Narcissus.

List of killed and wounded in the boats of his majesty's ships undermentioned, on the night of the 10th of July, 1804, in destroying a number of the enemy's vessels in La Vandura.

Narcissus—2 killed and 9 wounded.

Sea Horse—1 killed and 5 wounded.

Maidstone—1 killed and 9 wounded.

Total—4 killed and 3 wounded.

Names of the killed and wounded.

Killed.

Narcissus—Thomas Owen Roche, midshipman, and William Slanwood, able seaman.

Sea



Sea Horse — William Wiltshire, lieutenant of marines.

Maidstone—John Wood, ordinary seaman.

Wounded.

Narcissus—Thomas William Beddingfield, midshipman, in the hand, badly; James Mason, coxswain, arm and leg, badly; Robert Campain, able seaman, thigh, badly; Tho. Freshwater, able seaman, arm, badly; John Deakin, able seaman, burnt by gunpowder; Mat. Sullivan, able seaman, arm and side, badly; James Sheal, able seaman, thigh, slightly; John Hill, able seaman, in the hand; W. Shivers, private of marines, amputated finger.

Sea Horse—John R. Lumley, lieutenant, badly; Thomas Alexander Watt, midshipman; John Williams, able seaman; John Fisher, private of marines; John Williams, private of marines.

Maidstone—John G. Victor, midshipman, slightly, in the thigh; Robert Mansell, master's mate, in the hip, badly; Thos. James, able seaman, badly; John Pacton, ordinary seaman, badly; John White(1), ordinary seaman, badly; John Whiteman, carp. crew, badly; P. Dompsey, able seaman, slightly; Alex. Horn, ordinary seaman, badly; Mat. Watts, able seaman, slightly.

Total—1 midshipman, 1 lieutenant of marines, and 2 seamen, killed; 1 lieutenant, 1 master's mate, 3 midshipmen, 15 seamen, and 3 marines, wounded.

(Signed) ROSS DONNELLY,  
Captain and senior officer,

*Admiralty-office, Oct. 9, 1804.*

Copy of a letter from vice-admiral sir John Thomas Duckworth, K. B. commander in chief of his majesty's ships and vessels at

Jamaica, to William Marsden, esq., dated at Port Royal, the 24th of July, 1804.

Sir,

I herewith transmit you a letter from lieutenant Price, commanding his majesty's schooner *Flying Fish*, for the information of the lords commissioners of the admiralty.

I am, &c. J. T. DUCKWORTH.

*His majesty's schooner Flying Fish,  
Montego Bay, July 16, 1804.*

Sir,

I beg leave to inform you, that on the 14th instant I fell in with and recaptured the British schooner *Content*, which had been captured the evening before by the French privateer, *La Republique*, off Black River. From the prisoners I gained information about her, and shaped the most likely course to meet her next morning: after a chase of five hours I captured her also. She had on board when they left St. Jago, fifty men, with musquetry and one long gun, and had made three captures.

I have the honour to be, &c.

THO. PRICE, lieut. commanding.

Copy of a letter from admiral lord Gardner, commander in chief of his majesty's ships and vessels on the coast of Ireland, to William Marsden, esq. dated Cork, the 2d instant.

Sir,

I am to desire you will please to acquaint the lords commissioners of the admiralty, that his majesty's ship *Topaze* arrived here this morning with *La Minerve* French letter of marque ship belonging to Bourdeaux, bound to Martinique, pierced for 18 guns, nine-pounders, 14 only mounted, with 111 officers and men on board; which the

(G 3)

*Topaze*



Topaze fell in with on the 25th ult. in lat. 49 deg. 30 min. N. and longitude 15 deg. W.

And am, &c.

GARDNER.

9. On Saturday last, about six o'clock in the evening, a most alarming fire broke out in the back premises known by the name of Coward's-yard, in Alnwick, inhabited by poor people, which threatened serious consequences, as many other thatched houses were nearly adjoining; but the wind providentially kept moderate. Two engines were soon on the spot, and were well supplied with water; notwithstanding which, four houses in one row, containing nine families, were burnt down. The further spread of the fire was stopped chiefly by unroofing an intermediate house, and thereby cutting off the connection between the fire and the Golden Fleece public-house. The chief use of the engines was by playing repeatedly on the adjoining thatched houses, so that by keeping them continually wet, the sparks were prevented from taking hold. The poor occupiers lost a great part of their furniture; but happily no lives were lost. Lord Percy, with that truly benevolent spirit which characterizes the noble family, animated the people to exertion by his presence till after midnight, when the fire was so much subdued within the walls as to be out of danger of spreading. Capt. Bell's company of Percy Tenantry, and captain Barber's company of the Cheviot Legion, were of essential service in protecting the furniture saved from the flames, and guarding the avenues to facilitate the carrying of water to the engines. The duke of Northumberland has inquired into the state of the sufferers, and we have no doubt will mate-

rially relieve them. The property was insured about three months ago in the Newcastle fire-office. Mrs. Forster, late of Brunton, kindly took the poor sufferers under her protection, and supplied them with victuals, &c. till they could procure other habitations. A woman who occupied one of the houses had gone out for water, and had locked her two children in the room, one between five and six, and the other about two years of age. Some corn in the room that she had gleaned, it is supposed, from the children playing with a lighted stick, had been set fire to. One of the neighbours, discovering the house in flames, broke open the door, and luckily got the children safe out.

#### THE ADMIRAL ALPIN.

11. Captain Rogers, of the Admiral Alpin, arrived yesterday at the India house. He came home on board the Calcutta. Upon his arrival at Bengal, with his second and third officers, a court of inquiry was held upon him, upon the 18th February, for the loss of his ship, taken by the Psyche French privateer, and he was most honourably acquitted. At that time, the capture of any letters on board was totally unknown to him; and, on his arrival here, he was astonished at the publication in the Moniteur, of which he had the first notice from the London prints. He states, however, that the letters so published were those sent down after the dispatch; and that he had destroyed the company's dispatches, and all letters which he conceived to be of any consequence. As his conduct is the subject of general conversation, the following account, as it was given by him in evidence before the court



of inquiry in India, will be read with interest :

“ We left Portsmouth on the 28th of August 1803, and on the 3d of January, in lat. 0. 50 south, lon. 92 east, we perceived an enemy from the mast head. We made press of sail, frequently altering our course to avoid her, as she appeared to be of considerable force. She continued, however, to chase us till the 9th, when we found, that at day-light she had got within gun-shot. It being now impossible to run from her by superior sailing, we thought we might, by a manœuvre, carry away her masts, as she seemed determined to come up with us. We accordingly hauled our course up, and turned all hands to quarters. The enemy now got on the Alpin’s weather beam, and the action commenced. It was soon, however, observed, that our shot fell short of her, while the enemy’s, from superiority of metal had their full effect. An attempt was made to close, but the enemy prevented it by keeping his wind. I now found, with concern, that all resistance was vain, and would only sacrifice the lives of my crew, who were still willing to fight to the last ; and, having called a meeting of all my officers, felt myself under the mortifying necessity of hauling down my colours. Nothing could exceed the gallant conduct evinced by my officers during the action, and their application and perseverance during the six days’ chase, when neither officers or men quitted the deck, as we wished to take advantage of any trifling shift of wind that might enable us to avoid the enemy.

‘ I cannot conclude this account, without acknowledging the services of major Morice, and the

readiness both he and the rest of the passengers showed, in coming forward in defence of the ship. Though exposed to a dreadful heavy fire from the enemy, I am happy to add, that our loss only amounted to four killed and wounded ; among these, however, I have to lament, that captain M’Rae was killed, and captain Amory wounded dangerously ; one seaman lost his arm, and the boatswain was slightly wounded. the enemy had two men severely wounded. I must say, in justice to the captain of the Psyche, that he treated us with great politeness.”

In addition to the above, we learn that captain Rogers landed in Bengal on the 8th of February, and that he was conveyed thither on board a Portuguese ship, which fell in with the French privateer, soon after the capture of the admiral Alpin. The Psyche carried thirty-two guns, well mounted, and the Alpin had only sixteen small guns, mostly carronades : the highest praise was bestowed in Bengal upon the captain and crew, for their gallant defence of a heavy laden ship, against a privateer equal to a frigate in force, well manned, and carrying such superior metal.

At the time the action commenced, the ships were about a mile and a half distant, and the Alpin fired alternately, round-, grape-, and double-headed shot.

The court, in their decision, stated, that the conduct of captain Rogers, in making so spirited and gallant a defence, was highly honourable to himself, his officers, ship’s company, and passengers, who supported him ; and that not the least blame could attach to him for the loss of his ship.



*Admiralty-office, Oct. 13, 1804.*

Copy of a letter from vice admiral sir John Thomas Duckworth, K. B. commander in chief of his majesty's ships and vessels at Jamaica, to William Marsden, esq.

*Port Royal, July 21, 1804.*

Sir,

You will herewith receive a letter from captain Mudge, of his majesty's ship *Blanche*, which you will please to lay before the lords commissioners of the admiralty.

I am, &c. J. T. DUCKWORTH.

*Blanche, off Corosoa, north 3 miles,  
June 29, 1804.*

Sir,

Lying to, under the guns of Saint Cruz (Corosoa), at 4 *p. m.* I saw an armed schooner standing in from the sea: as soon as she was hull out, I made sail, and, after a hard chase, the frigate running eleven knots under her royals and top-gallant studding-sails; at nine *p. m.* captured the Dutch schooner *Nimrod*, mounting 4 four-pounders, copper-bottomed and fastened, and but two years old: she is the fastest vessel I have met with since I have been in the West Indies, and was one of the two schooners that engaged the *Flying Fish*, having then on board 50 men.

I am, &c. ZACH. MUDGE.  
To vice-adm. sir J. T. Duckworth.

#### NAVAL ACTION.

15. By the Barbadoes papers to the 9th of August, we have received the following account of a naval action on the West India station:—

“His majesty's schooner *St. Lucia*, capt. Bettesworth, arrived last night from Antigua; also the *Byam*, mail-boat. By these arrivals we learn the following particulars of a very gallant action between his majesty's ship *Hippomenes* and the

*Bonaparte* French brig, of 18 nine-pounders, and 146 men, in which the enemy owe their escape only to the misfortune of our ship's having too many foreigners on board, whose dastard spirit made them shrink from the action.

“His majesty's ship *Hippomenes*, capt. M'Kenzie, cruising to windward of this island, fell in, in long. 58. lat. 18, with the *Bonaparte* brig, which, mistaking the *Hippomenes* for an African ship (being disguised purposely to decoy the enemy's cruisers), bore down on her, when a smart action ensued, which lasted for some time, and the enemy, being to windward, at length fell on board the *Hippomenes*. Captain M'Kenzie, with the greatest promptitude, seizing the occasion to prevent the enemy's escape, had her bowsprit lashed to his mainmast, calling to his crew to follow him in boarding, and secure the victory. He instantly rushed upon the enemy's deck, followed by his officers, and about eight men only, when a smart contest ensued, and the Frenchmen were driven from their quarters, and beat abast the mainmast. Seeing, however, that they had to cope with so few, they soon rallied, and the whole crew being now engaged with this small band of heroes, they were almost all cut to pieces. Captain M'Kenzie received fourteen severe wounds, his first-lieutenant Mr. Pierce, and purser, Mr. Collman, were killed, and the master wounded. Thus overcome, they were obliged to retreat, and had but just time to regain the ship (captain M'Kenzie falling senseless into her main-chains), when the lash gave way, and the enemy fell off, and without wishing to renew the contest, crowded all sail and escaped.

“The *Hippomenes* has gone to Antigua



Antigua to refit ; and we are happy to understand that capt. M'Kenzie, although his wounds in general are severe, and three of them in the head, is likely to recover."

31. This day three bullocks were killed by lightning at Temple Bodmin. The flash struck a tree which stood in a hedge, and, shivering it from the top to the bottom, dividing the hedge into two parts, made a deep furrow in the field of several yards, to the place where the bullocks stood, and killed them upon the spot, without leaving the slightest appearance of a wound.

### NOVEMBER.

1. A violent storm of thunder and lightning last night pervaded the greatest part of Cornwall. A violent spirt of wind passed through a part of the parish of Kenwyn, which overturned mows of corn, a furze-rick, apple-trees, and whatever else stood in its way ; and, in the neighbourhood of Penzance, many windows were broken by hailstones.

2. A fire broke out in the extensive water corn-mills of Mr. Pickering, at Frodsham-bridge, Cheshire, which entirely consumed the same. The damage is very great. Many thousand measures of corn have been destroyed : among the principal sufferers are Mr. Chadwick, Mr. Brereton, and Mr. Leadbeater ; the former of whom had upwards of 3000 measures of oats on the premises. These mills were the property of sir Peter Warburton.

3. This morning a fire broke out in the dwelling-house of Mr. Headley, farmer, at Cherrybinton, near Cambridge (owing to some neglect in heating the oven), which entirely consumed the same, with

most of the furniture. The valuable stock of corn and hay was fortunately preserved, the wind blowing in a contrary direction.

16. Part of Mr. Hazledine's iron-foundery, Coleham, Cumberland, was discovered to be on fire this morning, which had been burning for some time. The roof soon after fell in. It was got under between three and four o'clock. The night was fortunately calm ; and a quantity of salt, added to the water in the engines, was observed to have very great efficacy in extinguishing the fire. The damage is estimated at near 1500*l*.

William Chivers, a collier, was killed at the Rock coal-work near Nettlebridge, by a chain of enormous length, and upwards of a ton weight, having broke by the force of the fire-engine, and fallen upon him. Almost every bone in his body was broken, just as if he had suffered on the rack. Part of the chain was so entangled round his neck, that it became necessary to cut through the links with chissels. This poor fellow's life had been a series of deplorable accidents.—When a youth, his eye was struck out by a stick in a scuffle. His body was disabled seven years ago by a quantity of rubbish falling on him. He narrowly escaped being killed by the falling of a piece of timber three weeks ago. Since then he escaped death by a great piece of coal falling near him.

*Admiralty-office, Nov. 17.*

A letter from commodore Hood introduces the following :

*Guadaloupe, July 31.*

Sir,

I have to acquaint you, that last night, lieutenants Sibley, Outridge, and



and Pearce, and Mr. Lloyd, midshipman, with four boats, accompanied by a proportion of petty officers, seamen, and marines, all volunteers from his majesty's ship under my command, made a successful and gallant attack on the enemy's privateers, in Basseterre Roads, Guadaloupe, bringing out, with an air of wind, a schooner, name unknown, of two guns, and L'Elizabeth, mounting six guns, pierced for 12, and having 65 men on board, most of whom were either killed, drowned, or swam to shore, under a dreadful fire of grape and musquetry from the numerous batteries and troops which lined the beach. Lieutenant Sibley's spirit and judgment, in conducting the attack, I cannot too much commend; and he speaks in the highest terms of the brave officers and men under his orders. L'Elizabeth is esteemed the fastest sailing privateer out of Guadaloupe, and has been uncommonly fortunate this war. Though I am under the necessity of inclosing a list of killed and wounded in the boats, I must remark, it is smaller than might reasonably have been expected. His majesty's ship has recaptured the Elizabeth of Liverpool, from the coast of Africa, taken by the Decidé; and detained, on suspicion, the Grecian ship St. Nicholas, with produce from Guadaloupe.

CONWAY SHIPLEY.

*List of killed and wounded.*

Robert M'Kan, seaman, killed; Mr. Blythe, master's mate, slightly wounded; Peter Maryan, James Thompson, Isaac Wolfe, James Daniel, seamen, badly wounded. —Two of the enemy brought out wounded.

*Admiralty office, Nov. 20.*

Letter from captain Hancock, to admiral lord Keith.

*Cruizer, at sea, off Yarmouth, ten a. m. October 17.*

My lord,

I have the honour to acquaint your lordship, that being last night at nine p. m., with his majesty's sloop under my command, and the gun-brigs Bold and Ann, and Florence cutter, close in with Ostend, in five fathoms water, which station I had taken from the moment the wind came to the eastward, to follow with every possible efficacy and energy your lordship's instructions in the important duty entrusted to me, of watching the enemy's movements at that port and Flushing, we observed a strange sail standing in shore, which, on discovering us, wore and made all sail, steering at first with the wind abaft the beam: we immediately made all sail in chase, which continued during the whole night, in which the stranger displayed much skill and ability in all his manœuvres, and tried us on every point of sailing, with various success; he sometimes gained on us, and we in our turn nearing him, till five a. m. in which time (eight hours) we had run ninety-seven miles, by the log: during the latter part of the chase the wind freshened considerably; but this gave us not the advantage I expected, as he preserved his distance till a quarter before five a. m. when both his topmasts went away; he then attempted a masterly manœuvre to escape, which the haze, the darkness of the morning, and the lee tide, gave him a fair prospect of succeeding in, by clearing up his remaining sails, and coming instantly to an anchor, although in

twenty-



twenty-five fathoms water, in hopes we should pass him unperceived, or get to leeward. Although I was not aware, to the full extent, of this accident and manœuvre, I never lost sight of him; and at the time it happened I observed we were nearing him so very fast, that I had begun to reduce the sail; but, as we were going then at more than eleven knots, I had but a few minutes time before I was up with him; and the wind blowing so fresh as to risk the loss of all our masts, if I attempted to haul to wind with the sail I had then set, I was under the necessity of passing him, which I did, however, within hail, and to windward, and not receiving any answer, except that he was from Philadelphia, in bad English, I ordered three guns to be fired into him. I then plainly discovered him to be a large armed brig, with nine ports on a side. Having in a few minutes taken two reefs in the topsails, and cleared the decks of wrecked spars and split sails, we attacked, and ranged up within ten yards of his lee-quarter, he having cut his cable, and again attempted to make sail, when, just as I was on the point of hailing him, preparatory to giving him our broadside, he called out, and begged us not to fire, as he had struck. On boarding him, I was pleased to find my opinion confirmed, that I had captured captain Blackman, so well known during the late and present wars in these seas, having received information he was at sea in a brig. The ship he commanded proved to be *Le Contre-Amiral Magon* French privateer brig, quite new, this being her first cruise, pierced for 18, and mounting 17 guns of different calibres: viz. 14 long six-pounders, 2 eighteen-pound caronades, and 1 long nine-pounder,

and manned with 84 men, French, Danes, Swedes, and Americans; had been out from Dunkirk 18 days, and had captured during his cruise the ship *Belisarius*, of Newcastle, Matthew Hunter, master, on the 3d instant, off Tynemouth; the brig *Scipio*, Richard Robertson, master; and the *Content's Increase*, George Bell, master, both laden with coals, off Foley Bridge, on the 10th instant; the two former were immediately dispatched for Dunkirk, but the latter was re-captured about two hours after by an English man of war brig. She was proceeding for Dunkirk or Ostend, and had been laying to for some hours in the evening, waiting for water to cross the Bank; and, I apprehend, little expected to find English cruizers within the Stroom Sand. The brigs and cutters in company, who bore up with the Cruizer in chase, were run out of sight by 12 a. m. I beg to recommend to your lordship's notice lieutenant J. Pearse, senior lieutenant; lieutenant Lusk, second; and Mr. Lash, master, with the whole of the warrant and petty officers, seamen, and marines, through whose united exertions this active and enterprising enemy has been prevented making further depredations, which, from a local knowledge of our coasts, added to the ample means he possessed in this brig, from her superior sailing and force, must have been highly detrimental to the trade of this country; nor can I, in justice, omit availing myself of this opportunity to express to your lordship my thanks to Johannes Whymmer, pilot of the Cruizer, who, on this and all former occasions, by his correct knowledge of the coast and shoals, and zeal for his majesty's service, has afforded me the most essential confidence and assistance.

I am



I am happy to add, that the masters of the captured vessels, as also their crews, amounting to twenty English seamen, were on board the Contre-Amiral Magon at the time of capture, and are now on board the Cruizer.

JOHN HANCOCK.

*Admiralty-office. Nov. 27.*

Letters transmitted by sir J. T. Duckworth, K. B. commander in chief at Jamaica, &c.

*His majesty's brig Racoon, off Bird-key, Aug. 9.*

Sir,

I have the pleasure to inform you that on the 1st instant, in latitude 20 degrees, 52 minutes north, longitude 71 degrees, 30 minutes west, Sand Key north-east by north, distant 7 or 8 leagues, I had the good fortune to decoy within musket-shot a large French privateer, who struck after we had fired at her for three quarters of an hour: she proved to be L'Alliance, pierced for 12 guns, having only 6 mounted, 4 six-pounders, and two nines, commanded by Jacques Dunoque, manned with 68 men, out three days from Samaria, and had taken nothing. She is a fine vessel, but much cut in her sails and rigging, and had only one man slightly wounded.

J. A. GORDON.

*Franchise, at sea, Sept. 14.*

Sir,

I have the honour to acquaint you, that yesterday, after a chase of eight hours, his majesty's ship Franchise, under my command, was so fortunate as to come up with and capture the Uranie French privateer schooner, of three guns and 64 men, belonging to the city of St. Domingo, out 13 days, and

had taken nothing. The Uranie is supposed to be the fastest sailing vessel in those seas.

JOHN MURRAY.

## DECEMBER.

*Paris, Dec. 2.* The solemnity of the coronation and consecration of their imperial majesties was celebrated this day, in conformity with the regulations which had been published. The weather was peculiarly favourable to the pomp and magnificence of the procession.—A fine winter's day, the sky lightly clouded, a slight frost, facilitated the full display of all the great preparations which had been made. The carriage of his holiness was, as usual, preceded by an ecclesiastic upon a mule, carrying the papal cross. The holy father on the way gave the apostolical benediction, and, in return, received those of gratitude and piety. Their imperial majesties heard continually, during the whole of the procession, the most animated expressions of the public will; which gave a sort of sanction to this solemn act. The crowd was every where immense, and the greatest order prevailed. The senate were yesterday admitted in a body to pay their homage to his holiness. The sceptre which his majesty carried at the coronation was of silver, with a golden serpent twined around it, surmounted with a globe bearing a figure representing Charlemagne.

His majesty pronounced his oath in a firm voice; and the following part of it made a great impression on his hearers: "I swear to govern solely with a view to the interest, the happiness, and glory of the French people."

The illuminations were uncommonly brilliant, and the general happiness



happiness was not interrupted by a single accident.

On the 1st, when the senate waited upon his majesty, he replied to their complimentary speech in the following terms:

“ I ascend the throne, to which the unanimous wishes of the senate, the people, and the army, have called me, with a heart penetrated with the great destinies of that people, whom, from the midst of camps, I first saluted with the name of Great. From my youth my thoughts have been solely fixed upon them; and I must add here, that my pleasures and my pains are derived entirely from the happiness or misery of my people.—My descendants shall long preserve this throne. In the camps they will be the first soldiers of the army, sacrificing their lives for the defence of their country. As magistrates, they will never forget—that contempt of the laws, and the confusion of social order, are only the result of the imbecillity and uncertainty of princes. You, senators, whose counsels and support have never failed me in the most difficult circumstances, your spirit will be handed down to your successors. Be ever the props and first counsellors of that throne, so necessary to the welfare of this vast empire.”

The private expenses of Bonaparte for his coronation, are calculated at 80 millions (3,500,000*l.*) hitherto not paid in cash, but in *bons* on the imperial treasury, which are already at a discount of 12 per cent.

The emperor, on the 5th instant, received the military deputies upon his throne. He heard their adulatory speeches, and condescended to return them answers: after which

he distributed with great pomp the new colours and imperial eagles.

The pope is to settle, whilst at Paris, a new concordat for the Roman catholic part of Switzerland.

*Admiralty-office, Dec. 12.*

A letter from admiral Cornwallis to Wm. Marsden, esq. introduces the following:

*Naiad, off Brest, Nov. 27.*

Sir,

I beg leave to acquaint you that, at day-light this morning, seeing some small vessels at a short distance from us, and shortly afterwards perceiving a fire of musketry from them on the boats of his majesty's ship *L'Aigle*, which captain Wolfe had sent in chase of them, I made sail, and cut off two, which prove to be the gun-boats No. 361 and 369, mounting each one long brass four-pounder, and one short twelve, from Dandiorne, bound to Brest, having on board a lieutenant of the 63d regiment of infantry, and 36 privates, besides five seamen belonging to each vessel; being part of sixteen that had sailed from that port on a similar destination. I am sorry to acquaint you, that two seamen belonging to *L'Aigle* are wounded (William Shephard and James Mitchell), the latter dangerously. I have given captain Hawkins, of his majesty's sloop *Dispatch*, orders to proceed to Plymouth with the two vessels, which I think worth preserving, and to land the prisoners.

THOMAS DUNDAS.

*Admiralty-office, Dec. 15.*

Letter from lord Keith to Wm. Marsden, esq.

*Monarch,*



*Monarch, off Ramsgate,  
Dec. 11.*

Sir,

Divisions of the enemy's flotilla passing from the eastward towards Boulogne having frequently, when pursued by his majesty's ships and vessels, taken shelter in the harbour of Calais, their entry into which has been particularly covered and protected by the advanced pile battery of Fort Rouge, I considered it an object of some importance to effect the destruction of that work; and lately directed captain sir Home Popham, of the *Antelope*, amongst other objects, to hold in view a favourable opportunity for making this attempt. I now transmit, for their lordships' information, a letter, and the inclosures to which it refers, which I have received from that officer, reporting the result of an assault which he directed to be made upon it early on the morning of the 9th instant; and from which there is reason to conclude that the fort has sustained material damage; but that, from the unfortunate circumstance of its not having been possible, under the existing state of the weather and tide, to carry up two of the explosion vessels to the point of attack, the injury has been far less extensive than might have otherwise been expected. The conduct of lieutenant Hew Stuart, of the *Monarch*, on this recent occasion, will not fail, I am sure, to excite their lordships' admiration and praise. I have great pleasure in conveying to their lordships captain sir Home Popham's testimony to his distinguished merit, and to the zealous and active assistance which he received from captain Brownrigg, lieutenant Lade, and Mr. Bartholomew.

KEITH.

*Antelope, Downs, Dec. 10.*

My lord,

I avail myself of the first moment of my return to the Downs to acquaint you, that towards noon on Saturday the 8th, the wind promising to come to the south-east, and knowing it to be your lordship's intention to attack the enemy at every assailable point, I sent the *Dart*, on the close of the evening, to an assigned station between Sengate and Fort Lapin, accompanied by the *Susannah* explosion vessel, and two carcasses, with a view of making an assault against Fort Rouge. Lieutenant Stuart, of the *Monarch*, commanded the explosion vessel; Mr. Bartholomew, acting lieutenant of the *Antelope*, had the charge of the first carcass intended to be applied, and captain Brownrigg requested to take the other. Your lordship is aware how difficult it is to ascertain the precise injury done to the enemy in an enterprize of this nature, which, in most cases, must be undertaken in the night; but that you may be possessed of the best information in that respect, I sent the *Fox* cutter, whose master is an active intelligent man, and well acquainted with Fort Rouge, to reconnoitre the place as close as possible without risk; and I annex his report to lieutenant Stuart's, as the clearest account that can be given of the able and officer-like manner in which the *Susannah* was placed, and the evident consequences of such an application, even under circumstances of considerable disadvantage. I very much regret that Mr. Bartholomew could not fetch the port; for I am positive he would have lashed the carcass to the piles; he, however, very prudently returned with it to the *Dart*; and,



and, although something prevented the second carcass from going off, which evidently had been striking against the piles, from the indentation at one end, yet he recovered and brought it also on board. I am most perfectly satisfied with the zeal and activity which captain Brownrigg manifested on this occasion; the Dart was admirably placed, and every assistance afforded from her that could ensure the success of this service, which must now be considered as confined to the efforts of the Susannah: and I take this opportunity of most particularly recommending lieutenant Steuart to your lordship's notice; which, I hope, will also be extended to Mr. Bartholomew, notwithstanding he could not fetch the battery; and your lordship must be alive to the enterprising conduct of these two officers on former occasions. I cannot conclude my report without assuring your lordship, that lieutenant Lake of the Locust gun-brig, who was appointed to cover the boats, behaved in a most exemplary manner, by keeping so close in as to draw all the fire upon his own vessel; and I have great satisfaction in stating, that not an officer or man was hurt in this operation.

H. POPHAM.

*Dart, Dec. 10.*

Sir,

In pursuance of your instructions, and according to the arrangement you made for the attempt on Fort Rouge only, I left this ship at two a. m. and proceeded in-shore with the explosion vessel in my charge, until the water shoaled to two and a half fathoms, when I tacked, and stood off, so as to enable me to fetch the battery, which I did about half-past two, and, pla-

cing her bowsprit between the piles, left her in that situation. In a few minutes I observed her swing with her broadside to the battery, in consequence of the bowsprit being carried away; and as an anchor was dropped the instant she struck the piles, I had not the smallest doubt of her remaining there until the explosion took place, which was in a few minutes. I could not fetch the covering brig; and as it had every appearance of coming on to blow from the south-east, in which quarter it was when I left the Dart, I hope you will excuse my running in the galley to the Downs.

H. STEUART.

*Fox Cutter, off Calais,  
Dec. 9.*

Sir,

According to your order, I proceeded off Fort Rouge, and examined it very strictly. As I proceeded towards the shore, I saw a great quantity of plank and timber floating, and would have picked up some but was afraid I should lose the tide, as I wished to examine it at low water. In standing-in, I could discern a great number of people standing all round the south-west end of the fort, and from the west head all the way to the Sandhills. I did not discover any alteration on the east side of the fort; but when I got to the westward of the fort, I could plainly discover the most part of it to be damaged, and the breast-work knocked down; and I have every reason to believe it was very much injured, by such a number of people being assembled there, and seeming at work upon it.

W. BLAKE.

Sir Home Popham.

*Admiralty-office, Dec. 18.*

Inclosure from lord Keith to Wm. Marsden, esq.

*Favourite,*



*Favourite, at Sea, Dec. 13.*

Sir,

I have the satisfaction to inform you, that I yesterday fell in with two French lugger privateers; and, after a chase of three hours, I captured *La Raccrocheuse*, captain Jacques Broquant, out one day from St. Vallery en Caux, mounting 14 guns, four-pounders, and carrying 56 men. The above luggers had in their possession a brig, and were boarding a bark, both which they quitted on my approaching them; I, therefore, made a sig-

nal, to a cutter in sight, which I believe to be the Countess of Elgin, to chase the merchant vessels, and, from the exertions I observed her to make, I have no doubt but she has succeeded. The luggers steering different courses, the headmost one escaped; her name is L'Adolphe, mounting the same number of guns as the capture, belongs to the same port, where she must have returned, having thrown every thing overboard in the chase.

CHARLES FOOTE.

*The* LONDON GENERAL BILL *of*

CHRISTENINGS and BURIALS, from December 13, 1803, to December 11, 1804.

Christened { Males 11,390 } 21,543. Buried { Males 8605 } 17,038  
 { Females 10,153 } { Females 8433 }

Decreased in Burials this year 2544.

Died under 2 years	4881	20 and 30 -	1237	60 and 70 -	1198	101 -	4
Between 2 and 5	1924	30 and 40 -	1824	70 and 80 -	810	103 -	1
5 and 10	676	40 and 50 -	1935	80 and 90 -	413	105 -	1
10 and 20	458	50 and 60 -	1599	90 and 100 -	77		

BIRTHS *in the year* 1804.

Jan. 2. Lady Theodosia Vyner,  
a daughter.

8. The lady of sir Thomas Dalrymple Hesketh, bart. a son.

16. The lady of admiral Wilson,  
a daughter.

— The lady of sir Wharton Amcotts, a daughter.

17. Lady Downe, a son.

18. Lady Elizabeth Norman, a daughter.

19. Lady Harriett Lennard, a daughter.

22. The countess of Banbury, a son.

29. Lady Elizabeth Halliday, a daughter.

Feb. 5. Hon. Mrs. Balders, a son.

6. Lady Frances Carpenter, a son.

11. Lady Paget, a daughter.

12. Countess Conyngham, a son.

March 4. At Paris, lady Elgin,  
a son.

11. The Attorney General's lady,  
a daughter.

18. The countess of Cork and Orrery, a daughter.

24. The lady of the hon. and  
rev. Pierce Meade, a daughter.

April 1. The lady of sir Thomas Thompson, a son.

5. The lady of the Archbishop  
of Armagh, a son.

10. Lady Redesdale, a daughter.

— The lady of sir Thomas M. Wilson, bart. a son.

18. Lady Graves, a son and heir.

19. Countess of Euston, a son. . .

21. Lady Rous, a son.

— The lady of the hon. and  
rev. W. Capel, a son.

May 1. Hon. Mrs. Leigh, a daughter.

— Hon. Mrs. Maitland, a son.

2. Vicountess Folkstone, a daughter.

— Lady Stanley, a daughter.

5. Lady Shee, a daughter.

8. Hon.



8. Hon. Mrs. Smith, a daughter.  
 9. Duchess of Beaufort, a daughter.  
 10. Viscountess Morpeth, a daughter.  
 11. Duchess of Bedford, a son.  
 12. Lady Harriet Frampton, a son.  
 13. Lady Kensington, a daughter.  
 —. The lady of the hon. and rev. Mr. Cathcart, a daughter.  
 17. Mrs. Henshaw, of Lutterworth, three sons and a daughter.  
 20. Lady Mulgrave, a daughter.  
*June* 8. Countess of Bristol, a daughter.  
 —. The empress of Germany, an archduchess.  
 15. The lady of sir John Ken-  
 naway, bart. a son.  
 16. The lady of the hon. gene-  
 ral Forbes, a son.  
 —. The lady of the hon. Tho-  
 mas Kenyon, a son.  
 21. Hon. Mrs. Stephenson, a  
 daughter.  
 23. Lady Frances Moreton, a  
 son.  
 28. Lady William Beauclerk, a  
 daughter.  
 30. Lady Peyton, a son.  
*July* 2. Lady Burdett, a daugh-  
 ter.  
 6. The lady of the hon. and rev.  
 Thomas de Grey, a son.  
 7. Marchioness of Winchester, a  
 son.  
 11. Lady Mary Catharine Myers,  
 a daughter.  
 12. Lady Trollope, a daughter.  
 13. Lady Charlotte Baillie, a  
 son.  
 17. Lady Charlotte Wellesley,  
 a son.  
 26. Hon. Mrs. Gunning, a son.  
*Aug.* 14. Lady Charlotte Wing-  
 field, a daughter.  
 21. Lady Henry Stuart, a son.  
 21. The hon. Mrs. Erskine, a  
 son.  
 25. Lady Pelham, a son.  
*Sep.* 1. Lady Oxendon, a daugh-  
 ter.  
 2. Lady Eden, a son.  
 —. Lady Bridges, a son.  
 4. Lady of sir John Sinclair, bart.  
 a son.  
 5. Lady of sir R. Barclay, bart.  
 a son.  
 11. Lady of sir George Glynn,  
 bart. a son.  
 16. Lady of sir W. Paxton, bart.  
 a son.  
 —. Lady of sir Digby Macworth,  
 bart. a son.  
 19. Lady of sir H. Hoskyns,  
 bart. an heir.  
 21. Lady of admiral sir Hyde  
 Parker, a son.  
 26. Hon. Mrs. E. J. Turnour, a  
 son.  
 27. Duchess of Manchester, a  
 daughter.  
 28. Lady Southampton, an heir.  
*Oct.* 2. Lady Margaret Walpole,  
 a daughter.  
 3. Lady of sir Thomas Pilkington,  
 a daughter.  
 5. Countess of Albemarle, a  
 son.  
 8. Lady Mary Stewart, a daugh-  
 ter.  
 11. Hon. lady Shaw, a son.  
 —. Lady Mary Murray, a son.  
 15. Viscountess Powerscourt, a  
 daughter.  
 29. Lady Elizabeth Talbot, a  
 daughter.  
*Nov.* 3. Lady Mainwaring, of  
 Over Peover, an heir.  
 5. Lady Sinclair, a daughter.  
 7. Viscountess Andover, an heir.  
 16. Hon. Mrs. Bentinck, a son.  
 17. Viscountess Brome, a daugh-  
 ter.  
 20. Viscountess Chetwynd, a son.  
 —. Lady Bruce, a son and  
 heir.



*Nov.* 22. Lady of sir C. Willoughby, bart. a daughter.

25. Lady of rev. sir C. Anderson, bart. an heir.

Lately, the hereditary princess of Naples, sister to the queen of Etruria, a princess.

*Dec.* 3. Lady of sir David Ogilby, an heir.

4. Lady of general Lenox, a daughter.

13. Queen of Prussia, a prince.

23. Viscountess Ashbrook, a son.

31. Lady Charlotte Howard, a daughter.

12. Capt. Godfrey, to miss A. M. Thurlow, daughter of the late bishop of Durham.

20. Hon. col. Steuart, to miss Douglas.

24. Capt. Fielding, R. N. to lady Elizabeth Talbot.

*May* 12. Capt. Wilcken, to the baroness Dorette de Bar.

16. Hon. col. de Grey, to miss Methuen.

23. Lord Villiers, to lady Sarah Fane.

26. Lord King, to lady Hester Fortescue.

*June* 1. William Tennant, esq. to the hon. Charlotte Pelham.

4. Hon. W. G. Monckton, to miss Handfield.

5. Sir John Duntze, bart. to miss Dorothea Carew.

20. Lord Boringdon, to lady Augusta Fane.

— Prince of Hesse-Darmstadt, to princess Wilhelmina of Baden.

*July* 3. Major Mitchell, to lady Harriet Somerset.

5. Earl of Roden, to miss J. A. Orde.

9. Lord Hinchinbrooke, to lady Louisa Corry.

12. Earl Moira, to the countess of London.

17. James Lake, esq. (eldest son of sir J. W. Lake, bart.), to miss Maria Turner.

19. Rev. William Beresford, to lady Anna Bennett.

*Aug.* 2. Admiral Purvis, to Mrs. Dickson.

4. Baron Schmeimen, to miss Sophia Elton.

8. Hon. col. Stewart, to lady Catharine Bligh.

11. Sir John Hawkins, bart. to miss Surtees.

20. William Leveson Gower, esq. to the daughter of the late sir J. Gresham, bart.

21. Sir

### MARRIAGES in the Year 1804.

*Jan.* 5. Sir William Pulteney, bart. to Mrs. Stuart.

11. The prince of Saxe Weimar, to the sister of the emperor of Russia.

12. Prince William of Prussia, to the princess of Hesse Homburg.

19. John Le Mesurier, esq. governor of Alderney, to miss Perchard.

26. Nath. Micklethwaite, esq. to lady Maria Waldegrave.

31. Sir Oswald Mosley, bart. to miss Sophia Anne Every.

— Matthew Gosset, esq. viscount of the island of Jersey, to miss Cotton.

*Feb.* 13. Sir Edward Harrington, to miss Wade.

20. Hon. capt. Gardner, son of lord Gardner, to miss Eliza Fyers.

*March* 11. John Leslie, esq. to the sister of viscountess Boyle.

25. Thomas Turner, esq. to the daughter of sir John Blake, bart.

26. John Wheatley, esq. to the daughter of sir John Riggs Miller, bart.

*April* 3. Capt. Martin, R. N. to miss Harriet Bentinck.



21. Sir William Pole, bart. to miss Templar.

— Lord Ranelagh, to miss Stephens.

— Hon. Mr. Scott, to miss Ridley.

23. Hon. Charles H. Pierrepont, to miss Eyre.

Sept. 5. Hon. Edward Broome, to miss Downman.

6. Hylton Jolliffe, esq. M. P. to a daughter of earl Ferrers.

29. Sir Edward Smith, bart. to miss Susan Dawkins.

— Earl of Clonmell, to lady C. Greville.

Oct. 1. Captain Schomberg, R. N. to a daughter of admiral Smith.

3. Hon. general Lumley, to miss Mary Sunderland.

4. Lieut. colonel Mackinnon, to a daughter of the late sir J. Call, bart.

15. Edward Jerningham, esq. (son of sir William Jerningham, bart.) to miss Middleton.

Nov. Capt. sir Edw. Hamilton, R. N. to miss Macnamara.

2. Hon. Charles B. Agar, to miss Hunt.

6. Hon. Herbert Gardner, to miss Cornwall.

20. The Russian general Sabloukoff, to miss Angerstein.

— Count St. Martin de Front, to lady Fleetwood.

22. Lord Montague, to the hon. miss Douglas.

24. Hon. Berkeley Paget, to miss Grimstone.

29. — Courteney, esq. (son of the bishop of Exeter) to lady Henrietta Leslie.

Dec. 5. Major Ferguson, to the hon. Henrietta Duncan.

6. Roger Kynaston, esq. to a daughter of sir Charles Oakley, bart.

18. James Cornwallis, esq. M. P.

(son of the bishop of Litchfield) to miss Dickins.

### DEATHS in the Year 1804.

Jan. 2. Lady Andrews.

3. Sir William Mansell, bart.

— Lady Dyke.

7. Sir William Gordon, bart.

8. Lady Anne Capel.

11. Hon. miss F. Pelham.

— Sir Francis Sykes, bart.

12. The duchess of Ancaster.

17. Countess dowager of Talbot.

19. The Austrian general Kray.

20. Hon. Mrs. Acland.

26. Dowager lady Gresham.

— Lord Eliot of St. Germans, Cornwall.

Feb. 3. Sir Edward Blackett, bart.

9. Hon. Mrs. Rothe.

15. The dowager lady of sir Robert Sloper, K. B.

16. Dowager lady Warren.

21. Both at the same hour, the reigning prince and princess of Hohenlohe.

23. Countess of Upper Ossory.

— Countess dowager of Carrick.

24. Lady Eliot, of St. Germans.

27. Lady Sykes.

March 1. Princess Maximilian, of Saxony.

4. Sir William Maxwell, bart.

7. Sir Francis William Sykes, bart.

8. Sir James Wright, bart.

— Hon. William Fitzroy.

9. Bishop of Kildare.

10. Hon. Henry Pomeroy.

— Lord Camelford, in a duel.

19. The duke of Roxburgh.

— Lord Alvanley.

22. Sir Alexander Schomberg.

— General sir William Faw-

cet, K. B.



28. Hon. William Pitt Amherst.  
 —. Lord Dormer.  
*April 8.* General Horneck.  
 9. Viscount Bury.  
 12. Dowager lady Glanville.  
 —. Earl of Kinnoul.  
 14. Lady Harriet Fitzroy.  
 19. Dowager viscountess Wen-  
 man.  
 21. The duke of Saxe-Gotha.  
 25. Sir George Russel, bart.  
*May 2.* Marquis of Exeter.  
 8. Marchioness Tweeddale.  
 14. Hon. and rev. John Hewitt.  
 17. Viscountess Folkstone.  
 —. Prince of Furstenburg.  
 —. Right hon. general lord Cla-  
 rina.  
 26. Vice admiral Parker.  
 —. Viscountess Hampden.  
 29. Countess de Lippe.  
 —. Countess de Lowenstein  
 Wertheim.  
*June 5.* Hon. capt. Cathcart.  
 8. Sir Ferdinando Poole, bart.  
 13. Viscountess Curzon.  
 17. Duchess dowager of Parma.  
 24. Lady Sarah Salisbury.  
*July 3.* Count Suboff.  
 7. General Ainslie.  
 10. Ambrose Didot, the cele-  
 brated French printer.  
 25. William Forsyth, esq. F.  
 A. S. of Kensington gardens.  
 27. Earl of Leitrim.  
 —. Sir James Cockburn, bart.  
 29. Lord Forbes.  
 30. Viscountess Kilwarden.  
 —. Earl of Dysart.  
*Aug. 3.* Sir Henry Cavendish,  
 bart.  
 4. Admiral lord Duncan.  
 11. Sir George Shuckburgh  
 Evelyn, bart.  
 17. Lady Elizabeth Gallini.  
 24. Dowager lady Harrowby.  
 30. Earl of Kintore.  
 —. Thomas Percival, M. D.  
 F. R. S.  
*Sept. 14.* Countess of Dysart.
17. Countess Zamoiski, sister  
 to the late king of Poland.  
 19. Bishop of Downe and Con-  
 nor.  
*Oct. 5.* Lady Anne Erskine.  
 6. Sir William Kemp, bart.  
 13. Hon. col. Napier.  
 —. Viscount de Vesci.  
 19. Mr. Charles Bannister, co-  
 median.  
 20. Duke of Leinster.  
 23. Sir David Rae, lord justice  
 clerk of Scotland.  
 29. Mr. George Morland, the  
 painter.  
 30. Rev. Dr. Ramsden, master  
 of the Charter-house.  
*Nov. 1.* Countess dowager of  
 Oxford.  
 12. Countess dowager of Shaftes-  
 bury.  
 14. The learned and venerable  
 Jacob Bryant.  
 —. Earl of Buckinghamshire.  
 26. Hon. capt. George Browne.  
 29. Rev. sir James Stronge, bart.  
*Dec. 1.* Right hon. alderman  
 Harley.  
 2. Sir John Dick, bart.  
 3. Lady of sir Francis Baring,  
 bart.  
 8. Lady Caroline Leigh.  
 11. Sir Edward Nightingale.  
 12. Alderman Boydell.  
 16. Dowager lady of sir Edward  
 Hulse, bart.  
 19. Marchioness of Rockingham.  
 —. Hon. Mary Murray.  
 31. Lord Carberry.
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- PROMOTIONS *in the Year 1804.*  
*Jan. 3.* Hon. Cropley Ashley,  
 appointed clerk of the deliveries of  
 the ordnance of the united king-  
 dom of Great Britain and Ireland,  
 vice Hunt.  
 7. Brevet. To be brigadier-ge-  
 nerals in the army serving on the  
 windward and leeward Caribbee  
 island



island station: col. Crofton Vandeleur, of the 46th foot; col. William C. Hughes, of the 87th foot. To be major in the army: capt. Henry Samuel Eyre, of the 12th battalion of reserve. To be assistant-barrack master-generals, with the rank of major so long as their services shall continue in the barrack department: Brevet-major James Murray Grant, on half-pay of the 3d foot-guards; major James Brace, on half-pay of Goreham's late provincial regiment.—Staff. Lieut. col. Willoughby Gordon, assistant-quarter-master-general in the southern district, to be deputy barrack-master-general to the forces, vice major-general Hewgill, resigned. To be inspecting field-officers of yeomanry and volunteer corps: colonel John Delves Broughton, on half-pay of the 106th foot; lieutenant-colonel sir R. T. Wilson, knt. on half-pay of Hompesch's mounted riflemen; major — Aubrey, on half-pay (with the rank of lieutenant-colonel in the army so long as he is employed); Charles Miller, esq. late lieutenant-colonel of the 1st West India regiment (with ditto); Thomas Probyn, esq. late lieutenant-colonel of the 18th foot (with ditto); John Storey, late lieutenant-colonel of the 21st foot (with ditto).—Hospital-staff. District-surgeon — Muttlebury, to be surgeon to the forces. Surgeon Richard Humphries, from the 1st dragoons, to be surgeon of a recruiting district, vice Muttlebury.—Barracks. Charles Massey, late barrack-master at Maldon, to be a deputy-barrack-master in Great Britain.

10. Right hon. John earl of St. Vincent, admiral of the white, lieutenant-general of the royal marine forces, and K. B.; sir Philip Stephens, and sir Thomas Troubridge,

barts.; James Adams, John Markham, and John Lemon, esqrs. and sir Harry Burrard Neale, bart. appointed commissioners for executing the office of lord high admiral of the united kingdom of Great Britain, &c.

10. Hospital-staff.—Surgeon Peter Ormsby, from the 2d dragoon-guards, to be surgeon to the forces serving in Ireland, vice Comyns, promoted. Surgeon James O'Connor, from the 17th light dragoons, to be surgeon to the said forces, vice Biggar, promoted.

13. Charles Price, esq. of Springgrove, Richmond, Surrey, created a baronet. Samuel Lysons, esq. of the Inner Temple, appointed keeper of the rolls and records of the court of chancery in the tower of London, vice Astle, deceased.

20. Right hon. sir Evan Nepean, bart. sworn of his majesty's most honourable privy council.

21. Staff.—Lieutenant-colonel John James Barlow, of the 61st foot, to be deputy-inspector-general of the recruiting service, and second in command at the army depôt in the Isle of Wight, vice Farquhar, deceased. Major Henry E. Bunbury, assistant quarter-master-general, to be an assistant quarter-master-general, with the rank of lieutenant-colonel in the army, vice Gordon, appointed deputy-barrack-master-general. Captain Henry Darling, from the 68th foot, to be a permanent assistant in the quarter-master-general's department, with the rank of major in the army, vice Bunbury.—To be inspecting field-officers of yeomanry and volunteer corps, with the rank of lieutenant-colonels in the army so long only as they shall continue to hold those appointments, viz. colonel Walter Cliffe, on half-pay of the 9th foot; colonel S. P.



De l'Hoste, on half-pay of the late 104th foot; lieutenant-colonel James Hare, on half-pay of the 28th light dragoons; major John Cooke, on ditto; Nathaniel Webb, esq. late major of the 3d battalion of reserve; lieutenant-colonel George A. Armstrong, on half-pay of the late independent companies; Benjamin Williamson, esq. late lieutenant-colonel of the Caithness Highlanders; lieutenant-colonel James Robinson, on half-pay of the 15th foot; lieutenant-colonel Erskine Fraser, on half-pay of the 109th foot; George Callander, esq. late lieutenant-colonel of the rifle corps; C. Machell, esq. late major of the 15th foot; Andrew Corbet, esq. late lieutenant-colonel of the royal horse guards; W. W. Maxwell, esq. late lieutenant-colonel of the 32d foot; major Hugh Maxwell.—Barracks. Major Edward B. Frederick, assistant-barrack-master-general, to be principal assistant-barrack-master-general, with the rank of lieutenant-colonel in the army so long as he holds the appointment in the barrack department. George Dennis, esq. late lieutenant-colonel in the 43d foot, to be an assistant-barrack-master-general, with the rank of major in the army so long as he shall continue in the barrack department.

24. Lieutenant-general William Myers, appointed commander of his majesty's forces serving in the Windward and Leeward Caribbee Island station, vice Grinfield, dec.

— Barracks.—Robert Cooke, quarter-master of the 91st foot, and John D. Forth, late of the 1st Surrey militia, to be barrack-masters in Great Britain.

25. Major-general John Stuart, appointed lieutenant-governor of his majesty's island of Grenada.

28. Staff.—Hugh Houstoun,

esq. late major of the 85th foot, to be an inspecting field-officer of yeomanry and volunteer corps, with temporary rank of lieutenant-colonel in the army so long as he continues employed.

31. Rev. Robert Holmes, D. D. appointed dean of the cathedral church of Winchester, vice Ogle, deceased. Rev. William Howley, M. A. to be a canon of the cathedral church of Christ, in the university of Oxford, vice Holmes, resigned. Rev. Henry Lewis Hobart, M. A. to be prebendary of the metropolitical church of Canterbury, vice Storer, deceased. Mr. Robert Jameson, appointed regius professor of natural history, and keeper of the museum or repository of natural curiosities in the university of Edinburgh, vice Walker, deceased.

*Feb. 4.* Right hon. Henry Welbore, viscount and baron Clifden, of Gowran, co. Kilkenny, Ireland, and baron Mendip, of Mendip, co. Somerset (son and heir of James late viscount and baron Clifden aforesaid, and grandson of Henry Agar, of Gowran, esq. by Anne his wife, sister of the late right hon. Welbore baron Mendip, deceased), to assume the surname, and bear the arms, of Ellis only.

7. Staff.—To be inspecting field-officer of yeomanry and volunteer corps: lieutenant-colonel Thomas Bradford, on half-pay of the late Nottingham fencibles; lieutenant-colonel Hugh Baillie, of the late Surrey rangers. To be ditto, with the rank of lieutenant-colonels in the army so long only as they shall continue to be employed: P. J. Taylor, esq. late lieutenant-colonel of the 26th light dragoons; John Sladen, esq. late lieutenant-colonel of the 86th foot; John Gordon, esq. late major of the 38th foot.

*Feb. 8.*



*Nov.* 8. Right hon. Nathaniel Bond, in the absence of the right hon. Charles earl of Liverpool, to be president of the committee of privy council appointed for the consideration of all matters relating to trade and foreign plantations.

11. Garrison.—Thomas Dodd, esq. captain in the royal artillery, to be secretary to the governor of the garrison of Gibraltar, vice Raleigh, resigned.

*March* 3. Richard Brinsley Sheridan, esq. appointed (by the Prince of Wales) receiver-general of the duchy of Cornwall, vice lord Eliot, deceased.

31. John Trevanion Purnell Bettesworth Trevanion, of Carhais, co. Cornwall, esq. appointed (by the Prince of Wales) sheriff of the county of Cornwall.

*April* 23. Sir Richard Onslow, bart. sir Robert Kingsmill, bart. sir Hyde Parker, knt. Benjamin Caldwell, esq. hon. William Cornwallis, admirals of the blue, to be admirals of the white. Thomas Mackenzie, esq. sir Roger Curtis, bart. sir Henry Harvey, K. B. Robert Man, esq. Christopher Holmes Everitt Calmady, esq. John Bourmaster, esq. sir George Young, knt. John Henry, esq. Richard Rodney Bligh, esq. Alexander Græme, esq. G. Keppel, esq. vice-admirals of the red, to be admirals of the blue. Isaac Prescott, esq. John Bazely, esq. Thomas Spry, esq. sir John Orde, bart. Wm. Young, esq. James Gambier, esq. sir Andrew Mitchell, K. B. Charles Chamberlayne, esq. Peter Rainier, esq. vice-admirals of the white; and Christopher Parker, esq. Philip Patton, esq. sir Charles Morice Pole, bart. vice-admirals of the blue, to be vice-admirals of the red. John Brown, esq. John Leigh Douglas, esq. William Swiney, esq.

Charles Edmund Nugent, esq. Charles Powell Hamilton, esq. Edmund Dod, esq. right hon. Horatio viscount Nelson, K. B. sir Charles Cotton, bart. vice-admirals of the blue; and John Thomas, esq. James Brine, esq. John Pakenham, esq. sir Erasmus Gower, knt. John Holloway, esq. rear-admirals of the red, to be vice-admirals of the white. George Wilson, esq. sir Charles Henry Knowles, bart. hon. Thomas Pakenham, Robert Deans, esq. Cuthbert Collingwood, esq. James Hawkins Whitshed, esq. Arthur Kempe, esq. Smith Child, esq. right hon. Charles lord Lecale, Thomas Taylor, esq. sir John Thomas Duckworth, K. B. sir Robert Calder, bart. rear-admirals of the red, to be vice-admirals of the blue. James Richard Dacres, esq. hon. George Cranfield Berkeley, Thomas West, esq. James Douglas, esq. Peter Aplin, esq. Henry Savage, esq. Bartholomew Samuel Rowley, esq. sir Richard Bickerton, bart. George Bowen, esq. Robert Montagu, esq. John Fergusson, esq. Edward Edwards, esq. sir John Borlase Warren, bart. and K. B. Edward Tyrrel Smith, esq. sir Thomas Graves, K. B. Thomas Macnamara Russell, esq. Sylvester Moriarty, esq. sir Henry Trollope, knt. rear-admirals of the white; and hon. Henry Edwin Stanhope, and Robert Mac-Douall, esq. rear-admirals of the blue, to be rear-admirals of the red. Billy Douglas, esq. John Wickey, esq. John Inglis, esq. John Fish, esq. John Knight, esq. Edward Thornbrough, esq. James Kempthorne, esq. Sampson Edwards, esq. George Campbell, esq. Henry Cromwell, esq. Arthur Philip, esq. sir Wm. George Fairfax, knt. sir James Saumarez, bart. and K. B. rear-admirals of the blue, to be rear-admirals of the white.



white. Captains Thomas Drury, esq. Albemarle Bertie, esq. right hon. William earl of Northesk; James Vashon, esq. sir William Henry Douglas, bart. Thomas Wells, esq. sir Edward Pellew, bart. Isaac Coffin, esq. to be rear-admirals of the white. Captains John Aylmer, esq. Samuel Osborn, esq. Richard Boger, esq. Jonathan Faulkner, esq. John Child Purvis, esq. Theophilus Jones, esq. William Domett, esq. William Wolseley, esq. John Manley, esq. George Murray, esq. John Sutton, esq. Robert Murray, esq. hon. Alexander Forrester Cochrane, sir Thomas Troubridge, bart. K. F. John Markham, esq. Henry D'Esterre Darby, esq. Edward Bowater, esq. George Palmer, esq. Wm. O'Brien Drury, esq. Wm. Essington, esq. sir Thomas Louis, K. F. and K. M. T. to be rear-admirals of the blue. George Martin, esq. sir Richard John Strachan, bart. and sir William Sidney Smith, knt. appointed colonels of his majesty's marine forces, vice sir Edward Pellew, bart. William Domett, esq. and sir Thomas Troubridge, bart. appointed flag-officers of his majesty's fleet.

*April 23.* His majesty in council was this day pleased to appoint the following sheriffs, viz. Leicestershire, Henry Otway, of Stanford-hall, esq.; Monmouthshire, William Adams Williams, of Llangibby, esq.; Salop, Robert Burton, of Longner, esq.; Suffolk, sir Robert Pocklington, of Chelsworth, knt. And his majesty was also pleased to make the following amendment on the roll: Glamorgan, Richard Tubervill Picton, of Ewenny, esq. made Richard Tubervill Turbervill, of Ewenny Abbey, esq.

*May 1.* William Dunn, of Chat-

teris, in the Isle of Ely, esq. and Jane his wife, to take to themselves and their issue the name of Gardner, and to quarter the arms of Gardner with those of Dunn.

3. Charles Cameron, esq. appointed captain-general and governor in chief of the Bahama Islands, took the oaths appointed to be taken by the governors of his majesty's plantations.

8. Right hon. sir James Mansfield, knt. appointed lord chief justice of his majesty's court of common pleas, vice lord Alvanley, deceased, sworn of his majesty's most honourable privy council. Thomas Holmes, of Beoley, esq. appointed sheriff of the county of Worcester, vice E. Knight, of Woolverly, esq.

12. Right hon. Wm. Pitt, appointed chancellor and under treasurer of his majesty's exchequer.—Right hon. Edward baron Clive, created baron Powis, of Powis castle, co. Montgomery, baron Herbert, of Cherbury, co. Salop, viscount Clive, of Ludlow, co. Salop, and earl of Powis, co. Montgomery.—William Honyman, of Armadale and Greenway, co. Orkney and Linlithgow, esq.; Alexander Penrose Cumming Gordon, of Altyr and Gordonston, co. Elgin, esq.; Richard Joseph Sullivan, of Thames Ditton, co. Surrey, esq.; Henry Mainwaring Mainwaring, of Over Peover, co. Chester, esq.; Wm. Middleton, of Crowfield-hall, co. Suffolk, esq.; David Maxwell, of Cantones, co. Dumfries, esq.; Drummond Smith, of Tring park, co. Herts, esq. with remainder to Charles Smith, of Suttons, co. Essex, esq.; William Fettes, of Whamprey, co. Dumfries, esq.; John Benn Walsh, of Ormathwaite, co. Cumberland, and of Warfield, co. Berks, esq.; and John Lethbridge, of Westaway-house,



house, and Winkley-court, co. Devon, and of Sandhill park, co. Somerset, esq.; created baronets.

14. Right hon. George earl of Winchilsea and Nottingham, groom of the stole to his majesty, and the right hon. George Thynne, commonly called lord George Thynne, comptroller of his majesty's household, sworn of his majesty's most hon. privy council.—Right hon. Dudley lord Harrowby, and the right hon. John Jefferies earl Camden, sworn two of his majesty's principal secretaries of state.

15. Right hon. William Pitt, George Percy, esq. commonly called lord Louvaine, James Edward Harris, esq. commonly called viscount Fitz-Harris, the right hon. Charles Long, and the hon. Henry Wellesley, appointed commissioners for executing the office of treasurer of his majesty's exchequer. Right hon. Henry viscount Melville, sir Philip Stephens, bart. James Gambier, esq. vice-admiral of the red, sir Harry Neale, bart. sir John Colpoys, K. B. and admiral of the blue, Philip Patton, esq. vice-admiral of the red, and William Dickenson, jun. esq. appointed commissioners for executing the office of high admiral of the united kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland.

— Dr. Samuel Foart Simmons, sworn and admitted physician extraordinary to the king.

19. Isaac Coffin, of the Magdaine Islands, in the Gulph of St. Lawrence, British North America, esq. rear-admiral of the white, created a baronet. Right hon. William Dundas, appointed his majesty's secretary at war.

— Joseph Frederick Walleit Des Banes, esq. appointed lieutenant-governor of the island of Prince Edward, in America.

26. Right hon. Robert Stewart, commonly called viscount Castlereagh; his grace William Henry Cavendish, duke of Portland, K. G. president of his majesty's council; the right hon. Robert Banks, baron Hawkesbury; the right hon. John Jefferies earl Camden, K. G.; the right hon. Dudley baron Harrowby, his majesty's three principal secretaries of state; the right hon. William Pitt, chancellor of his majesty's exchequer; the right hon. Sylvester baron Glenbervie (of that part of the united kingdom called Ireland); the right hon. Thomas Wallace; and Richard French, esq. commonly called viscount Dunlo; appointed his majesty's commissioners for the management of the affairs of India. Right hon. George Canning, appointed treasurer of his majesty's navy. Right hon. Arthur Paget, his majesty's envoy-extraordinary and minister-plenipotentiary at the court of Vienna, appointed one of the knight companions of the most honourable order of the Bath.

29. Right rev. Dr. Nathaniel Alexander, bishop of Clonfert and Kilmacduagh, translated to the bishoprick of Killaloe and Kilfenora, vice right rev. Dr. Charles Lindsay, translated to the bishoprick of Kildare.

*June 5.* Charles Arbuthnot, esq. appointed his majesty's ambassador-extraordinary and plenipotentiary to the Sublime Ottoman Porte; Benjamin Garlike, esq. envoy-extraordinary and minister-plenipotentiary to the court of Copenhagen; Charles Stuart, esq. secretary of the embassy to the court of St. Petersburg; Edward Thornton, esq. secretary of legation to the court of Berlin; Augustus Foster, esq. secretary of legation to the united states of America; and Frederick



derick Lindeman, esq. consul at Embden.

6. Right hon. Henry lord Mulgrave, sworn of his majesty's most honourable privy council. Right hon. George earl of Dartmouth, appointed (on the 14th of May) lord chamberlain of his majesty's household, took the usual oaths thereupon this day; as did the right hon. George earl of Winchelsea and Nottingham, on being appointed (May 10) groom of the stole to his majesty. Right hon. Henry lord Mulgrave, sworn chancellor of the duchy and county palatine of Lancaster. His grace James duke of Montrose, and, in his absence, the right hon. George Rose, appointed (this day) president of the committee of council appointed for the consideration of all matters relating to trade and foreign plantations. Right hon. Edward earl of Powis, appointed lord-lieutenant of the counties of Salop and Montgomery, took the usual oaths thereupon; as did the right hon. George Talbot, lord Dynevor, on being appointed lord-lieutenant of the county of Carmarthen. His majesty was also pleased to make the following amendment upon the roll of sheriffs, viz. Worcestershire, Thomas Holmes, made Thomas Hunter, in consequence of Mr. Holmes having obtained his majesty's licence to take and use the surname of Hunter only.

28. David Rae, of Eskgrove, co. Mid-Lothian, esq.; col. sir William Clarke, of Crosses Greenhouse, in the city of Cork; Henry Harvey Aston Bruce, of Downhill, co. Londonderry, clerk; John Lees, of Blackrock, co. Dublin, esq.; Samuel O'Malley, of Rosehill, co. Mayo, esq.; and William Myers, esq. commander of his

majesty's forces in the Leeward Islands; created baronets of the united kingdom, with remainder to their lawful heirs male.

27. Right hon. William Drummond, and right hon. Charles Arbuthnot, sworn of his majesty's most honourable privy council.— Charles Evans, esq. of Trefeiling, appointed sheriff of the county of Anglesea, in North Wales, vice Thomas Parry Jones, esq. of Cefn Coch.

*July* . . . Rev. Dr. Christopher Betson, dean of Waterford, promoted to the united bishopricks of Clonfert and Kilmacduagh, vice right rev. Dr. Nathaniel Alexander, translated to the bishoprick of Killaloe and Kilfenora.

11. Right hon. John Thynne, commonly called lord John Thynne, vice-chamberlain of his majesty's household, sworn of his majesty's most honourable privy council.

— Right hon. George Rose, and right hon. lord Charles Henry Somerset, appointed paymaster-general of his majesty's forces.

13. James duke of Montrose and lord Charles Spencer, appointed post-master-general.

— Hon. Cecil Jenkinson, appointed his majesty's secretary of legation to the court of Vienna.— Don Rofendo Josef Guiterrez, approved his catholic majesty's consul at Gibraltar.

19. Right hon. Granville Leveson Gower, commonly called lord Granville Leveson Gower, sworn of his majesty's most honourable privy council.

— Right hon. Granville Leveson Gower, commonly called lord Granville Leveson Gower, appointed ambassador-extraordinary and plenipotentiary to the court of St. Petersburg.

21. Francis Seymour, marquis of



of Hertford, appointed master of the horse to his majesty.

28. Charles Bishop, esq. appointed his majesty's procurator in all causes and matters maritime, foreign, civil, and ecclesiastical, vice Heseltine, deceased.

*Aug.* . . . Right hon. John Forster, right hon. sir Evan Nepean, bart. chief secretary to the lord-lieutenant of Ireland, or the chief secretary to the lord-lieutenant for the time being, or, in the absence of the chief secretary, the under secretary for the time being for the civil department of the said chief secretary's office, the right hon. Lodge lord Frankfort, the right hon. John Loftus Loftus, commonly called lord viscount Loftus, and the right hon. Maurice Fitzgerald, appointed commissioners for executing the office of treasurer of his majesty's exchequer in Ireland. The right hon. John Forster, appointed chancellor of the court of exchequer in Ireland.

*Sept.* 1. Gerard Lake, esq. general and commander of his majesty's forces in the East Indies, created baron Lake, of Delhi and Laswary, and of Aston Clinton, co. Buckingham. Major-general the hon. Arthur Wellesley, created a knight of the Bath.

8. Rev. W. Long, LL. B. appointed a prebendary of the free chapel of St. George, in the castle of Windsor, vice Wilson, deceased.

21. John Leard, esq. appointed consul at Ragusa. Appointment of John Thompson, esq. to be consul for the king of Prussia in Scotland, approved by his majesty.

29. His royal highness the duke of Sussex, sworn of his majesty's most honourable privy council.

*Oct.* 2. Robert Peat, D. D. rector of Ashley cum Silverley, and vicar of Kirtling, co. Cambridge,

permitted to accept and wear, in his own country, the ensigns of the order of St. Stanislaus, conferred upon him Nov. 21, 1790 (by his then description of Robert Peat, esq.) by Stanislaus Augustus, late king of Poland.

13. Sir Robert Ainslie, of Great Torrington, co. Lincoln, knt. late his majesty's ambassador at the Ottoman Porte, created a baronet of the united kingdom, with remainder to Robert Sharp Ainslie, of Market Stainton, in the said county of Lincoln, esq. nephew of the said sir Robert Ainslie, and son of general George Ainslie, deceased. William Burroughs, esq. late advocate-general of Bengal, also created a baronet of the united kingdom.

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*SHERIFFS appointed by his majesty in council for the year 1804.*

Bedfordshire, George Edwards, of Henlow, esq.

Berkshire, Ric. Matthews, of Wargrave, esq.

Bucks, James Neild, of Stoke Hammond, esq.

Cambridge and Huntingdonshire, Benjamin Keene, of Wistow Lodge, esq.

Cheshire, sir John Fleming Leicester, of Nether Tabling, bart.

Cumberland, John de Whelpdale, of Penrith, esq.

Derbyshire, Sir Henry Every, of Egginton, bart.

Devonshire, Thomas Porter, of Rockbear, esq.

Dorsetshire, Robert Williams, of Bridy Head, Little Bridy, esq.

Essex, William Palmer, of Nazing, esq.

Gloucestershire. Nathaniel Clifford, of Frampton-upon-Severn, esq.

Hereford.



Herefordshire, Richard Stukely Flemming, of Dinmore Hill, esq.

Hertfordshire, Edward Garrow, of Totteridge, esq.

Kent, sir Walter Stirling, of Shoreham, bart.

Leicestershire, Henry Otway, of Stanford Hill, esq.

Lincolnshire, Robert Viner, of Godby, esq.

Monmouthshire, William Adams Williams, of Llangibby, esq.

Norfolk, Henry Styleman, of Snettisham, esq.

Northamptonshire, Charles Tibbitts, of Barton Seagrave, esq.

Northumberland, sir Thomas Henry Lyddell, of Effington, bart.

Nottinghamshire, Thomas Webb Edge, of Strelley, esq.

Oxfordshire, John Langston, of Sarsden House, esq.

Rutlandshire, Cotton Thompson, of Ketton, esq.

Shropshire, Robert Burton, of Longner, esq.

Somersetshire, John Rogers, of Yarlington, esq.

Staffordshire, Richard Jesson, of West Bromwich, esq.

Southampton, sir Charles Mill, of Mottesfont, bart.

Suffolk, sir Robert Pocklington, of Chelsworth, knt.

Surry, William Borradaile, of Streatham, esq.

Sussex, John Dennet, of Woodmancoat, esq.

Warwickshire, Roger Vaughton, of Sutton Coldfield, esq.

Wiltshire, Wadham Lock, of Rowd Ford, esq.

Worcestershire, Edward Knight, of Wolverley, esq.

Yorkshire, James Fox, of Bramham Park, esq.

#### SOUTH WALES.

Brecon, Penry Williams, of Penpont, esq.

Caermarthenshire, John Simons, of Llangenah, esq.

Cardiganshire, John Bund, of Kesney Coed, esq.

Glamorganshire, Richard Tuberville Picton, of Ewenny, esq.

Pembrokeshire, sir Hugh Owen, of Orielson, bart.

Radnorshire, Thomas Frankland Lewis, of Harpton Court, esq.

#### NORTH WALES.

Anglesea, Thomas Parry Jones, of Cum Coch, esq.

Caernarvonshire, Owen Molineux Wynn, of Penmachno, esq.

Denbighshire, Robert William Wynne, of Garthewix, esq.

Flintshire, Richard Garnons the younger, of Leetwood, esq.

Merionethshire, sir Edward Price Lloyd, of Park, bart.

Montgomeryshire, Charles Hanbury Tracey, of Gogmagog, esq.

*SHERIFF appointed by his royal highness the prince of Wales in council, for the year 1804.*

County of Cornwall, sir Lionel Copley, of Bake, bart.



## PUBLIC PAPERS.

By the KING. A PROCLAMATION,  
*For a General Fast.*

GEORGE R.

**W**E, taking into Our most serious consideration the just and necessary war in which We are engaged, and putting Our trust in Almighty God, that he will graciously bless Our arms both by sea and land, have resolved, and do, by and with the advice of Our privy-council, hereby command, That a public day of fasting and humiliation be observed throughout those parts of Our kingdom called England and Ireland, on Friday, the twenty-fifth of May next ensuing; that so We and Our people may humble Ourselves before Almighty God, in order to obtain pardon of Our sins, and in the most devout and solemn manner send up Our prayers and supplications to the Divine Majesty for averting those heavy judgments which Our manifold provocations have most justly deserved, and for imploring his blessing and assistance on Our arms, for the restoration of peace and prosperity to Us and Our dominions: and We do strictly charge and command, that the said public fast be reverently and devoutly kept by all Our loving subjects in England and Ireland, as they tender the favour of the Al-

mighty, and would avoid his wrath and indignation; and upon pain of such punishment as We may justly inflict on all such as contemn and neglect the performance of so religious and necessary a duty: and for the better and more orderly solemnizing the same, We have given directions to the most reverend the archbishops and the right reverend the bishops of England and Ireland, to compose a form of prayer suitable to this occasion, to be used in all churches, chapels, and places of public worship, and to take care that the same be timely dispersed throughout their respective dioceses.

Given at Our court at the Queen's palace, this twenty-third day of April, one thousand eight hundred and four, in the forty-fourth year of Our reign.

GOD SAVE THE KING.

[The fast to be observed in Scotland on Thursday, the seventh of June.]

By the KING. A PROCLAMATION.

GEORGE R.

Whereas Our parliament stands prorogued to Thursday, the 4th day of October next, We, with the advice of Our privy council,

do



do hereby publish and declare, that the said parliament shall be further prorogued on the said 4th day of October next to Tuesday, the 27th day of November next: and We have given order to Our chancellor of that part of Our kingdom called Great Britain, to prepare a commission for proroguing the same accordingly; and We do further hereby, with the advice aforesaid, declare Our royal will and pleasure, that the said parliament shall, on the said 27th day of November next, be held, and sit for the dispatch of divers urgent and important affairs: and the lords spiritual and temporal, and the knights, citizens, and burgesses, and the commissioners for shires and burghs of the house of commons, are hereby required and commanded to give their attendance accordingly at Westminster, on the 27th day of November next.

Given at Our court at Weymouth, the twentieth day of September, one thousand eight hundred and four, in the forty-fourth year of Our reign.

GOD SAVE THE KING.

HIS MAJESTY'S speech to both houses of parliament, on the 31st of July, 1804.

My lords and gentlemen,

Before I put an end to the present session of parliament, I am desirous of expressing my entire approbation of the zeal and assiduity with which you have applied yourselves to the great objects of public concern which have come under your consideration.

You have wisely continued to direct your attention to the encou-

agement and improvement of that respectable and powerful volunteer force which the ardour and spirit of my subjects have enabled me to establish to an extent hitherto unexampled. You have at the same time endeavoured to combine an additional establishment for our domestic defence, with the means of augmenting our regular army, and of maintaining it on such a scale, as may be proportioned to the circumstances of the times, and to the rank which this country ought ever to hold among the powers of Europe.

Gentlemen of the house of commons,

You are entitled to my warmest acknowledgements for the fresh proof which you have given me of your affectionate and constant attachment to my person and family, and your regard to the honour and dignity of my crown, by the liberal provision which you have made for the payment of the debt on my civil list revenues, and for furnishing me with the additional means of defraying the increase which has unavoidably taken place in the different branches of my expenditure. I must also return you my warmest thanks for the extensive provision which you have made for the exigencies of the public service, and especially for the just and prudent attention which you have shown to true œconomy, and to the permanent credit and welfare of the country, by the great exertions you have made for preventing, as far as possible, the accumulation of debt, and for raising so large a proportion of the expenses of the war within the year.

My lords and gentlemen,

I have now only to recommend

to



to you to carry into your respective counties the same zeal for the public interest which has guided all your proceedings: it will be your particular duty to inculcate in the minds of all classes of my subjects, that the preservation of all that is most dear to them, requires the continuance of their unremitting exertions for the national defence. The preparations which the enemy has long been forming for the declared purpose of invading this kingdom, are daily augmenting, and the attempt appears to have been delayed only with the view of procuring additional means for carrying it into execution. Relying on the skill, valour, and discipline of my naval and military force, aided by the voluntary zeal and native courage of my people, I look with confidence to the issue of this great conflict; and I doubt not that it will terminate, under the blessing of providence, not only in repelling the danger of the moment, but in establishing in the eyes of foreign nations, the security of this country on a basis never to be shaken. In addition to this first and great object, I entertain the animating hope that the benefits to be derived from our successful exertions will not be confined within ourselves; but that, by their example and their consequences, they may lead to the re-establishment of such a system in Europe, as may rescue it from the precarious state to which it is reduced, and may finally raise an effectual barrier against the unbounded schemes of aggrandisement and ambition, which threaten every independent nation that yet remains on the continent.

After which the lord chancellor, having received his majesty's

commands, came forward and said,

My lords and gentlemen,

It is his majesty's royal will and pleasure, that this parliament be prorogued till Tuesday, the 4th of September next; and this parliament stands prorogued till the said 4th day of September accordingly.

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*Downing-street, Aug. 9, 1804.*

The king has been pleased to cause it to be signified by the right honourable lord Harrowby, his majesty's principal secretary of state for foreign affairs, to the ministers of neutral powers residing at this court, that the necessary measures have been taken, by his majesty's command, for the blockade of the entrance of the ports of Fecamp, St. Vallery 'en Caux, Dieppe, Treport, the Somme, Etaples, Boulogne, Calais, Gravelines, Dunkirk, Neuport, and Ostend; and that from this time all the measures authorised by the law of nations, and the respective treaties between his majesty and the different neutral powers, will be adopted and executed with respect to all vessels which may attempt to violate the said blockade.

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HIS MAJESTY'S MESSAGE, AUG. 12.

The chancellor of the exchequer delivered the following message at the bar of the house, from his majesty:

GEORGE R.

His majesty, relying on the experienced zeal and affection of his faithful commons, and considering that it may be of the utmost importance to provide for such  
emer-



emergencies as may arise, is desirous that this house will enable him to take all such measures as may be necessary to disappoint or defeat any enterprise or design of his enemies, and as the exigency of affairs may require.

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CIRCULAR.

*To officers commanding yeomanry corps.*

*Dublin-castle, Jan. 2.*

Sir,

The lord-lieutenant having taken into consideration the irregularity, as well as serious inconvenience, which has arisen from the want of a fixed scale for the establishment of officers in yeomanry corps, and the great expense which has been incurred by too large a proportion in many corps having been placed on permanent duty, I am directed to acquaint you that his excellency has been pleased to order, that the scale hereunto annexed, as applicable to the establishment of each corps in the yeomanry service, should be adopted in future; and his excellency is satisfied of your concurrence in an arrangement which is calculated to produce a system of regularity, and to promote public œconomy.

It is not of course intended, that any officer now holding a commission should be deprived of it; but those who are at present on the establishment beyond the number in the proposed scale, are to be considered as supernumeraries; and such vacancies as may occur, are not to be filled up until the number of officers is reduced to the proper proportion.

I am further commanded to state, that when detachments are

placed upon permanent duty, the proportion of officers will be limited according to the instructions which the brigade majors have received, so as in no case to exceed the number stated in the scale. And I am to observe, that supernumerary officers cannot be entitled to draw pay, except in cases of emergency, or under particular circumstances, which will be made known to the commanding officers, through the brigade majors, by the general officers commanding districts.

(Signed)

E. B. LITTLEHALES.

The scale referred to in the above circular letter appoints to corps of cavalry of from 20 to 50 rank and file inclusive, 1 captain and 1 first lieutenant; and from 60 to 100 rank and file inclusive, a sub-lieutenant in addition.

To corps of infantry of 20 to 40 rank and file inclusive, 1 captain and 1 first lieutenant; and from 50 to 90 inclusive, an additional sub-lieutenant; from 100 to 140 inclusive, two sub-lieutenants additional; from 160 to 180 inclusive, three sub-lieutenants; and to corps of 200 rank and file there are to be four sub-lieutenants. The scale also fixes the proportion of officers to corps consisting both of cavalry and infantry.

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GENERAL ORDERS.

*Head Quarters, Colchester, Jan. 2.*

Such regiments as have received magazines, are immediately to give in to the nearest ordnance depôt, demands for the number of cartridges necessary to complete them to 60 rounds of ammunition. The magazines are to be fitted to the cross



cross belts, and when in marching order, the regiments are always to appear with them. It is to be observed, that the pouches being expected to hold 36 rounds, the magazines are to carry the remaining 24.

The regiments which are not yet supplied with magazines, are to make similar demands as soon as they receive them, and the general officers are desired to report in their weekly states the arrival of magazines for any of the regiments of their brigades, until the whole are supplied.

In the event of any movement of the army, the men are to carry with them, in their haversacks, such bread as they may have in their possession; and the commissaries attending the several columns of the army have directions to use their utmost endeavours to complete the whole up to a full supply of three days in their possession, and three days more in their wag-gons.

In the event of any distant movement, it is intended that an officer of the commissariat shall attend every column that may march separately to the appointed place of rendezvous for the army; but, if none should be present, the general officer (or officer commanding the column) will appoint an intelligent officer to act, as such, to procure supplies of bread, forage, and straw for that column.

At this season of the year, and particularly under the circumstance of forced marches, which may be necessary in the first instance, encamping will be impracticable; whilst, from the numbers of which the several columns will consist, it will be equally impossible, nor will it be expected, that quarters shall be provided in the 1804.

usual manner: much inconvenience must necessarily be experienced: but it will be encountered with the cheerfulness of soldiers engaged in the sacred cause of their country; and the fatigue that must be undergone in the progress to meet the enemy, will be as little regarded as the danger that will arise from attacking him.

The troops, in the event alluded to, will be cantoned in such barns, outhouses, or buildings of any sort, as can be procured fit for the purpose; and the commissary must make the necessary provision of straw, as well as of fuel for cooking the men's provisions.

It will be the business of the officers to see that the best of accommodation is made that the nature of the case will admit of; while, by the maintenance of a rigorous discipline, they enforce a due observance of order and regularity, prevent all the confusion that must otherwise ensue, and give the necessary protection to the property of inhabitants, which must not be destroyed or injured.

In every case in which corps of volunteers are met with on a march, they are to share in every accommodation that the quarters may afford. The officers in command will pay every attention to this point.

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Copy of a circular letter from Mr. secretary Yorke to the lieutenants of the several counties in Great Britain, dated Whitehall, Jan. 14, 1804.

My lord,

His majesty's confidential servants have thought it to be their duty, on further considering the improvements of which the volunteer system is capable, to extend to it  
(1) every



every useful aid and assistance which it can receive, consistent with a due attention to that principle of œconomy on which the whole system is founded, and have resolved to allow of adjutants and serjeant majors on permanent pay to corps of the different descriptions of force, consisting of the following numbers, without any other conditions or restrictions, than such as may be applicable to the whole volunteer-establishment.

*Cavalry.*—To every corps, consisting of not less than 300 effective rank and file of cavalry, an adjutant on permanent pay will be allowed. [Pay, when not called out into actual service, 6s. per day; 2s. ditto for a horse.]

To every corps of cavalry under 300 rank and file, but consisting of not less than three troops of 40 effective rank and file each, a serjeant-major will be allowed, on permanent pay.—[Pay, when not called out into actual service, 3s. 11d. per day, including 9d. for a horse.]

*Infantry.*—To every corps of infantry (including artillery), consisting of not less than 500 effective rank and file, one adjutant and one serjeant-major, on permanent pay, will be allowed.—[Pay, when not called out into actual service, 6s. per day; ditto of serjeant-major ditto 1s. 6d. per day, and 2s. 6d. per week extra.]

To every corps of infantry, consisting of not less than 300 effective rank and file, one adjutant, but no serjeant-major, will be allowed on permanent pay.—[Pay 6s. per day, as above.]

To a corps of infantry, under 300 effective rank and file, but consisting of no less than three companies of 60 privates each, one serjeant-major will be allowed on permanent pay. [Pay as above, 1s. 6d.

per day, and 2s. 6d. per week extra.]

When the corps to which the adjutants and serjeant-majors are appointed shall be called out on actual service by competent authority, these staff officers will receive the pay of their respective ranks, as in the line.

The adjutants are to be recommended by the lords lieutenants, for his majesty's approbation, in the usual manner; but no recommendation of adjutant can be attended to, unless the person recommended has served at least four years as a commissioned officer, or as a serjeant-major in the regulars, embodied militia, fencibles, or East-India company's service; and the recommendation must likewise distinctly express the actual period of the service of the person recommended, and specify the particular corps in which that service was performed.

Serjeant-majors may be appointed by the commandant of the corps, from among persons who have served at least three years as non-commissioned officers in his majesty's regular, embodied militia, or fencible forces; and the period of such service, and the particular corps in which it was performed, are to be distinctly specified in the first pay-list which shall be transmitted to the War-office after the appointment takes place.

All adjutants and serjeant-majors who are placed on permanent pay, are to consider themselves as, at all times, at the disposal and under the commanding officer of the corps for the time being, and are expected to give their attendance whenever required, for the drill, good order, and management of the corps.

It is not intended, by this arrangement,



arrangement, to make any alteration as to the appointment of adjutants or serjeant-majors without pay. They will still be allowed to corps of sufficient strength, as directed by the militia laws, and as before pointed out by the War-office regulations of the 28th of September, 1803.

## OFFICIAL.

*Victory, at sea, Jan. 19, 1804.*

The dey of Algiers having refused to receive the British consul, all ships are cautioned to beware how they approach the coast of Algiers, or permit themselves to be boarded by any of the Algerine cruisers.

(Signed) NELSON and BRONTE.

## VOLUNTEERS.—(COPY. CIRCULAR.)

*Whitehall, Jan. 23, 1804.*

My lord,

As in the event of any of the volunteers in the county under your grace's charge being either placed on permanent pay and duty, or ordered out on actual service, they are to be subject to military discipline, and to all the provisions contained in any act of parliament for the punishment of mutiny and desertion, by any articles of war made in pursuance thereof, in all cases whatever: it appears to be expedient, that your grace should lose no time in directing the commandants of the different corps, in the case of their being so called out, to cause the articles of war to be read to their corps, as soon after their first assembling as may be practicable, and to repeat the same from time to time as opportunity may

be given, in the manner practised in the militia and regular forces.

I have the honour to be, my lord,

Your most obedient servant,

C. YORKE.

His majesty's lieutenant  
of the co. of Sussex.

Pursuant to the above order, I do hereby direct that all commanding officers of yeomanry and volunteer corps within the county of Sussex, do pay due obedience thereto.

RICHMOND, &c.

Goodwood, Jan. 27, 1804.

Note from Mr. Drake to the Bavarian minister of state, baron Montgelas, delivered at Munich, March 30, 1804.

The undersigned, envoy extraordinary from his Britannic majesty, has been informed, that his electoral highness has been pleased, at the requisition of the French government, to give a hint to all noblemen, who quitted France during the revolution, and may now be found in his dominions, to leave the same within ten days, without excepting those who are dependent on the British government. Although this account appears to be tolerably authentic, the undersigned cannot give any credit to it, without receiving a confirmation thereof from his excellency baron Montgelas, as he is too well convinced of the just and generous sentiments of his electoral highness, to believe that his highness could have consented to such a demand from a power, which has formerly declared, by the fourth article of its own constitution, that there are not any relations left existing between it and the persons against whom that measure is supposed to be



taken: this deprives it of the right to assume any authority with respect to them; a principle which your excellency owned yourself, at a time when it was in agitation to prohibit in this country the decorations of the French monarchy. The undersigned is the more justified in his supposition, that he must have been misinformed on this subject, as knowing how sorely the feeling heart of his electoral highness must be afflicted, if obliged to exercise any rigour towards persons against whom no cause of reproach can be alleged; unless it be a reproach, that they have shown themselves so firmly devoted to their duties, and to that sovereign house with which his electoral highness formerly stood connected in so many respects.

The undersigned is moreover convinced, that it could not escape the enlightened wisdom of his electoral highness, that a similar exercise of rigour, against those respectable and already so very unfortunate persons, would form a rueful example of the fate awaiting those who, in a moment of danger, are inclined to remain true to their lawful sovereign; and which example may induce them to swerve from their duty, at the very moment when a sovereign stands most in need of the efforts and actual proofs of their attachment.

The undersigned has therefore the honour to request baron von Montgelas to clear up his doubts on this subject, and to inform him, whether the measure in question will extend to the officers of the late Condéan army who are attached to the British government, that he may be enabled to acquaint his court thereof, and to await the commands of his sovereign accordingly.

The undersigned avails himself of this opportunity to request baron Montgelas to accept the assurances of his most particular regard, &c.

(Signed) FRANCIS DRAKE.

NOTE FROM THE SAME TO THE SAME.

*Munich, March 31.*

I have just received a notice of so very extraordinary a nature, but which is so important of itself, and for the consequences which may result from it, that, though I am very far from crediting it, I think it a duty I owe to my sovereign, to whom my person and services belong, as well as to his highness the elector himself, immediately to inform your excellency thereof. The said note is in substance to the following purport: that a seizure of the British ministry at Munich is in agitation, in the manner of that which took place with respect to his highness the duke of Enghien at Ettenheim, in the territory of the elector of Baden, but with this difference, that the second seizure will not be effected by a body of troops, but by men secretly sent to Munich, and its neighbourhood, by different roads. With respect to the moment and particulars of the execution, I have no detailed accounts; and I own to your excellency, that the difficulties of the enterprise appeared to me from the first too great, the project itself too extravagant, and at the same time too dreadful, to be fully convinced of its existence: on the other hand, it cannot be concealed, that the example of events which have very recently occurred, as it were, under our eyes, is little calculated to inspire confidence. However this may be, and little as this notice has affected me personally, yet it.



it appears to me that I should be transgressing the duties which my post as a public minister requires, if I neglected informing your excellency thereof forthwith, that you may be enabled to take in time such measures as the case may require, and to avert, by proper acts of precaution, the unpleasant result which might arise, even from the attempt to execute a design of this nature. I beg your excellency to accept the assurance, &c.

(Signed) FRANCIS DRAKE.

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Official copy of the correspondence between the Prince of Peace and Mr. Frere, relative to the conversation ascribed to them in the *Moniteur*, No. 184.

TRANSLATION.

*Madrid, April 7, 1804.*

Sir,

Your excellency has undoubtedly read the conversation ascribed to us by the French official gazetteer, concerning the late events in Paris. As I flatter myself that my colleagues, and the enlightened persons of the court, will not be apt to credit stories so ridiculous and so diametrically opposite to the principles which they know me to profess, I might perhaps have dispensed with noticing a calumny which must reflect upon its authors; and should merely have invited your excellency to estimate the accuracy of other accounts proceeding from the same source, by this, of which you are at once the judge and witness. And yet, as it appears that the writer of that article presumes to ground his statement on the testimony of your excellency, it appears to me, that I should, in some man-

ner, be wanting to my own justification, and to the representation with which I am intrusted, were I to neglect appealing to that very testimony myself. Besides, the official character of that accusation seems to demand an equally formal and authentic contradiction.

These considerations induce me to apply to your excellency, and to request that you will declare whether any such conversation did really pass between us, in which I asserted the principle imputed to me by the official gazetteer, and above all, as maintained by him, before the Paris news arrived: in short, whether your excellency acknowledges the answer ascribed to you, and which concludes by a very intelligible threat of assassination.

(Signed) J. H. FRERE.

To his excellency the  
Prince of Peace.

*Madrid, April 8, 1804.*

Sir,

I have actually seen, that in the Madrid article, inserted in No. 184 of the gazette, an account is given of a conversation between us; and I was waiting, sir, for your application, to remove by my answer the unfavourable opinions you might have formed. But, as in this kind of business the degree of probability entirely depends upon opinion, and our conferences having taken place without either witnesses or hearers; and as it is impossible, therefore, that they should have been transmitted to the gazetteer with truth or accuracy; I deem the justification you require from me perfectly useless, since it will be indifferent to the editor of the gazetteer, whether he publish a contrary statement tomorrow, the value set on those accounts being



relative to the truth they contain. Such has been my opinion when I have seen my character blackened in still darker colours; and he, who should endeavour to restrain the actions of men whom fortune has placed out of his power, would obtain no other end than that of giving himself constant uneasiness.

(Signed) THE PRINCE OF PEACE.

Mr. Frere, minister of England.

*Madrid, April 10, 1804.*

Sir,

I have the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your excellency's note, and you will see, by the date of this, that I have well reflected, before I determined to renew so unpleasant a subject: but, in truth, the longer I weigh the expressions of your excellency's note, the less I find that they answer the purpose for which it was dictated, namely, to remove the unfavourable opinions I might have formed.

Your excellency does me the honour to observe, that you expected me to take such a step; it was not, therefore, quite superfluous in itself. And indeed, since I was to make application to your excellency, I do not see how it was possible for me to prefer a demand more moderate, or how I could now desist from it, without obtaining, some way or other, a satisfactory answer. I am fully aware how delicate and difficult the present circumstances are; but, if your excellency did not think it proper directly to oppose the official gazetteer's assertions, it would, at least, have been possible, by stripping his statement of all authority, to reduce it to that vague and conjectural character which you yourself have ascribed to it: for this purpose nothing more was required, than that your ex-

cellency should assure me you never had divulged any particulars of our conversation, since it is evident, that the *Moniteur* did not mean to cite furtive and clandestine witnesses, but the very person of your excellency. Your excellency might likewise have given a very plain and very natural testimony in my favour, namely, that the only time I spoke with you upon the subject, I expressed an opinion precisely the reverse of that which the gazetteer pretended to cite.

(Signed) J. H. FRERE.

To his excellency the  
Prince of Peace, &c.

*Aranjuez, April 13, 1804.*

The editor of the French gazette supposing, in his No. 184, that a conversation had taken place between you, sir, and me, has been wanting in the consideration due to my character, by believing me capable of entering upon subjects unworthy of the greatness of soul which adorns me. I do not complain of his offence, and you cannot calm the perturbation of your mind at being implicated in it. How shall I be able to persuade you? I have nothing to add to the reflections contained in my preceding note: may this answer to yours of the 10th prove more satisfactory, and let vague opinions circulate in arbitrary prints.

(Signed) THE PRINCE OF PEACE.

J. H. Frere, esq. minister  
of his Britannic majesty.

*Madrid, April 17, 1804.*

Sir,

It had appeared to me, that my personal honour, as well as my sovereign's, in fine, that the value I ought to set upon the good opinion of the Spanish nation, equally impelled



impelled me to take the step I have towards your excellency; and though that greatness of soul Y. E. has so just a title to claim, had lessened the importance of these considerations in your eyes, I should still have flattered myself, that you would show some indulgence for the weakness of those, who, on being conscious of those distinguished qualities which raise people above calumny, think, that there are instances in which a man, without being wanting to his own dignity, is called upon to show some respect for public opinion. But, if our notions upon the subject be greatly different, the situation we are in is no less so. On my part, I am charged with having maintained an atrocious principle, while they put in the mouth of Y. E. sentiments worthy of your character, and such as all who are not strangers to your loyalty, must know that you yourself could have wished to have had ascribed to you, had I been capable of holding the language attributed to me.

I cannot, therefore, conceal, that in the denial of your excellency to disavow that conversation, I look in vain for that greatness of soul which you invite me to imitate, when silence on your part costs you nothing but the sacrifice of my reputation, inasmuch, at least, as it depends upon your suffrage.

Seeing myself deprived of this advantage, there still remains for me the satisfaction to think that I can desist from further importuning your excellency upon the subject, and that I am able to await, without that perturbation of mind you ascribe to me, the decision of the public, the opinion of my colleagues, and that of the enlightened persons in this court. They have hitherto been pretty decidedly in

my favour; and I flatter myself they will prove sufficient to protect me, not only against the aspersions of the gazetteer, but likewise against the conjectures which may be built upon the silence of your excellency.

(Signed) J. H. FRERE.  
To his excellency the  
Prince of Peace.

*Madrid, April 19, 1804.*

Sir,

I cannot avoid returning an answer to your note of the 17th instant; as, although its contents do not vary from the former one, concerning the opinions entertained in France upon your character, and mine, I see that you touch on other points of greater importance, such as the dignity of your sovereign, and the public opinion. This question is too serious, and ought not, therefore, to be blended with private interests. I will never believe that the king of England gives his ministers directions derogatory from his majesty and dignity; I respect his high rank as I should, and will not consent, sir, to your making a court business of what is merely personal: you know, sir, that whenever you have called to converse with me, I have answered, that political affairs were not within my province, and that the king my master had his secretary of state, through whose medium the demands of foreign courts were to be transmitted to him. To the other ambassadors and ministers I made the same observation; so that I have received their visits as mere acts of goodness and civility from them. Under such circumstances, therefore, causes ought not to be confounded with subsequent events, nor ought what depends



upon the private conduct of subjects, to be imputed to edicts of the government. My sincerity has more than once prompted me to caution you, sir, that some individuals about you could do you neither honour nor credit, since, their reputation being blasted in other courts, no great opinion could be entertained of their morals in this. And do you know, sir, whether or not these people may be the authors of the story published by the Paris gazetteer? I have likewise mentioned several other things to you; and it was, perhaps, owing to my advices, that you avoided their consequences; as, for instance, general Bournonville's affair, when you wanted to make yourself master of his papers. Let your excellency call to mind my former conduct, and entertain a proper regard for the sincerity you have experienced from your affectionate servant,

(Signed) THE PRINCE OF PEACE.

If you choose, sir, I will give an account of what has taken place to the king my master, that it may be forwarded to the minister of his Britannic majesty, through the channel of his ambassador in London; and your excellency may, from the moderation and terms of my note, form an idea of the high respect I bear his Britannic majesty; since, if it were not for this just consideration, I should not have answered your last note.

J. H. Frere, Esq.

*Madrid, April 20, 1804.*

I yesterday received the note of your excellency, which I have read with all the attention it merits. There is a very plain consideration which directly occurs to one's mind, namely, that your excel-

lency might have spared yourself the unpleasant task of continuing a painful correspondence. Your excellency does me honour to tell me, that, being no minister, your correspondence cannot be drawn to any political consequence; and yet you propose to transmit it to the minister of his most catholic majesty in London, for the purpose of showing your respect for his Britannic majesty. Your excellency adds, that, without such motive, you would not have thought yourself bound to answer my note. Upon this I must observe, that expressions of personal respect from a private individual to a sovereign, do not appear to me to be customary; and that, viewing the note of your excellency in this light, I would not undertake to lay it officially before his majesty. And yet, as it contains certain allusions to my conduct, I thought it my duty to transmit it to the secretary of state of his Britannic majesty, with proper explanations. If I return no direct answer to your excellency concerning those allusions, it is because I think them foreign to the subject upon which we began to correspond, and absolutely without an object, since your excellency has declared that you would not be looked upon as a minister. Moreover, nobody being present when the conversations in question took place, the discussion would prove endless, and be of no other use than that of presenting to the public the indecent spectacle of two persons, each of whom has some claim to their respect, mutually contradicting each other in the face of the whole world.

(Signed) J. H. FRERE.

To his excellency the  
Prince of Peace.

*Madrid,*



*Madrid, April 23, 1804.*

I persuade myself that your excellency will not be surprised at the course I take, and which is, in my opinion, the only rational one. Since I desisted, in my note of the 17th, from the demand of a disavowal, our correspondence could no longer have any object. From the moment that your excellency declared that you would not be considered as a minister, I become sensible, that further discussions would only produce a personal altercation. This was the motive why I avoided discussing various points contained in the last note of your excellency, and it is also the motive which influences me at present. When your excellency has taken into consideration the situation you place me in, by stripping me, as well as yourself, of our ministerial characters, I am convinced you will not ascribe to a want of regard that which is, in reality, the result of the most serious reflection.

J. H. FRERE.

To his excellency the  
Prince of Peace.

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The following circular letter has been sent by the secretary at war to his majesty's lieutenants of counties :

*Whitehall, 12th April, 1804.*

My lord,

In explanation of my circular letter of the 5th ult. I think it necessary to apprise your lordship, that it is not intended to place any corps of volunteers upon permanent duty, for the purpose of training and exercise, in the town to which it may belong, unless it may be a garrison, and the corps shall undertake, and be permitted

by the general commanding the district, or by the commandant of the garrison, to assist in performing the duty thereof; or unless, from special circumstances, it should be deemed particularly desirable by the commanding general of the district.

There will, however, be no objection to allowing ten days additional pay, at the rate of one shilling per man per day, to each non-commissioned officer, drummer, and private, of such corps of volunteer infantry accepted subsequent to the 3d of August 1803 (if recommended for this purpose by your lordship), as may be willing to perform so many additional days' exercise in the course of the two ensuing months, without leaving their homes; but in this case they will not be entitled to the allowance for the purchase of necessaries, which is to be made exclusively to volunteers who shall march for the purpose of training and exercise out of the towns to which they belong, or assemble within them for the purpose of doing the garrison duty thereof, or under the special circumstances before adverted to.

I have further to add, that it is not proposed to call upon any of the corps of infantry, serving upon the June allowances, to be exercised, on the whole, a greater number than eighty-five days within the year; but in the event of their assembling on permanent duty for any time not exceeding that period, it is intended, that the number of days during which they shall be so assembled, shall be accounted as part of the eighty-five days' exercise, which, by the terms of their institution, they are bound to perform. And upon their so assembling on permanent



manent duty, it is to be understood that these corps are to be entitled to the like bounty in aid of necessities as other volunteers.

But it is not meant that any artillery should be placed on permanent duty, except in cases where they can have the advantage of being trained with some party or detachment of the royal artillery, or at least of being under the direction or instruction of officers or non-commissioned officers of the royal artillery.

I have the honour to be, &c.

My lord,

Your most obedient  
humble servant,

C. YORKE.

To his majesty's lieutenants.

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#### CHELSEA OUT-PENSIONERS.

The following order, relative to an extension of the out-pensions allowance for invalid and superannuated soldiers, has been circulated throughout the army:

*Horse Guards, April 28, 1804.*

The commander in chief directs it to be notified to the army, that his majesty has been graciously pleased to order it to be signified to his commissioners of the royal hospital at Chelsea, that hereafter soldiers discharged from any of the royal garrison battalions, with especial recommendatory discharge, as being disabled from further military duty, either from length of services, or from wounds received in the service, shall be in all cases allowed the out-pension of nine pence per day; and if totally incapacitated by infirmities or wounds from providing for themselves, that they shall be allowed a pension of one shilling per day.

His royal highness is persuaded that this recent instance of the king's benevolence towards his troops, and of his gracious consideration for their comfort in old age, will be attended with its due effect on the minds of the soldiery, and impress them with the liveliest sentiments of gratitude and affection towards his royal person and government.

By order of his royal highness

the commander in chief,

HARRY CALVERT, A. G.

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Note from general Green and commodore Hood to the governor of Surinam, previous to the capture of that colony.

To his excellency the governor of the colony of Surinam.

A considerable British armament of sea and land forces being arrived in the river Surinam, we, the commanders in chief of the same, judge it expedient at this crisis to summon the colony to an immediate surrender to his Britannic majesty's arms.

The important situation which we now possess, with the decided superiority of our force, must, in case resistance be attempted, ensure a speedy and favourable issue to our operations; but the motives which have chiefly actuated his majesty in sending this expedition, and upon the principles of which we are directed to govern our conduct, induce us to propose a capitulation, so highly beneficial to the interests of the colony of Surinam, as to leave little doubt on our minds of being joyfully accepted.

But if, contrary to our well-founded expectations, the offers we now make should be re-  
jected,



jected, it becomes us to state, in the clearest manner, that the effusion of blood, and all the calamities of war, in particular the destruction and ruin brought upon private property, which will be the inevitable consequence, must be attributed to you, and not to us.

Being desirous to evince our inclination to allow every possible indulgence to the colony, consistent with our duty, and knowing it may require some time to assemble the constituted authorities for their decision, we are willing to wait twelve hours time for your answer; and at the expiration of which, should you not accede to our proposals, we shall consider it incumbent upon us to proceed to such further measures as our instructions point out.

Dated on board his majesty's ship *Centaur*, off Bram's Point, 27th April, 1804.

(Signed) CHARLES GREEN.  
SAMUEL HOOD.

[According to the terms accompanying the above, the inhabitants were to enjoy their property; the exercise of their religion, &c.; the laws of the colony to remain in force; all ships of war, artillery, stores, &c. to be delivered up; the Batavian troops to surrender prisoners of war, &c. These terms the governor refused to accept, and hostilities continued until the 4th of May, when the commanding officer of the Dutch troops proposed a new capitulation. A negotiation was then commenced with him, and with the Dutch commodore Van Treslong, which terminated at last in articles, differing only in some slight modifications from those originally proposed by the British commanders.]

# CIRCULAR NOTE,

Addressed to the ministers of foreign courts resident at the court of London.

*Downing-street, 30th April, 1804.*

Sir,

The experience which all Europe has had of the conduct of the French government, would have induced his majesty to pass over in silence, and to treat with contempt, all the accusations which that government might have made against his majesty's government, if the very extraordinary and unauthorised replies which several of the ministers of the foreign powers have thought proper to make to a recent communication from the minister for foreign affairs at Paris, had not given to the subject of that communication a greater importance than it would otherwise have possessed. His majesty has, in consequence, directed me to declare that he hopes he shall not be reduced to the necessity of repelling, with merited scorn and indignation, "the atrocious and utterly unfounded calumny, that the government of his majesty have been a party to plans of assassination:"—an accusation already made with equal falsehood and calumny by the same authority against the members of his majesty's government during the last war,—an accusation incompatible with the honour of his majesty, and the known character of the British nation, and so completely devoid of any shadow of proof, that it may be reasonably presumed to have been brought forward at the present moment, for no other purpose than that of diverting the attention of Europe from the sanguinary deed which has recently been perpetrated



trated by the direct order of the first consul in France, in violation of the right of nations, and in contempt of the most simple laws of humanity and honour.

That his majesty's government should disregard the feelings of such of the inhabitants of France as are justly discontented with the existing government of that country—that they should refuse to listen to their designs for delivering their country from the degrading yoke of bondage under which it groans, or to give them aid and assistance, as far as those designs are fair and justifiable,—would be to refuse fulfilling those duties which every wise and just government owes to itself and to the world in general, under circumstances similar to the present. Belligerent powers have an acknowledged right to avail themselves of all discontents that may exist in countries with which they may be at war. The exercise of that right (even if in any degree doubtful) would be fully sanctioned in the present case, not only by the present state of the French nation, but by the conduct of the government of that country, which, since the commencement of the present war, has constantly kept up communications with the disaffected in the territories of his majesty, particularly in Ireland, and which has assembled at this present moment on the coasts of France a corps of Irish rebels, destined to second them in their designs against that part of the united kingdom.

Under these circumstances, his majesty's government would be unjustifiable, if they neglected the right they have to support, as far as is compatible with the principles of the law of nations, which ci-

vilized governments have hitherto acknowledged, the efforts of such of the inhabitants of France as are hostile to the present government. They ardently desire, as well as all Europe, to see an order of things established in that country more compatible with its own happiness, and with the security of the surrounding nations:—but if that wish cannot be accomplished, they are fully authorised, by the strictest principles of personal defence, to endeavour to cripple the exertions, to distract the operations, and to confound the plans of a government, whose system of warfare, as acknowledged by itself, is not only to distress the commerce, to diminish the power, and to abridge the dominions of its enemy, but also to carry devastation and ruin into the very heart of the British empire.

In the application of these principles, his majesty has commanded me to declare, besides, that his government have never authorised a single act which could not stand the test of the strictest principles of justice, and of usages recognised and practised in all ages. If any minister accredited by his majesty at a foreign court has kept up correspondence with persons resident in France, with a view to obtain information upon the designs of the French government, or for any other legitimate object, he has done nothing more than what ministers, under similar circumstances, have always been considered as having a right to do with respect to the countries with which their sovereign was at war; and he has done much less than that which it could be proved the ministers and commercial agents of France have done towards the disaffected in different parts of his majesty's



majesty's territories: thus, in carrying on such a correspondence, he would not have in any manner violated his public duty. A minister in a foreign country is obliged, by the nature of his office and the duties of his situation, to abstain from all communication with the disaffected of the country where he is accredited, as well as from every other act injurious to the interests of that country; but he is not subject to the same restraints with respect to countries with which his sovereign is at war. His actions to them may be praiseworthy or blameable, according to the nature of the actions themselves; but they do not constitute any violation of his public character, except in as far as they militate against the country, or the security of the country, where he is accredited.

But of all the governments which pretend to be civilized governments, that of France is the one which has the least right to appeal to the law of nations. With what confidence can it appeal to that law? a government which, from the commencement of hostilities, has never ceased to violate it! It promised protection to the British subjects resident in France, and who might be desirous of remaining there after the recall of his majesty's ambassador. It revoked that promise without any previous notice—it condemned those same persons to be prisoners of war; and it detains them still in that quality, in contempt of its own engagements, and of the usages universally observed by all civilized nations. It has applied that new and barbarous law, even to individuals who had the authority and protection of the French ambassadors and ministers

at foreign courts to travel through France on their return to their own country. It commanded the seizure of an English packet-boat in one of the ports of Holland, though its ambassador in that country had previously engaged to let the packet-boats of the respective countries pass in perfect safety until notice should be given to the contrary. It has detained and condemned in one of the ports of France, a vessel which had been sent thither as a matter of indulgence, in order to carry to France the French governor of one of the different islands which had been conquered by his majesty's arms. Its conduct relative to the garrison of St. Lucia has not been less extraordinary: the principal fort of that island had been taken by assault, yet the garrison had been allowed all the privileges of prisoners of war, and had been permitted to return to France, with an understanding that an equal number of English prisoners should be released. Yet, notwithstanding that indulgence on the part of the British commander, to which, by the nature of the case, the French garrison could not have the slightest pretension, not a single prisoner has been restored to this country.

Such have been the proceedings of the French government towards the power with which it is at war. What has its conduct been to those powers with which it remained at peace? Is there a treaty it has not broken? Is there an adjoining territory whose independence it has not violated? It is for the powers of the continent to determine how long they will tolerate these unexampled outrages. Yet is it too much to say, that if they do suffer without control or resistance the continuance



continuance of such a course of proceedings on the part of any government whatever, they will soon see an end to that salutary system of public right, in virtue of which the societies of Europe have maintained and enforced, for ages, the sacred obligations of humanity and justice?

(Signed) HAWKESBURY.

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#### BLOCKADE OF THE ELBE.

The following are copies of the letters relative to the relaxation in the blockade.

*Downing-street, July 18, 1804.*

It having been a matter of considerable doubt, whether the request signified to me in several notes, which I have had the honour to receive from you, relative to a relaxation of the blockade of the river Elbe, in favour of the Gluckstadt whale fishers, could be complied with, without in too great a degree departing from a measure which his majesty has thought it incumbent upon him to adopt, my answer to your notes on that subject has been unavoidably delayed.

I have now the satisfaction to acquaint you, that orders have been given conformably to your request, to allow the Greenland ships, enumerated in the list enclosed in your note of the 19th June, to proceed to Gluckstadt, and that orders have also been given, to allow lighters, barges, and small crafts, coming within that description, and laden with innocent and neutral cargoes, to pass and repass along the Danish side of the Elbe, over the Shallows Watten, between Tonningen and Hamburgh; a measure which will remove the obstruction of the coasting trade of Denmark, and pre-

vent the recurrence of those complaints which this government has lately not unfrequently received. His majesty trusts, that his consenting to relax the blockade in these instances will be considered by the Danish government as a proof of his wish to alleviate as much as possible every unnecessary pressure on the commerce of his Danish majesty's subjects, and that no improper use will be made of this indulgence, which may compel him to revert to all the strictness of the blockade.

I have the honour to be,

(Signed) HARROWBY.

To the count of Wedel Jarlsberg,  
minister of Denmark.

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*Downing-street, July 18, 1804.*

I have the honour to inform you, that due attention has been paid to the requests signified to me in several notes from you on the part of the town of Bremen, that lighters might be allowed to navigate between the rivers Fade and Weser.

Orders have been given to his majesty's ships employed in the blockade of the latter, to permit the passage of lighters (really coming within that description, and laden with innocent and neutral cargoes) to pass and repass over the Shallows, between Varel and Bremen. His majesty trusts that care will be taken that this permission may not be abused, or any advantage taken, which would compel him to revert to all the strictness of the blockade.

I have the honour to be, sir,

Your most obedient servant,

HARROWBY.

Mr. Groning, deputy of Bremen.



## GENERAL ORDERS.

*Board of Health.*

The following official letter has been circulated through the army :

*Horse-guards, Sept. 13, 1804.*

Sir,

With a view to ascertain whether there are any, and what number of men in regiments of the line and militia, who from age or infirmities are at present unfit for duty, and, from little prospect of regaining their strength, may, to a certain degree, be considered as not effective for service in the field, the commander in chief desires you will cause a board to be assembled in each brigade in the district under your orders, consisting of the general officer commanding the brigade, a president, and any number of field officers you may judge expedient as members. The board will call for the attention of the regimental medical staff officers, with whose assistance they will proceed to inquire into the cases of any men who are not in the habit of the regular performance of their regimental duties, or who are considered unequal to marches or other fatigues. Men unfit for duty, from accidental hurt, illness, or other transient cause, are not the objects of their investigation; but the cases of those who have been for a considerable period in hospitals, or are returned on sick furloughs, will fall particularly under their cognizance. And his royal highness expects, that from the information derived from the regimental medical staff officers, they will be enabled to form a tolerably accurate judgment as to the probable chance of each individual's

competence to the performance of military duty.

(Signed)

HARRY CALVERT, A. G.  
Head-quarters, Colchester.

In obedience to his royal highness's instructions, contained in the above letter, lieutenant-general sir James Craig directs the several officers commanding brigades in the districts under his orders, to assemble the board therein mentioned, the first convenient opportunity, and report their proceedings to him.—The board is to consist of a field officer of each of the regiments composing the brigade; and where there may chance to be only one regiment under the command of a general officer, he will then cause the board to consist of two field officers of that regiment in conjunction with himself.

## INVASION.

COPY.—(CIRCULAR.)

*Whitehall, Aug. 20, 1804.*

My lord,

I have received his majesty's commands to communicate to your lordship the inclosed particulars of an arrangement to be adopted in the several counties of Great Britain, in the event of the invasion of the country in force by the enemy. His majesty relies on your zeal and exertions in giving effect, within the county committed to your charge, to these regulations, which in the supposed crisis may become indispensable, for the purpose of preventing the confusion which, in the first moment of alarm, might otherwise arise, and of the utmost importance with a view to the operations of his majesty's army, to the protection of the property of individuals, and to the



the internal peace and tranquillity of the country.

I request that your lordship would inform me, with as little delay as possible, of the names of the magistrates to whom you would propose to intrust the different divisions within the county of and that you would communicate to them the heads of the proposed arrangements, and concert with them as to the most effectual means of carrying them into complete execution.

It is essential, that the magistrates who are thus employed, should, if possible, be persons not holding commissions as volunteer officers, nor liable on any account to be removed from the county in which they reside.

His majesty has the fullest reliance that, in the event of the enemy succeeding in making good a landing on the coast of this kingdom, the loyalty and public spirit of all classes of his subjects will induce them to submit to every sacrifice, and to concur in every exertion which the safety of the country may render necessary; and that they will be impressed with the conviction that the peace and good order of those districts which shall not be attacked by the enemy, will contribute most effectually to assist the exertions of his forces in those parts of the country which may become the theatre of the war, and of enabling him thereby to bring the contest in which we may be engaged to a speedy and glorious termination.

I have only to add, that directions will be given to the general, or other officer commanding the district in which the county of is included, to communicate with your lordship on the subject of these regulations, and to afford you every

assistance in carrying them, if necessary, into execution. I have the honour to be, &c.

HAWKESBURY.

To the lord lieutenants of counties in Great Britain.

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*Regulations for the preservation of good order to be adopted, in the case of actual invasion, in each county in Great Britain.*

August 12, 1804.

The magistrates of each division of the county remaining at home, to sit daily at a place to be appointed in each division for that purpose.

To procure the trust-worthy housekeepers and others to enrol themselves to serve as special constables under their orders, where the same has not been already done pursuant to the secretary of state's circular letter of the 8th of November last.

To be attended at the place appointed for each division by an officer of the volunteer force, if any should remain in that division, and by the chief or superintendant of the special constables enrolled for that division. Such volunteer officer and chief of the special constables to receive and execute the orders of the magistrates, in preventing and quelling disturbances, in taking up and conveying offenders to prison, in supplying escorts for all military purposes required by the general or other officer left in command of the district, and in furnishing a guard for the county gaol or other prisons, if wanted.

If, contrary to expectation, any impediments should occur in the regular supply of the different markets, every assistance to be afforded to the persons who are accustomed or who offer to supply them,



them, and escorts to be granted in cases where it may be necessary for the secure passage and conveyance of cattle and provisions.

The constables within each division, assisted by patrols of volunteers, if requisite, to see that all public-houses within the same are orderly and regularly conducted, and, if thought necessary by the magistrates, to be shut at such hours as they may direct; and to bring all unknown persons, who cannot give a satisfactory account of themselves, before the magistrates.

A certain portion of the constables and volunteers, in rotation, to go such different rounds in the night, as shall from time to time be prescribed by the magistrates of the division; to whom they are to make their report each morning.

The magistrates of each division to report daily to the lieutenant of the county, or deputy-lieutenants within the division appointed to receive the same.

The lieutenant or deputy-lieutenants so appointed, to report all matters of importance immediately to the secretary of state for the home department, and to the general or officer left in command of the district, or to the officer who shall be appointed by him within the county to receive the same; to whom they are to apply in case of wanting further military aid.

## EAST INDIA PAPERS.

### PROCLAMATION.

*By his excellency the most noble the governor-general in council.*

Fort William, Sept. 13, 1803.

Whereas the governor-general in council has received official notifications from one of his majesty's

1804.

principal secretaries of state, and from the secret committee of the honourable the court of directors, of the renewal of war between his majesty and the French republic, the same is notified hereby to all subjects of his majesty residing under the protection of this government.

By command of his excellency the most noble the governor-general in council,

J. LUMSDEN,  
Chief sec. to gov.

### GENERAL ORDERS.

*By his excellency the most noble the governor-general in council.*

Fort William, Sept. 15, 1803.

The governor-general in council, under the strongest impressions of public gratitude, notifies to the army his unfeigned admiration of the distinguished conduct of the forces employed under the personal command of his excellency general Lake, in the gallant and successful assault of the strong fort of Allyghur on the 4th instant.

The proposals of surrender offered by the commander in chief to the garrison, immediately after the retreat of M. Perron's forces, afford the most convincing proof that the humanity of the British character is intimately connected with that spirit of alacrity and valour, which marked the commander in chief's judicious resolution, to meet the obstinacy of the enemy by an immediate assault of the place.

The judgment and energy manifested by the commander in chief, in the plan of the attack, corresponds with the intrepidity, spirit, and perseverance of his brave officers and soldiers, in executing the orders of their able and gallant

(K)

general:



general; and the glorious result of the assault has considerably augmented the reputation of the British name, and the honour of the British arms in India.

The governor-general in council is pleased to direct the commander in chief to express the particular and most distinguished approbation with which his excellency in council has viewed the courage, firmness, and ability, displayed by the hon. lieutenant-colonel Morrison, in leading the attack, under circumstances of the utmost degree of difficulty and danger. A strong sense of the interests of the public service, and a desire to witness a continuance of the glorious success of the British arms in India, render the governor-general in council sincerely anxious that this excellent officer, respectively distinguished by his conduct in various exigencies of the service, may speedily be enabled to resume the command of his gallant corps, to augment his claims upon the gratitude and applause of his country.

The governor-general in council also directs the commander in chief to signify to lieutenant-colonel Brown, of the 1st battalion, 4th regiment of native infantry, and to all the officers of that battalion, that his excellency in council entertains the highest sense of their meritorious actions, and warmly approves of their honourable services.

The governor-general in council also desires, that his particular approbation may be signified to major Macleod, of the 76th regiment, to captain Shipton, of the artillery, and also to lieutenant-colonel Horsford, captains Robertson and Greene.

It is with the greatest satisfaction

that the governor-general in council expresses his applause of the bravery, discipline, and steadiness of the men of his majesty's 76th regiment, and of the corps of artillery, as well as of all the soldiers who were employed in this brilliant service.

The loss of captain Cameron, lieutenants Heming, Brown, Campbell, St. Aubin, and Turton, is deplored by the governor-general in council: their country, their friends, and their king, will, however, receive consolation for that loss, in reflecting upon the glory of their achievements, and upon the public advantage of their illustrious example.

The governor-general in council directs the commander in chief to signify to Mr. Lucan, the approbation with which his excellency in council has remarked the services rendered by that gentleman to the cause of his native country, in the spirited exertion of British courage and public zeal. It is highly satisfactory to his excellency in council to observe this meritorious example of a just attention to the duty which every British subject owes to the British government in India. The governor-general in council will not fail to reward the services of Mr. Lucan, in such manner as shall be recommended by the commander in chief.

The governor-general in council relies with confidence on the approved character of this army, and of the commander in chief, that their unabated magnanimity, skill, and perseverance, will be attended with a continuance of success proportionate to the justice of our cause, and to the superiority of our arms.

By command of his excellency  
the



the most hon. the governor-general in council.

L. Hook,  
Sec. to gov. mil. dept.

#### GENERAL ORDERS,

*By his excellency the most noble the governor-general in council, captain-general and commander in chief of all the land forces serving in the East Indies.*

Fort William, Oct. 1, 1803.

The returns received by the governor-general in council, of the ordnance taken on the field of battle, near Delhi, on the 11th of Sept. 1803, have completed the official statement of the military operations conducted under the personal command of his excellency general Lake, from the 29th August to the 18th of September.

In reviewing the rapid and brilliant success of our arms within that period of time, every loyal subject of the British empire must be animated by the most zealous emotions of just pride, national triumph, and public glory.

The governor-general in council has already expressed the sentiments of gratitude and admiration with which he contemplates the conduct of his excellency the commander in chief, and of the officers and troops under his excellency's personal command, in the action of the 29th of August, and in the gallant assault of the fortress of Allyghur on the 4th September.

His excellency in council highly approves the judicious and early movement of the army after that important success, towards the principal station of the enemy's infantry and artillery; and the position whence the most speedy relief might be afforded to the unfortunate representative of the house of

Timur, and to his majesty's royal family.

The decisive victory gained in the battle of Delhi, on the 11th of September, justified the firm confidence reposed by the governor-general in council, in the bravery, perseverance, and discipline of the army, and in the skill, judgment, active spirit, and invincible intrepidity of their illustrious commander.

The glory of that day is not surpassed by any recorded triumph of the British arms in India; and is attended by every circumstance calculated to elevate the fame of British valour, to illustrate the character of British humanity, and to secure the stability of the British empire in the East.

The governor-general in council acknowledges with the most cordial satisfaction, the distinguished services of major-general Ware, and of the hon. major-general St. John, in the action of the 11th of September, and directs the commander in chief to signify his particular approbation of the conduct of major-general Ware, in the command of the right wing of the British army; and of the conduct of the hon. major-general St. John, in the ability and steadiness which he displayed in the command of the left wing, by surmounting every difficulty, and by forcing the right wing of the enemy to retire in disorder with heavy loss.

The governor-general in council also directs the commander in chief to notify to col. St. Leger, and to the corps of cavalry employed on this honourable occasion, the high approbation with which his excellency in council has received the report of the gallantry and firmness, and of the peculiar skill manifested under the able command of colonel



St. Leger, in their judicious, rapid, and decisive movements during the action, and after the flight of the enemy had commenced. His excellency in council contemplates with great satisfaction the advanced state of discipline of the native cavalry of Bengal, and the splendid proofs which that corps has afforded of its efficiency in active service against the numerous artillery of the enemy.

The conduct of captain Boyce, of his majesty's 76th regiment, is noticed with the warmest applause by the governor-general in council. The high reputation established by that respectable corps in various services of difficulty and danger in India, appeared in the battle of Delhi, with a degree of lustre which has never been exceeded even by British troops. His excellency in council signifies his most distinguished approbation of the firmness and intrepidity of the officers and men of the native infantry, who, with his majesty's 76th regiment, at the point of the bayonet, forced an enemy, considerably superior in numbers, from a powerful and well served artillery, and opened the way for the successful charge of the cavalry. The conduct of the native troops on this memorable day reflects the highest honour upon the discipline of the army of Bengal, and confirms the confidence of the governor-general in council, in the diligence, skill, and courage of the officers of this establishment, and in the eminent character of our native soldiers.

To lieut.-col. Horsford, and the artillery, the governor-general in council repeats the public testimony of approbation, which that meritorious corps has uniformly deserved in every exigency of the service.

To the staff of the army, the governor-general in council is happy to express the satisfaction with which he learns that they continued, on all occasions, to merit the warmest approbation of the commander in chief.

The governor-general in council sincerely laments the loss of major Middleton, captain M<sup>r</sup> Gregor, lieutenant Hill, lieutenant Preston, cornet Sanguine, and quartermaster Richardson; and of the brave soldiers who fell in the exemplary exertion of deliberate valour and disciplined spirit, at the battle of Delhi. The names of these brave men will be commemorated with the glorious events of the day on which they fell, and will be honoured and revered while the fame of that signal victory shall endure.

In testimony of the peculiar honour acquired by the army under the personal command of his excellency general Lake, the governor-general in council is pleased to order, that honorary colours, with a device properly suited, to commemorate the reduction of the fortress of Allyghur, on the 4th, and the victory obtained at Delhi on the 11th of September, be presented to the corps of cavalry and infantry, European and native, respectively employed on these glorious occasions; and that a public monument be erected at Fort William, to the memory of the brave officers and men, European and native, who have fallen in the public service during the present campaign.

The honorary colours granted by these orders to his majesty's 27th regiment of dragoons, and to the 76th regiment of foot, are to be used by those corps while they shall continue in India, or  
until



until his majesty's most gracious pleasure be signified through his excellency the commander in chief.

In concluding his orders on this memorable occasion, the governor-general in council is pleased to direct, that the public thanks of the supreme government of the British possessions in India be given to his excellency general Lake, commander in chief of his majesty's and the hon. company's forces in India, who with unexampled alacrity, eminent judgment, and indefatigable courage, under extraordinary difficulties, has prepared the army of Bengal for the field; has conducted it, by a rapid succession of glorious victories, to the complete defeat of a powerful enemy; and has maintained the honour of the British name in India, by a humane attention towards the inhabitants of the conquered provinces, and by a due respect and reverence towards the unfortunate representative of the house of Timur, and towards his majesty's royal family.

His excellency the most noble the governor-general in council, captain-general, and commander in chief of all the land forces serving in the East Indies, is pleased to direct, that these orders be publicly read to the troops under arms at every station of the land forces in the East Indies; and that the European officers of the native corps do cause the same to be duly explained to the native officers and troops.

By command of his excellency the most noble the governor-general in council,

L. Hook,  
Sec. to gov. mil. dep.

#### GENERAL ORDERS,

*By his excellency the most noble the governor-general in council.*

Fort William, Oct. 30, 1803.

The governor-general in council has this day received from major-general the hon. Arthur Wellesley, the official report of the signal and splendid victory obtained by the troops under the personal command of that distinguished officer, on the 23d September, at Assye, in the Dekkan, over the combined armies of Dowlut Row Scindia and the rajah of Berar.

At the close of a campaign of the most brilliant success in every quarter of India, this transcendent victory demands a testimony of public honour, equal to any which the justice of the British government in India has ever conferred on the conduct of our officers and troops, in the most distinguished period of our military history.

The governor-general in council highly approves the skilful plan formed by major-gen. Wellesley, on the 21st of September, for precluding the escape of the enemy, and for reducing their combined army to the necessity of hazarding a general action.

His excellency in council also signifies his most cordial approbation of the magnanimity, promptitude, and judgment with which major-gen. Wellesley determined upon the instantaneous attack of the enemy on the 23d of September. During the severe action which ensued, the conduct of major-general Wellesley united a degree of ability, of prudence, and of dauntless spirit, seldom equalled, and never surpassed.

The governor-general in council signifies his warmest applause of the exemplary order and steadiness



with which the troops advanced under a most destructive fire, against a body of the enemy's infantry, considerably superior in number, and determined to oppose a vigorous resistance to our attack. The numerous infantry of the enemy were driven from their powerful artillery at the point of the bayonet, with an alacrity and resolution truly worthy of British soldiers; and the firmness and discipline manifested by our brave infantry, in repelling the great body of the enemy's cavalry, merit the highest commendation.

The governor-general in council has remarked with great satisfaction the gallant and skilful conduct of the cavalry commanded by lieutenant-colonel Maxwell, and particularly of his majesty's 19th regiment of light dragoons, a corps distinguished in India by a long and uninterrupted course of arduous services and of progressive honour. His excellency in council directs major-gen. Wellesley to signify to all the officers and troops employed on this glorious occasion, and especially to lieutenant-colonel Harness, and to lieutenant-colonel Wallace, who commanded brigades, and to the officers of the staff, the high sense entertained by the governor-general in council of their eminent and honourable services.

The important benefits resulting from the triumph of our arms in the battle of Assye, are not inferior to the splendour of the action. The immediate consequences derived from the exertions of that day, have been the complete defeat of the combined army of the confederate chieftains; an irreparable blow to the strength and efficiency of their military resources, especially of their artillery, in the Dekkan; the expulsion of an hostile and predatory

army from the territory of our ally the subahdar of the Dekkan; and a seasonable and effectual check to the ambition, pride, and audacity of the enemy.

The prosperous result of these advantages must be accelerated by the auspicious progress of our arms in other provinces of India; and it may reasonably be expected that the decisive victories gained at Delhi and Assye, on the 11th and 23d of September, will speedily compel the enemy to restore peace to Hindostan and to the Dekkan.

The achievements of our commanders, officers, and troops, during this campaign, and especially in the signal victories of Delhi and of Assye, must inspire a general sentiment of just confidence in the vigour of our military resources, and in the stability of our dominion and power. Our uniform success in frustrating every advantage of superior numbers, of powerful artillery, and even of obstinate resistance, opposed by the enemy, constitutes a satisfactory proof of the established superiority of British discipline, experience, and valour, and demonstrates, that the glorious progress of our armies is not the accidental result of a temporary or transient advantage, but the natural and certain effect of a permanent cause.

From these reflections consolation is to be derived for the loss of those lamented and honoured officers and soldiers, who, animated by the gallant spirit of their general, and emulating the noble example of his zeal and courage, sacrificed their lives to the honour and interests of their country.

The governor-general in council greatly regrets the loss of lieutenant-colonel Maxwell of his majesty's 19th dragoons, who fell at the head  
of



of the British cavalry, bravely charging a large body of the enemy's infantry. With the utmost concern his excellency in council records the names of the valuable and excellent officers who have fallen with glory at the battle of Assye, in achieving the complete defeat of the enemy, and in establishing the triumphs of the British arms in the Dekkan:—Lieutenant-col. Maxwell; captains R. Boyle, H. Mackey, D. Atone, A. Dyce, R. Macleod, and T. Maxwell; captain-lieutenants Steele and Fowler; lieutenants Bonomi, Griffith, J. Campbell, J. M. Campbell, J. Grant, R. Nelson, L. Campbell, M. Morris, and J. Douglas; 2d lieutenants Brown, Mayor, Perrie; and volunteer Tew.

In testimony of the high honour acquired by the army under the personal command of major-general Wellesley at the battle of Assye, the governor-general in council is pleased to order, that honorary colours, with a device properly suited to commemorate that signal and splendid victory, be presented to the corps of cavalry and infantry employed on that glorious occasion. The names of the brave officers and men who fell at the battle of Assye will be commemorated, together with the circumstances of the action, upon the public monument to be erected at Fort William, to the memory of those who have fallen in the public service during the present campaign.

The honorary colours granted by these orders to his majesty's 19th regiment of dragoons, and 74th and 78th regiments of foot, are to be used by those corps, while they shall continue in India, or until his majesty's most gracious pleasure be signified through his excellency the commander in chief.

His excellency the most noble the governor-general, captain-general and commander in chief of all the land forces serving in the East Indies, is pleased to direct, that these orders be publicly read to the troops under arms, at every station of the land forces in the East Indies, and that the European officers of the native corps do cause the same to be duly explained to the native officers and troops.

By command of his excellency the most noble the governor-general in council,

L. Hook,  
Sec. to gov. mil. dep.

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GENERAL ORDERS.

*By his excellency the most noble the governor-general and captain-general of all the land forces serving in the East Indies.*

Fort William, Nov. 13, 1803.

A royal salute, and three volleys of musquetry, to be fired at all the stations of the army, in honour of the glorious and important victory obtained on the 1st of November, 1803, near Cassowly in Hindostan, by the army under the personal command of his excellency general Lake, over a large body of the enemy's regular infantry and cavalry, in which the enemy were entirely defeated, with the loss of all their guns, tumbrels, and baggage.

By his excellency's command,

(Signed) J. ARMSTRONG,  
Acting mil. sec.

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TREATY WITH THE RAJAH OF  
BERAR.

Treaty of peace between the honourable the East India company and their allies, on the

(K 4)

one



one part, and Senah Saheb Subah Ragogee Bhounsla, on the other; settled by major-general Wellesley, on the part of the East India company and their allies, and by Jeswumb Rao Ramchunder, on the part of Senah Saheb Subah Ragogee Bhounsla, who have each full authority from their respective powers.

I. That there shall be perpetual peace and friendship between the East India company and Senah Saheb Subah Ragogee Bhounsla, rajah of Berar.

II. Senah Saheb Subah Ragogee Bhounsla cedes to the company, in perpetual sovereignty, the province of Cuttack, including the port and district of Balasore.

III. He likewise cedes to the company and their allies, in perpetual sovereignty, all the territories of which he has collected the revenue jointly with the soubah of the Dekkan, and those of which he may have possession, which are to the westward of the river Wurda.

IV. It is agreed that the frontier of Senah Saheb Subah Ragogee Bhounsla towards the territories of his highness the soubah of the Dekkan, shall be formed to the west by the river Wurda, from its issue from the Injardy hills to its junction with the river Godavery.

V. The hills on which the forts of Nernallah and Gawalghur stand, are to remain in possession of Ragogee Bhounsla; and all places to the southward of those hills, and to the west of the westward of the river Wurda, to be given up to the British government.

VI. Districts amounting to four lacks of rupees per ann. contiguous to, and to the southward of the abovementioned forts, are to be

given up to the rajah, and to be given up at the same time as the forts.

VII. Senah Saheb Subah Ragogee Bhounsla, on the part of himself, his heirs, and successors, entirely renounces all claims of every description on the territories of the British government, ceded as above, and upon all the territories of the soubah of the Dekkan.

VIII. The East India company engages to mediate and arbitrate any disputes that now exist, or may hereafter exist, between the company's allies Seumder Jah Bahauder and Rao Pundit Purdham Bahada, and the rajah of Berar.

IX. Senah Saheb Subah Ragogee Bhounsla engages never to take or retain in his service, any Frenchmen, or the subjects of any other European or American power that may be at war with the British government, or any British subjects of the European or native, without the consent of the company.

X. The East India company engage on their part, that they will not assist or countenance any discontented relations, rajahs, zemindars, or other subjects of the Senah Saheb Subah Ragogee Bhounsla, who may fly from or rebel against his authority.

XI. In order to secure and improve the relations of peace and friendship hereby established, the respective governments agree that accredited ministers from each shall reside at the court of the other.

XII. And whereas certain treaties have been made by the British governments with feudatories of Senah Saheb Subah Ragogee Bhounsla, it is hereby agreed, that the said treaties shall be confirmed. Lists of these treaties to be delivered



vered over, when the treaty is ratified by the governor-general in council.

XIII. The Senah Saheb Subah Ragogee Bhounsla hereby renounces for himself, his heirs, and successors, all adherence to the confederacy formed by him and Dowlut Row Scindia, and other Mahratta chiefs, to attack the company and their allies; and engages not to assist those chiefs, if the war between them and the honourable company should still continue.

XIV. This treaty of peace and amity to be ratified by Senah Saheb Subah, within eight days from the present time, and the ratification is to be delivered to major-general Wellesley, at which time the orders for the cession of the ceded territories are to be delivered over, and the troops are to withdraw.

XV. Major-general Wellesley engages that the treaty shall be ratified on the part of the honourable company, by his excellency the most noble the governor-general in council, and that the said ratification shall be delivered two months from this date.

Done in camp at Deogaun, December 17, 1803.

#### TREATY WITH SCINDIA.

Treaty of peace and amity between the Maharajah Ali Jah Dowlut Rao Scindia, on the one part, and the honourable East India company on the other part.

I. That there shall be perpetual peace and friendship between the honourable East India company and their allies, on the one part, and Maharajah Ali Jah Dowlut Rao Scindia on the other part.

II. That Maharajah cedes to the

honourable East India company and their allies, in perpetual sovereignty, all his forts, territories, and rights, in the Dooab, and country situated between the Jumma and the Ganges, and all his forts, territories, rights, and interests, in the countries which are to the northward of the rajahs of Jeypoor and Joodepoor, and of the rajah of Gohud: such countries formerly in the possession of Maharajah, situated between Jeypoor and Joodepoor, and to the south of the former, are to belong to the Maharajah.

III. The Maharajah likewise cedes to the honourable East India company and their allies, in perpetual sovereignty, the fort of Broach, and the territory depending thereon, and the fort of Ahmednugger and territory depending thereon, excepting those lands which it is hereafter agreed that the Maharajah is to retain.

IV. The Maharajah likewise cedes to the honourable East India company and their allies, all the territories which belonged to him previous to the breaking out of the war, which are situated to the southward of the Adjuntee hills, including the fort and districts of Jalnapoor, the town and district of Gandapoor, and all other districts between that range of hills and the river Godavery.

V. The Maharajah Ali Jah Dowlut Rao Scindia, for himself, his heirs, and successors, hereby renounces all claims to the forts, territories, rights, and interests ceded by the foregoing articles, and all claims of every description upon the British government and their allies, the soubah of the Dekkan, the peishiwa and Anaud Row Guickwar.

VI. The fort of Asser Ghur, the city



city of Berhampore, the forts of Powanghur and Dohud, and the territories in Candeish and the Guzerat, depending on these forts, shall be restored to Maharajah Ali Jah Dowlut Rao Scindia.

VII. Whereas the Maharajah Ali Jah Dowlut Rao Scindia has represented that his family have long held an enaum as a gift from the kings of Hindostan, the districts of Dhoolpoor, Baree, and Rajah Kerrah, which are situated to the northward of the countries of the rajahs of Jeypoor and Joodepoor, and of the rajah of Gohud, and that lands in Hindostan, ceded by the articles in this treaty to the honourable East India company and their allies, are held in Jacquin, by the family of the late Mahadgie Scindia, and others, who would suffer much distress if deprived of the advantages they enjoy in that country: it is agreed the Maharajah shall continue to hold in enaum the lands of Dhoolpoor, Baree, and Rajah Kerrah, and that Balah Baye Sabel, and Munsoor Sabel Moensha Ravel Nyne, Boogagee Jamdah Amragie, Jadhoo, and Wurda Charie, shall continue to hold their lands in jaghir, under the protection of the company; and further, in order that no individuals may incur loss, or even suffer distress, in consequence of these arrangements,—it is agreed, that the honourable East India company shall either pay pensions, or grant lands in jaghir, according to the plan laid down by the British government for certain other sirbans, and others to be named by Maharajah; provided that the total amount of the sums paid, and jaghirs granted, does not exceed seventeen lacs of rupees per annum.

VIII. That the following lands,

villages, &c. in the territories of Rao Pundit Pundham, in enaum, lately taken possession of by the British government, be restored to the Maharajah, provided that no troops are introduced there on the pretence of collecting revenues, or any other pretence whatsoever, viz. Choomargondy Purgunnah; Jamgaun; Ranjengaun; half of Siengaun Purgunnah; six villages in Umbir Purgunnah; five villages in Pytan Purgunnah; five villages in Newag Purgunnah; five villages in Kurloh Purgunnah; six villages in Poona Purgunnah; two villages in Wahy Purgunnah; six villages in Palwood Purgunnah; five villages in Pandy Peergaum Purgunnah; five villages in Pagoon Purgunnah; and two villages in Parnenah Purgunnah.

IX. Whereas certain treaties with feudatories of Maharajah have been made by the British government, it is agreed that the same be confirmed. Maharajah hereby renounces all claims on the persons with whom such treaties have been made, and proclaims them to be independent of his government.

X. No person whatever is to be molested on account of the part which he may have taken in the present war.

XI. It is agreed that the rights of his highness, the peishwa, to cultivate certain lands in Meluah and elsewhere, shall be established as heretofore.

XII. The Maharajah hereby renounces all claims upon Shah Alum, and engages not to interfere any further in the affairs of his majesty.

XIII. The Maharajah agrees never to engage in his service any Frenchmen, or other Europeans, or nations, at war with Great Britain.

XIV. For



XIV. For the better carrying into execution this treaty of peace and amity, it is agreed that accredited ministers reside at each court from each of the contracting powers.

XV. This treaty of peace and amity to be ratified by the Maharajah Ali Jah Dowlut Rao Scindia, within eight days from the present time, and the ratification is to be delivered to major-general Wellesley; at which time the orders for the cession of the ceded territories are to be delivered over, and the troops are to withdraw.

XVI. Major-general Wellesley engages that the treaty shall be ratified on the part of the honourable company, by his excellency the most noble the governor-general in council, and that the said ratification shall be delivered two months from this date.

Done in camp, Dec. 30, 1803.

## PROCLAMATIONS.

PERRING, MAYOR.

To all captains, pilots, and other persons having the command or care of foreign vessels in the port of London.

*Notice is hereby given,*

That the colours of all foreign vessels are to be hoisted immediately on their entering Bugby's-hole, to remain up till they arrive at their appointed stations. The colours are likewise to be hoisted when the vessel leaves her moorings on going down the river.

That all commanders of foreign vessels do muster their crew every evening at sun-set, and not suffer any of them to go on shore after that time till sun-rise; and in case any of their people desert, or are discharged, immediate information

must be sent to the London schooner, off Greenwich.

That all pilots or watermen are expressly directed not to move any foreign vessel between London-bridge and Bugby's-hole, after dark in the evening, till sun-rise the next morning, under any pretence whatever.

By order of the right hon. the lord mayor,

J. R. SNOW.

London, Sept. 10, 1804.

PERRING, MAYOR.

*Mansion-house, Sept. 11, 1804.*

To all masters of vessels, pilots, and others concerned in the navigation of the river Thames.

Whereas great impediments and other inconveniences being daily experienced in the navigation of the river Thames, in consequence of the orders given by the harbour-masters being disobeyed:

*Notice is hereby given,*

That all coal and other barges pass up and down the river singly (not lashed together), with one able man at least in each craft, and to continue constantly on board whilst on duty.

That ships letting go an anchor in the stream to check them into their births, shall not let it remain there longer than the following slack water, unless by permission.

That no ship loaded in the whole or in part with timber, hemp, tar, pitch, rosin, or other naval stores, be permitted to come or lie above Limehouse-hole to discharge.

That all vessels shall strike their yards and topmasts within six hours after they shall respectively have arrived at their moorings, and continue so struck till within forty-eight hours of their departure, between



between the 21st of September and the 21st of March following.

That no vessel whatever, after having made fast to her station, must remove without permission from the harbour-master on duty.

That no ship or vessel shall intersect any tier, but must take the outside birth of the ship in the stream.

By order of the right hon. the lord mayor,

J. R. SNOW.

### AMERICAN PAPERS.

*When governor Claiborne took possession of Louisiana in the name of the United States, he issued the following proclamation :*

BY HIS EXCELLENCY  
WM. C. C. CLAIBORNE,

Governor of the Mississippi territory, exercising the powers of governor-general and intendant of the province of Louisiana.

Whereas, by the stipulations between the governments of France and Spain, the latter ceded to the former the colony and province of Louisiana, with the same extent which it had at the date of the above-mentioned treaty in the hands of Spain, and that it had when France possessed it, and such as it ought to be after the treaties subsequently entered into between Spain and other states ; and whereas the government of France has ceded the same to the United States by a treaty duly ratified, and bearing date the 30th of April in the present year, and the possession of the said colony and province is now in the United States according to the tenor of the last-mentioned treaty ; and whereas the congress of the United States, on the 31st day of October

in the present year, did enact, that until the expiration of the session of congress then sitting (unless provisions for the temporary government of the said territories be sooner made by congress), all the military, civil, and judicial powers exercised by the then existing government of the same, shall be vested in such person or persons, and shall be exercised in such manner as the president of the United States shall direct for the maintaining and protecting the inhabitants of Louisiana in the free enjoyment of their liberty, property, and religion ; and the president of the United States has, by his commission, bearing date the same 31st day of October, invested me with all the powers, and charged me with the several duties heretofore held and exercised by the governor-general and intendant of the province :

I have therefore thought fit to issue this my proclamation, making known the premises, and to declare that the government heretofore exercised over the said province of Louisiana, as well under the authority of Spain as of the French republic, has ceased, and that of the United States in America is established over the same ; that the inhabitants thereof will be incorporated in the union of the United States, and admitted as soon as possible, according to the principles of the federal constitution, to the enjoyment of all the rights, advantages, and immunities of citizens of the United States ; that in the mean time they shall be maintained and protected in the free enjoyment of their liberty, property, and the religion which they profess ; that all laws and municipal regulations which were in existence at the cessation of the late government, remain in full force ; and



and all civil officers charged with their execution, except those whose powers have been specially vested in me, and except also such officers as have been intrusted with the collection of the revenue, are continued in their functions during the pleasure of the governor for the time being, or until provision shall otherwise be made.

And I do hereby exhort and enjoin all the inhabitants and other persons within the said province, to be faithful and true in their allegiance to the United States, and obedient to the laws and authorities of the same, under full assurance that their just rights will be under the guardianship of the United States, and will be maintained from all force or violence from without or within.

In testimony whereof I have hereunto set my hand.

Given at the city of New Orleans, the 20th day of December, 1803, and of the independence of the United States of America the 26th.

W M. C. C. CLAIBORNE.

#### PROCLAMATION.

*In the name of the French republic.*

Pierre Clement Laussat, colonial prefect and commissioner of the French government, to the people of Louisiana.

People of Louisiana,

The mission which has made me traverse the ocean for two thousand five hundred leagues, and placed me in the midst of you,—this mission, on which I have for so long a time built so many high hopes and so many wishes for your happiness, is now changed: that mission, of which I am at this

moment the minister and executor, is less pleasing though equally flattering to me, inasmuch as it supplies me with a consolation derived from the belief that it will be generally more advantageous to you.

In virtue of their powers and authority, the commissioners of his catholic majesty have surrendered to me this country, and you every where see the unfurled standard of the French republic, and hear the repeated roar of her cannon, announcing to you that on this day she resigns her dominion over those regions. People of Louisiana, this event will immediately take place; for I am on the eve of transmitting this country to the commissioners of the United States, who are charged to take possession of it in the name of their government: their arrival I momentarily expect.

The approaches of a war, which commenced under such bloody and terrible auspices, and which menaced the four quarters of the globe, induced the French government to turn its attention and its cares to these regions. Motives of prudence and humanity, uniting with a more enlarged and solid policy—motives, in a word, worthy of the genius of that power which balances the great destinies of nations, have given a new direction to the beneficent intentions of France, and have determined her to cede Louisiana to the United States of America.

You thus become, people of Louisiana, the interesting pledge of a friendship between two republics, which cannot fail of increasing, and becoming every day more secure and more strong; a pledge which will powerfully contribute to their common repose and their common prosperity.

The



The third article of the treaty will not escape your notice; it is there said, "The inhabitants of the ceded territory shall be incorporated in the union of the United States, and admitted as soon as possible, according to the principles of the federal constitution, to the enjoyment of all the rights, advantages, and immunities of citizens of the United States; and in the mean time they shall be maintained and protected in the free enjoyment of their liberty, property, and the religion which they profess.

The epoch will soon arrive, in which you will choose for yourselves a form of government; which, while it be conformable to the sacred principles of the social compact of the federal union, will be adapted to your manners, to your necessities, to your climate, to your customs, soil, and local circumstances.

There never has been, nor ever can be, a metropolis without a colonial monopoly, more or less exclusive: on the contrary, on the part of the United States, you have a right to expect a liberty of exportation without limits, and that the privileges of importation will accord with your public wants and internal industry. From a happy concurrence, you will be able to buy cheaply and sell at high rates, and will besides reap immense advantages from a place of deposit. The Mississippi, the Nile of America, borders not on deserts of burning sands; but plains more fertile and extensive than any known in the new world, will, at the quays of this new Alexandria, be covered with thousands of vessels from all nations. Among these vessels, I trust, people of Louisiana, you will always distinguish with

complaisance the French flag; and its sight will never cease to gladden your heart.—Such is our firm hope; I formally avow it in the name of my country, and its government.

Bonaparte, in stipulating by the seventh article of the treaty, that the French shall be admitted during twelve years to carry on commerce with your shores on the same conditions, and without paying other duties than the citizens of the United States, has wished to renew and perpetuate the ties which unite the French of Louisiana and the Frenchmen of Europe; new strength will be given to the relations already subsisting between these inhabitants of the two continents.

At New Orleans, the 8th Frimaire, year 12 of the French republic (Nov. 30, 1803.)

(Signed) LAUSSAT.

Letter from the department of war at the city of Washington, to his excellency the governor of this state.

War-department, Oct. 31.

Sir,

There being reason to suspect that the officers of the Spanish government at New Orleans may decline or refuse to give possession of the country of Louisiana, ceded to the United States by the French republic, and which congress have by law authorised the president of the United States to take possession of; and the president having judged it expedient to pursue such measures as will ensure the possession; I have therefore been directed by the president of the United States, to request your excellency to assemble, with the least possible delay, 500 of the militia of the state of



of Ohio, including a suitable number of officers, and cause the same to be formed into a regiment of eight companies, to be engaged to serve four months, unless sooner discharged; to be mustered by companies, and ready to march, if called, by the 20th of December at farthest. After having been so mustered in companies by suitable persons, appointed by your excellency, the men may return to their homes, but must hold themselves in readiness to join their companies, and march at the shortest notice. Each officer and soldier will be entitled to pay from the day they shall receive orders, and march to join their respective regiments, until discharged. They will be entitled to the same pay as regular troops in the service of the United States.

I have the honour to be respectfully, your humble servant,

H. DEARBONE.

To his excellency Edward Tiffin,  
governor of the state of Ohio.

## FRENCH REPUBLIC.

### ACTS OF THE GOVERNMENT.

*Exposition of the state of the republic.*

25 Nivose, 12th year of the republic  
(16th Jan. 1804.)

The republic has been forced to change its attitude, but it has not changed its situation; it continues to preserve, in the consciousness of its strength, the pledge of its prosperity. Every thing was calm in the interior of France, when, at the commencement of the last year we still entertained the hope of a durable peace. Every thing has remained calmer since a jealous power has rekindled the torches of war: but in this last epoch the union of interests and

sentiments has shown itself more full and entire; the public mind has developed itself with more energy. In the new departments, which the first consul has traversed, he has heard, as well as in the old, the accents of a truly French indignation: he recognised in their hatred against a government hostile to our prosperity, even more than in the bursts of public joy and personal affection, their attachment to the country, and their devotion to his destiny. In all the departments the ministers of worship have exerted the influence of religion to consecrate this spontaneous movement of the minds of individuals. Depôts of arms, which fugitive rebels had committed to the earth in order to take them up again at a future opportunity, which a culpable foresight suggested to them, have been disclosed at the first signal of the danger, and delivered to the magistrates for the purpose of arming our defenders. The British government will attempt to throw, and perhaps has already thrown, on our coasts, some of those monsters whom it nourished in its bosom during the peace, in order to tear in pieces the land which gave them birth: but they will no longer find in it those impious hands which were the instruments of their former crimes; terror has dissolved them, or justice has purged our territory of them: they will find neither that credulity which they abused, nor that animosity, the poniards of which they wetted. Experience has enlightened every mind; the moderation of the laws, and the administration of them, has reconciled every heart. Surrounded every where by the public force, overtaken every where by the tribunals, these dreadful men will in future neither be able to make rebels,



rebels, nor to re-organise, with impunity, their hoard of brigands and assassins. It is but now that a miserable attempt has been made in La Vendée; the conscription was made the pretext for it: but citizens, priests, soldiers, all classes exerted themselves for the common defence; those who in other times were the movers of disturbances, came to offer their aid to the public authority, and to give their persons and their families as pledges of their fidelity and devotion. Finally, what characterizes above all things the security of the citizens, the return of social affections, beneficence displays itself every day more and more. On every side donations are offered to the unfortunate, and foundations are made for useful establishments. The war has not interrupted the intentions of the peace; and the government has pursued with constancy every thing that tends to establish the constitution in the manners and disposition of the citizens, every thing likely to attach all interests and all hopes to its duration. Thus, the senate has been placed in that elevation to which its institution called it; an endowment such as the constitution had fixed, encircles it with an imposing grandeur. The legislative body will no longer appear, except surrounded with the majesty which its functions demand; it will no longer be looked for in vain, except in its sitting. An annual president will be the centre of its motion, and the organ of its thoughts and its wishes in its relations with the government. This body will have at length that dignity which could not exist with forms changeable and undetermined.—The electoral colleges have conducted themselves every where with that calmness and wisdom which

secures happy elections. The legion of honour exists in the higher parts of its organization, and in a part of the elements which are to compose it. These elements, still equal, await, from a final choice, their functions, and their places. How many honourable traits have been displayed by the ambition of being admitted into it! What treasures will the republic have in this institution to encourage and recompense service and virtues! In the council of state, another institution proposes for the choice of the government men for all the superior branches of administration: auditors are formed there in the laboratories of regulations and laws; they perpetuate themselves there with the maxims and principles of public order. Always surrounded with witnesses and judges, often under the eyes of government, often on important missions, they will arrive at the public functions with the maturity of experience, and with the security which is given by a character, a conduct, and a skill proved by repeated trials. Lycæa and secondary schools are erecting on every side, and are not yet erected with sufficient rapidity to satisfy the impatience of the citizens. Common regulations, a common discipline, the same system of instructions, are forming in the generations which will support the glory of France by their talents, and its institutions by their principles and their virtues. A single *prytaneum*, the prytaneum of St. Cyr, receives the children of those citizens who died for their country. Education already breathes forth there a military enthusiasm. At Fontainebleau, the special military school numbers many hundreds of soldiers, who are rendered pliant to discipline, and inured to fatigue,

and



and who acquire with the habits of the profession the knowledge of the art. The school of Compeigne presents the aspect of a vast manufactory, where 500 young persons pass from their studies to the workshops, and from the workshops to their studies. After a few months they execute with the precision of skill, works which could not have been obtained from them after years of a common apprenticeship; and in a short time commerce and industry will enjoy the benefit of their labour, and of the cares of the government. The engineers and the artillery have now but one school, and one common institution. Medicine is every where submitted to the new regime, which the law prescribed to it. By a salutary reform, means have been found to simplify the expense, and to add to the instruction. The exercise of pharmacy has been put under the care of skill and probity. A regulation has placed between master and workman, judges who terminate their differences with the rapidity which their interests and their wants require; and at the same time with the impartiality which justice commands. The civil code is approaching to completion; and in the course of this session the last projects of laws, which are to complete it altogether, will be in a state to be submitted to the deliberations of the legislative body. The judicial code, called for by every wish, is at this moment undergoing the discussions which are to conduct it to its maturity. The criminal code is in a state of advancement; and that part of it which circumstances appear to call for most imperiously, is in a condition to receive the seal of the law in the next session. New *chefs d'œuvre* are come to em-

bellish our museums; and, whilst the rest of Europe envies our treasures, our young artists continue still to go into the bosom of Italy, to kindle the fire of their genius with the view of its great monuments, and to respire the enthusiasm which produced them. In the department of Marengo, under the walls of that Alexandria which will be one of the strongest bulwarks of France, the first camp of our veterans is formed. There they will keep up the recollection of their exploits, and the pride of their victories. They will inspire their new fellow citizens with love and respect for that country which they have extended, and which has rewarded them. They will leave in their children heirs of their courage, and new defenders of that country whose benefits they will enjoy. New bridges are constructing on various rivers of the republic." This article goes on to notice the construction of roads, the draining of marshes, the state of fortifications, and other local subjects. The details here could not be interesting to our readers, and therefore we pass on to other subjects of more importance.

The great improvements executed at the different harbours are next specified:—"At Antwerp, in particular, there have been suddenly built a military post, an arsenal, and ships of war. The enlargement and repairs of this ancient harbour are defrayed by two millions raised by the sale of national domains in the departments of the Scheldt and Deux Nethes. At Boulogne and Havre, that line of coast which the enemy will henceforth call '*a coast of iron*,' the greatest undertakings are going forward, as well as at Rochelle, Cette, Marseilles, Nice, &c. while



the navigation of the interior is placed under the inspection of prefects and other officers, who incessantly exert themselves for its advantage."

On the subject of finances, the article says—"The last year has been favourable to our finances. The receipts have exceeded the previous calculations. Direct contributions have been collected with ease.—The operations which are to regulate the mode in which taxes on landed property are to be collected, go on with amazing rapidity. Distribution will become invariable, and we shall see no more of that conflict of interests which corrupted public justice, and that jealous rivalry which threatened the destruction of the industry and property of every department. The prefects and the councils-general have required that the same operation should extend to all the communes of their respective departments, with the view of establishing the basis of proportional contribution. A decree of the government has authorized this system, which is at once more simple and more economical. The sinking fund executes with fidelity and constancy its destination. Severe responsibility and inviolable fidelity, on the part of those who manage it, deserve the confidence of the government. The new coinage goes on without interruption. The credit of the country is supported amid the shocks of war and the rumours of the disaffected. The expenses of the colonies are defrayed either by direct transmissions of money, or by operations on the continent of America." But, amidst this vaunted prosperity, it appears that the government were alarmed at the creation in St. Domingo of a mass of bills to the amount of

42 millions, without any contribution to the actual or anticipated wants of the colony. "These bills were conveyed by unprincipled men to the Havannah, Jamaica, and the United States, where they were delivered at a shameful inferiority of value, to people who had furnished neither money nor merchandize. Under these circumstances the government found it necessary to arrest the course of such an infamous proceeding, and to prevent the nation from sustaining the loss with which it was threatened; and for this purpose an agent was sent to St. Domingo, to ascertain what number of bills had been issued, by whose authority, and on what conditions. In short, eleven millions not in circulation were annulled, and accounts were obtained of the rest. Those for which an integral value had been received were discharged with interest to the day of payment; but those which were issued without any real value, were considered as false, and are to undergo a rigid examination."

After a few observations on the pacific views of the French government, the whole concludes in the following manner:—

"This then was the moment which the British government chose to alarm its nation; to cover the Channel with ships; to insult our commerce by injurious inspections; and our coasts and ports, as well as those of our allies, by the presence of its menacing forces.

"If, on the 17th Ventose of the 11th year, there existed any extraordinary armament in the ports of France and Holland; if a single preparation was made in them to which the most remote suspicion could give a sinister interpretation, then we are the aggressors. The

message



message of the king of England, and his hostile attitude, have been rendered necessary by a legitimate precaution, and the English people had a right to believe that we threatened their independence, their religion, their constitution: but if the assertions of the message were false, if they were contradicted by the opinion of Europe, as well as by the conscience of the British government, then that government have deceived their nation; they have deceived it by precipitating it without reflection into a war, the terrible effects of which now begin to be felt in England, and the results of which may be decisive of its future destiny. The aggressor, however, ought alone to answer for the calamities which afflict humanity.

“ Malta, the cause of this war, was in the power of the English; it remained with France to arm to effect its independence; it was France who waited in silence for the justice of England, and it was England who began the war, even without a declaration.

“ By the dispersion of our ships and the security of our commerce, our losses might have been immense: we foresaw these circumstances, and we would have supported them without discouragement or weakness; but happily they have been less than we apprehended. Our ships of war have returned to European ports: one only excepted, which had long been employed merely as a transport, has fallen into the hands of the enemy.

“ Of two hundred millions, which the English cruizers might have ravished from our commerce, more than two-thirds have been preserved. Our privateers have

avenged these losses by important captures, and they will complete their revenge by others more important.

“ Tobago and St. Lucia were defenceless, and were obliged to surrender to the first force which appeared; but our great colonies are yet preserved, and the attacks made against them by the enemy have proved fruitless.

“ Hanover is in our power: twenty-five thousand of the best troops of the enemy have laid down their arms and become prisoners of war. Our cavalry has been remounted at the expense of that of the enemy; and a possession which was dear to the king of England is in our hands, a pledge of that justice which he will be compelled to render to us.

“ On the seas, British despotism daily adds to its usurpations: in the last war it struck terror into the neutral nations, by arrogating to itself inimical and revolting pretensions of declaring their whole coast in a state of siege; in the present war, it has just augmented its monstrous code, by the pretended right of blockading rivers and canals.

“ If the king of England has sworn to continue the war till he shall have reduced France to sign such dishonourable treaties as formerly exposed its misfortune and weakness, then the war will be long.—France consented in the treaty of Amiens to moderate conditions; she will never acknowledge any less favourable—nay more, she will never acknowledge in the British government the right of fulfilling their engagements only as may suit the progressive calculations of their ambition, nor the right of requiring further guaran-



tees than those which had been faithfully pledged. But if the treaty of Amiens has not been executed, how can we expect, in regard to a new one, a faith more holy, or oaths more sacred?

“ Louisiana is to be henceforth united to the American states: in that quarter we shall preserve friends, whose remembrance of a common origin will always attach them to our interest, while favourable commercial relations will unite their prosperity with ours. The United States are indebted to France for their independence; they will henceforth owe to us their strength and grandeur.

“ Spain remains neutral. Helvetia is re-established in her constitution, which has suffered no change, but what has been rendered necessary by lapse of time and change of opinions. The retreat of our troops from this country is a proof of its internal security, and of the end of its dissensions.—The ancient treaties have been renewed, and France has regained her oldest and most faithful ally.

“ Peace reigns in Italy; a division of the army of the Italian republic is at this time crossing France to encamp with our own on the sea coast. These battalions will there meet with innumerable instances of that patience, bravery, and heroism, which distinguished their ancestors.

“ The Ottoman empire, fatigued by intrigues, will gain by the interest of France the support of ancient alliances.

“ The tranquillity given to the continent by the treaty of Luneville is secured by the last acts of the diet of Ratisbon. The enlightened interest of great powers; the fidelity of the French government in

cultivating with them relations of friendship; the justice, energy, and the forces of the republic, will guaranty it.

(Signed) “ BONAPARTE.

“ By order of the first consul,

“ H. B. MARET.”

#### FRANCE.

The prefect of the department of the Indre and Loire has addressed to the mayors of his department a circular notice to the following effect:—

Citizens,

Jan. 18.

The French government attaches the most extreme importance to the immediate appearance before the proper officer at the different ports, of those seamen (marines) who have been called upon by their country to assist in the grand expedition now preparing, and which will shortly be afloat.

Many have answered to this demand, and have proceeded to their several places of destination. But there are still more, who have persisted in keeping themselves concealed, or who have otherwise found means to disobey this peremptory order, notwithstanding their having been duly apprised of it by the proper magistrates.

It is your duty, citizens, to coalesce with these magistrates in compelling such fugitives to return to their duty.

I order you now to make known to the families of those seamen the severe penalty attached to such dereliction; and further, that not only shall they be treated as deserters, but their families also shall become the victims of their disobedience.

You will also make it known, that



that should not the objects of this notice appear in person before the commission established at Tours, within six days from the date hereof, the punishment here denounced shall be enforced with the utmost rigour.

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MINISTRY OF MARINE.

The chargé d'affaires and commissary-general of commercial relations at Algiers, to citizen Decres, minister of marine.

*Algiers, 25th Jan.*

Citizen minister,

The English appeared before Algiers on the 15th, with nine sail of the line, two of them three-deckers, and one frigate and a brig. Admiral Nelson, who commanded the fleet, demanded imperatively, in the name of his king, that the English chargé d'affaires, sent away from Algiers some months ago, should be honourably reinstated in his functions; he required, besides, the restitution of five Neapolitan and Maltese ships taken with his passports, the release of 79 unfortunate persons who composed the crews of those ships, and the severest orders to the corsairs to respect all ships, of whatever nation they might be, which had British passports. The dey refused every thing, and replied with much firmness to the English. After several days spent in very violent explanations, admiral Nelson ignominiously retired. The regency continue their preparations of defence with the greatest activity; and it may be depended upon that the Algerines will suffer a bombardment, rather than yield to one of the demands made by England.

All the agents of the different

nations have retired to their country houses.

I salute you with respect,

DUBOIS THAINVILLE.

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MINISTRY OF THE GRAND JUDGE.

List of the brigands armed by the British minister to attack the life of the first consul.

First landing on the 21st of August, at the foot of the Cliff de Belville, from an English cutter, captain Right.

1. Georges, ex-chief of the brigands.

2. Villeneuve.

3. Lahay St. Hilaire.

4. Querel, called Courson, arrested on the 11th October, in the rue de Rochechouant.

5. La Bonté, called Kercher; his real name is Breche.

6. Picot, called Le Petit, arrested the 7th of February, rue du Bacq.

7. Froche, the son, arrested at Eu on the 1st of February.

8. Jean Marie, under the name of Lemaire, confidential clerk of Georges.

Second landing at the same place in the beginning of December, from an English vessel of the royal navy, captain Thomas Right.

1. Jean Marie, the same as before.

2. Coster, called St. Victor, one of the accomplices of the 3d Nivose, arrested on the 8th of Feb. in the rue Xaintonge.

3. Armand Polignac, eldest son of the duke de Polignac, arrested in the rue St. Denis, on the 28th of February.

4. Jean Louis.

5. Lemer cier.

6. Tamerlan.

7. Lelan, called Brutus,

8. Pierre Jean.



Third landing on the 16th of Jan. from an English cutter, captain Thomas Right.

1. Jean Marie, the same as in the preceding debarkations; constantly returning to England to bring the other brigands.

2. Pichegru, Charles, ex-general, arrested at Paris the 27th of February.

3. Lajolais, ex-general, under the name of Frederick, and Deville, sent to London in November last by Moreau to Pichegru: upon his return to Paris he was the go-between between Moreau and Pichegru. Arrested at Paris 14th Feb.

4. Ruzilion, known among the brigands by the name of Gros-major; arrested at Paris the 5th March.

5. Jules Polignac, second son of the duke of that name, arrested on the 3d of March.

6. Rochelle, called Rochette Brun, and Richemont, arrested on the 5th of March.

7. Armand Gaillard, of Rouen.

Accomplices who did not land at Belville; some have been in France for several years; others landed in Brittany, and were to recruit brigands there, to send them to Paris:

1. Gaillard Rioul, of Rouen, known by the names of St. Vincent, Houvel, and Duval.

2. Désol de Grosolles, concealed at Paris, where he waited for Georges: he went in a coach on the 1st of September to St. Leu, and brought him to Paris: arrested on the 18th of November on the bouvelard Italien.

3. Bouvêt de Lozier, one of the principal confidants of Georges, charged to procure him lodgings at Paris, and the environs.

4. Abraham Augustus Charles d'Hosier.

5. Ruben Lagmondière, who came from Rennes to join the assassins: arrested on the 7th of Feb. in one of the houses of the band, rue du Bagy.

6. Barbon Milabry, called Barco.

7. Roger, called Loiseau, came from England by way of Brittany, went to Paris with a forged passport from Rennes: arrested rue Xaintonge, on the 8th of February.

8. Hervé, shoemaker at Rennes.

9. Merelle, of St. Paers, a subaltern assassin: arrested on the 7th of February.

10. Noel Ducorps, commissary of the brigands: arrested at Aumale on the 28th of January.

11. Louis Ducorps, his son, an ex-chouan, and robber of diligences.

12. The ex-marquis of Rivière, the confidant of the count d'Artois. The portrait of that prince was found upon him, with this inscription—"Given by the count d'Artois to his faithful aide-du-camp de Rivière, for the perilous journeys taken in his service." Arrested on the 3d of March.

[The names of 17 others are given, but they are of no note.]

30. Moreau, general, had an understanding with the enemies of the state; communicated with Pichegru; sent to London, even since the war, to confer with the enemies, through the medium of Pichegru; held communications with Georges, through Fresnières and Villeneuve: since Pichegru's arrival at Paris, he saw him several times. Once Pichegru was in company with Georges. Moreau communicated with Pichegru through Rolland, Lajolais, and Fresnières. Arrested on the 14th of February.

31. Fresnières, private secretary to



to Moreau, communicated with Georges, through Villeneuve, principal confidant of Pichegru, and brought Pichegru several times to Moreau. He is fled.

32. Laborie, general instigator and adviser of Moreau. He is fled.

33. Badouville, former aide-du-camp to Pichegru, spy upon our armies, correspondent of Wickham, agent of Pichegru, arrived at Paris as soon as he knew Pichegru was there. Arrested on the 3d March.

34. The abbé David, charged with tying the first knot of all this plot, arrested on the 6th Dec. last year, as he was going to London to Pichegru. Brought to the Temple on the 13th Dec.

35, 36, 37 38. Victor Couchery, Roland, arrested on the 14th February; Froche, sen. arrested on the 3d February; and Monnier, arrested on the 5th February.

The grand Judge.

(Signed) REGNIER.

The arrestation of general Moreau was announced to the troops of the capital, and adjoining departments, by the following proclamation of general Murat, the governor of Paris, in general orders:

GENERAL STAFF.

*Head-quarters, at Paris,  
26th Pluviose, Feb. 15.*

Soldiers,

Fifty brigands, the impure remnants of the civil war, that the English government kept in reserve during the peace, because it meditated to repeat that crime which had failed on the 3d Nivose, had arrived by night, and in small bodies, at Bélville; they have penetrated even to the capital.—Georges and the ex-general Pichegru were at the head

of them. Their approach had been invited by a man of consideration in our rank, by general Moreau, who was yesterday placed in the hands of the justice of the nation.

Their project, after having assassinated the first consul, was to give up France to the horrors of a civil war, and to the terrible convulsions of a counter revolution.

The camps of Boulogne, Montreuil, Bruges, Saintes, Toulon, and Brest, the armies of Italy, Hanover, and Holland, were no longer to have commanded peace; our glory was to have perished with our liberty. But all those plots have failed. Ten of those brigands are arrested—the ex-general Lajolais, the procurer of this infernal conspiracy, is in prison—the police is upon the point of taking Georges and Pichegru.

A new debarkation of twenty of those brigands has now taken place; but they are surrounded with ambuscades, and will soon be taken.

In these circumstances, so afflicting to the heart of the first consul, we, soldiers of the nation, will be the first to make a shield for him with our bodies; and we will conquer his enemies, and those of France.

The general in chief, commander of Paris,

MURAT.

The general of brigade, chief of the staff, CÆSAR BERTHIER.

PREFECTURE OF POLICE.

*Paris, 9 Ventose (29 Feb.)*

Citizens,

The law which has been published condemns to death every individual who conceals Georges and the assassins who accompany him.

They are still in Paris, where if

(L 4)

will



will be impossible for them to escape, the barriers and the roads being guarded with the greatest vigilance.

Let every person make known to the police such individuals as may be liable to suspicion, who reside with them or in their neighbourhood.

Let those who have concealed them, or who may conceal them, profit of the time which the law grants them for the purpose of averting its axe, and concur in immediately purging the capital, of the monsters paid by our eternal enemies for renewing the horrors which they had before attempted to consummate, by means of the infernal machine, on the 3d Nivose.

Under these circumstances, the denunciations will be truly acts of public justice.

Masters of furnished houses are ordered to examine every individual they have lodging with them, and to see they have complied with the regulations of police, and that there is nothing suspicious about them.

The drivers of hackney coaches are informed, these persons make use of their carriages.

I have promised a reward to those who shall assist the police in seizing them; but the sweetest reward to a Frenchman is the satisfaction of having done a good action to his country.

The counsellor of state and prefect of police,

(Signed) DUBOIS.

THE DUKE D'ENGHIEN.

Note from Talleyrand to baron Edelsheim, minister of state to the elector of Baden.

Mons. le baron, *March 12.*

I had transmitted to you a note, purporting to demand the arrest of

the committee of French emigrants sitting at Offenburg, when the first consul, by the successive arrest of the banditti whom the English government has sent into France, as well as by the progress and result of the prosecutions instituted here, obtained information of the share which the English agents at Offenburg had in the terrible plot hatching against his person and the safety of France. He has also been informed that the duc d'Enghien and general Dumourier are at Ettenheim. It being impossible that they should be in that town without his electoral highness's leave, the first consul could not see, without the deepest regret, that a prince, to whom he has vouchsafed to show the most conspicuous effects of his friendship, could grant an asylum to his most cruel enemies, and quietly let them hatch such unheard-of conspiracies.

On this extraordinary occasion, the first consul has thought proper to order two small detachments to repair to Offenburg and Ettenheim, there to seize upon the plotters of a crime, which, from its nature, puts all those who have been convicted of the same out of the law of nations. General Caulincourt has been charged with the first consul's orders for this purpose. You cannot doubt but he will, when executing the same, show every regard which his highness may desire. He will have the honour to hand to your excellency this letter, which I am charged to write to you. Receive, monsieur le baron, the assurance of my highest respect.

CH. M. TALLEYRAND.

The minister of the marine and colonies, to the maritime prefects



fects and to the commissary-general of marine, at Antwerp.

*Paris, 4th Floreal, 12th year.*

There are no means, citizen prefect, which our enemies leave unemployed, in order to obtain intelligence from the ports of the republic, and to procure information of the state of our maritime force, as well as of its movements.

I have just received information of a new manœuvre which they practise, the effects of which it is necessary to guard against.

There are few neutral vessels bound for the ports of France, which, on the eve of entering, are not met and visited by English cruizers. The object of these visits is, not only to learn the destination and cargo of the ships, but it appears that these visiting vessels almost always take one or more of the crew out of each neutral, which they replace by an equal number of spies, whose continuance in the port lasts as long as that of the ship.

However great the precautions may have been, which you have hitherto prescribed relative to neutrals admitted into the ports, it is possible they may not be sufficient to frustrate this manœuvre, and therefore for this purpose you must use the following means:—

You will recommend that a very rigorous examination shall be made of the crews of all neutrals which may come into the ports of your district; and if from this visit it should result that any Englishman or other suspicious person is found on board, he must be immediately arrested, as well as the rest of the crew; they must be separately interrogated, and with every precaution necessary to the discovery of the truth.

Should a captain of a neutral vessel be convicted of having received on board and introduced into France men sent from English cruizers, without having made such declaration on his arrival, he will be treated as an accomplice *d'espionnage*, and his vessel confiscated. In order that no pretext of ignorance may be alleged by the neutrals to evade the rigour of these arrangements, it is desirable that they should receive the utmost publicity.

(Signed)      DECRES.

#### IMPERIAL DECREES.

Decree for taking the oath, and the coronation of the emperor, and the other accessory ceremonies.

*Palace of St. Cloud, 21 Messidor, an. 12.*

Napoleon, by the grace of God and the constitutions of the empire, emperor of the French, having taken the advice of his privy council, decrees—

#### FIRST SECTION.

*The taking the oath, and the coronation.*

Art. 1. The taking of the oath and the coronation of the emperor shall take place on the 18th Brumaire next (November 9).

2. A proclamation shall announce this solemnity to the whole empire, and shall summon those who are to assist at it, as specified in the senatus consultum of the 28th of last Floreal, to appear at Paris before the 10th Brumaire.

3. Particular letters shall also be addressed to them on the part of his majesty.

4. The public functionaries who are summoned, shall make known their arrival to the principal master of



of the ceremonies, who will indicate the place appointed for them at the ceremony.

5. The solemnity of taking the oath, and the coronation, will take place in the presence of the empress, the princes, princesses, high dignitaries, and all the public functionaries, described by the senatus consultum of the 28th Floreal, in the chapel of the invalids.

#### SECOND SECTION.

*Of the ceremony which will take place in the Champ de Mars.*

6. After the solemnity of taking the oath, and the coronation, his majesty the emperor will proceed to the Champ de Mars.

7. The national guards of every department of the empire will send to Paris a detachment of sixteen men, with colours for each detachment, one half of which shall be fusileers or grenadiers, one-fourth officers, and one-fourth non-commissioned officers.

8. The maritime departments, squadrons, flotillas, and armed vessels of the empire, shall send fifty detachments of ten men, with a flag to each detachment.

9. Every corps of horse, of all the different descriptions throughout the army, shall send a deputation of sixteen men, the half of which shall be grenadiers, fusileers, soldiers, dragoons, light-horse, one-fourth officers, and one fourth non-commissioned officers, with the colours, standard, or guidon.

10. The preceding article is applicable to the regiments of marine artillery.

11. The engineers shall send three deputations of sixteen men each.

12. The twenty-six legions of the gens-d'armes shall each send a deputation of four men and a guidon.

13. The invalids of the hotel at Paris, and those of Louvain and Avignon, shall send three deputations, whose composition shall be regulated according to the instruction of the war minister.

14. All these deputations shall successively take the oath of fidelity and obedience to his majesty the emperor.

15. The deputations of the national guards, those of the maritime circles, and such of the corps who have colours, guidons, or standards, shall afterwards receive from his majesty, for their departments or regiments, a pair of colours for each department, a flag for each detachment of marine, and a guidon or standard for each battalion or squadron.

16. The colours of the departments shall remain in the most conspicuous place of the hotel of the prefectory under the guard already settled for the prefects. They shall never be taken from thence but by an officer named by the emperor; and shall be unfurled and shown to the people on all solemn occasions.

17. The flags shall be distributed among the maritime circles, and deposited at the marine hotel, under a guard of honour, in the principal place of the seven circles in which Antwerp is comprised, in order to be given to the squadrons, naval armies, flotillas, or other armaments and expeditions, according to the orders of the emperor.

On their return, these flags shall be carried to the marine hotel, where they shall be kept in the council-chamber, for some succeeding expedition.

18. The colours, standards, and guidons of the corps shall be returned to each battalion or squadron. Those who, by the events



of war, shall lose them, shall not receive others of the same kind, but by a direct order from his majesty, after it has been proved that they were not lost by any fault of the regiment. Those who shall lose them from their own fault, shall not receive any others from the emperor.

(Signed) NAPOLEON.

*Palace of St. Cloud, July 10.*

Napoleon, emperor of the French, having consulted his privy council, decrees the following regulations:

1. The minister of police is re-established with the same attributes that he had before his office was united to that of the administration of justice.

2. There will be attached to the office of police, four counsellors of state, who will be daily employed in it, and be charged with the correspondence, and with the general state of affairs, each in the department which shall be assigned to him, conformably to the regulation annexed to this decree.

3. Independent of the audiences of the minister, there will be a daily audience given by one of the counsellors of state, to hear the demands of the citizens. Immediately after the audience, the counsellor of state will carry the demands to the minister.

4. The counsellors of state, once a week, will, in a general sitting, discuss, in the minister's presence, such matters as shall be brought before them.

(Signed) NAPOLEON.

*Paris, May 21.*

Order for the proclamation of the senatus consultum.

In execution of the order of his majesty the emperor, transmitted by the arch-chancellor of

the empire, for the proclamation of the senatus consultum of the 28th of Floreal, May 18, the chancellor of the senate has this day decreed the following order of procession:—

To meet at the palace of the senate, Sunday the 30th Floreal, May 20, at eight in the morning, to go out by the grand entrance of the palace rue de Tournon.

The first proclamation before the palace of the Senate.

The procession passes through the street de Tournon, Saint Sulpice, Vieux-Colombier, place de la Croix Rouge, street de Grenelle as far as street de Bourgogne on the right, and the place of the Legislative Body.

Second proclamation at the place of the Legislative Body.

The procession passes through rue de Bourgogne, as far as the bridge de la Concorde, crosses the place and street de la Concorde as far as the Boulevard, goes along the Boulevard as far as the new street des Capucins, and enters into place Vendôme.

Third proclamation at la place Vendôme.

The procession proceeds from the place Vendôme, passes through the street St. Honoré on the left, as far as the place du Tribunat.

Fourth proclamation before the palace of the Tribunate.

The procession proceeds through the street de Malte, as far as the place de Carrousel.

Fifth proclamation at the place de Carrousel.

The procession issues through the large gates of the Louvre, takes the quays on the left in straight line as far as the place de l'Hotel de Ville.

Sixth proclamation at the place of the Hotel de Ville.

The



The procession returns by the quay Pelletier, the quay de Geyres, the pont au Change, the place of the Palais de Justice.

Seventh proclamation before the Palais de Justice.

The procession passes through the street de la Barillere, that of St. Louis on the right, the quay des Orfevres, the Pont Neuf to the left, the street de Thionville, that of Saint Germain des Près, the street de l'Odéon, that of Vaugirard, and returns to the senate.

The chancellor of state,

(Signed) LAPLACE.

The question to be subjected to the people for their acceptance.

The following proposition shall be presented to the people for their acceptance, according to the forms established by the decree of the 20th Floreal, year 10:—

The French people will the imperial dignity to be hereditary in the direct, natural, legal, and adoptive descent of Napoleon Bonaparte, in the natural and legal descent of Joseph Bonaparte, and Louis Bonaparte, as settled by the organic senatus consultum of Floreal 28th, year 12.

#### ORGANIC SENATUS CONSULTUM.

Extracted from the registers of the conservative senate, Floreal, year 12.

The conservative senate, assembled to the number of members prescribed by the 90th article of the constitution, having seen the project of the senatus consultum drawn up according to the 57th article of the organic senatus consultum, dated Thermidor 16, year 10; and after having heard on the motives of the said project the orators of government, and the

report of its special commission, nominated in the sitting of the 26th of this month; and having deliberated on the adoption of it, to the number of voices prescribed by the 56th article of the organic senatus consultum of the 16th of Thermidor, year 10, decrees as follows:—

#### TITLE I.)

ART. 1. The government of the republic shall be intrusted to an emperor, who assumes the title of emperor of the French. Justice shall be administered in the name of the emperor by officers whom he shall appoint.

2. Napoleon Bonaparte, now first consul of the republic, shall be emperor of the French.

#### TITLE II.—OF HEREDITAMENT.

3. The imperial dignity is hereditary in the direct, natural, and legitimate descent of Napoleon Bonaparte, from male to male, by order of primogeniture, and to the perpetual exclusion of females and their descent.

4. Napoleon Bonaparte may adopt the children or grand children of his brothers, provided they have attained to the age of 18 years complete, and that he himself has no male heirs at the time of adoption. His adopted sons enter into the line of his direct descent. If he has any male children posterior to adoption, his adopted sons can succeed only after the natural and legitimate descendants. Adoption is interdicted to the successors of Napoleon Bonaparte, and to their descendants.

5. Failing a natural or legitimate heir, or adopted heir, of Napoleon Bonaparte, the imperial dignity shall devolve to and be conferred on Joseph Bonaparte and his natural and legitimate descendants,



ants, in the order of primogeniture, to the perpetual exclusion of females and their descendants.

6. Failing Joseph Bonaparte and his male descendants, the imperial dignity shall devolve to and be conferred on Louis Bonaparte and his natural and legitimate descendants, in the order of primogeniture, from male to male, and to the perpetual exclusion of females and their descendants.

7. Failing a natural and legitimate heir, or adopted heir, of Napoleon Bonaparte, failing a natural or legitimate heir of Joseph Bonaparte and his male descendants, of Louis Bonaparte and his male descendants, an organic senatus consultum, proposed to the senate by the titularies of the great dignitaries of the empire, and submitted to the acceptance of the people, shall nominate the emperor, and regulate in his family the order of hereditament, from male to male, to the perpetual exclusion of females and of their descendants.

8. Until the moment of the election of the new emperor, the affairs of the state shall be governed by the members who shall form in council the government, and who shall deliberate by a majority of voices. The secretary of state shall keep a journal of the deliberations.

### TITLE III.—OF THE IMPERIAL FAMILY.

9. The members of the imperial family in the order of hereditament shall bear the title of French princes. The eldest son of the emperor shall be styled imperial prince.

10. The mode of education for the French princes shall be regulated by a senatus consultum.

11. They are members of the senate and of the council of state,

when they have attained to their eighteenth year.

12. They cannot marry without the consent of the emperor. The marriage of a French prince without the consent of the emperor, incurs the privation of all right of inheritance, both for the individual who has contracted it, and for his descendants.

13. The acts which attest the birth, the marriages and deaths of members of the imperial family, shall be transmitted, by order from the emperor, to the senate, who shall order them to be inscribed in their journals, and deposited among their archives.

14. Napoleon Bonaparte shall establish, by statutes to which his successors are bound to conform, 1st, the duties of the individuals of both sexes who are members of the imperial family towards the emperor: 2d, an organization of the imperial palace, conformably to the dignity of the throne, and the grandeur of the nation.

15. The civil list remains regulated in the same manner as it was by the 1st and 4th articles of the decree of May 26, 1791. The princes Joseph and Louis Bonaparte, and in future the younger natural and legitimate sons of the emperor, shall be treated agreeably to the articles 1, 10, 11, 12, and 13, of the decree of December 21, 1790. The emperor may fix the jointure of the empress, and refer it to the civil list. His successors can introduce no change in the dispositions made in this respect.

16. The emperor shall visit the departments: imperial palaces shall therefore be established in the four principal points of the empire. These palaces shall be fixed, and their dependencies established by a law.



## TITLE IV.—OF the REGENCY.

17. The emperor is a minor till the age of eighteen years, complete; during his minority there shall be a regent of the empire.

18. The regent must be at least twenty-five years of age, complete; females are excluded from the regency.

19. The emperor chooses the regent from among the French princes who have attained to the age prescribed by the preceding article; and failing them, from among the titularies of the great dignities of the empire.

20. Failing designation on the part of the emperor, the regency shall devolve to the prince nearest in degree in the order of inheritance, who has attained to 25 years complete.

21. In cases where the emperor has not chosen the regent, if none of the French princes have attained to the age of 25 years complete, the senate shall choose the regent from the titularies of the great dignities of the empire.

22. When, on account of the minority of a prince called to the regency in the order of inheritance, it has been conferred on a more distant relation, or on one of the titularies of the great dignities of the empire, the regent who has entered on the exercise of his functions shall continue them till the majority of the emperor.

23. No organic senatus consultum can be passed during the regency, nor before the end of the third year after the majority.

24. The regent shall exercise till the majority of the emperor, all the attributes of the imperial dignity; he cannot, however, nominate to the grand dignities of the empire, nor to the places of the great officers which may be vacant

at the period of the regency, or which may become vacant during the minority, nor use the prerogative, reserved for the emperor, of raising citizens to the rank of senator. He cannot dismiss either the grand judge or the secretary of state.

25. He is not personally responsible for the acts of his administration.

26. All acts of the regency are in the name of the emperor under age.

27. The regent can propose no project of a law or senatus consultum, and can adopt no regulation or public administration, until he has consulted the council of regency, composed of the titularies of the great dignities of the empire. He cannot declare war, or sign treaties of peace, alliance, or commerce, until after deliberation in the council of regency; the members of which in this case only have a deliberative voice. The decision shall be by a majority of voices; and if there be an equality, that of the regent shall determine it. The minister of foreign relations shall have a seat in the council of regency, when the council deliberate on affairs relating to his department. The grand judge, minister of justice, may be called to it by order of the regent. The secretary of state shall keep a journal of the deliberations.

28. The regency can confer no right on the person of the minor emperor.

29. The salary of the regent is fixed at a fourth amount of the civil list.

30. The care of the minor emperor is intrusted to his mother, and, failing her, to the prince chosen for that purpose by the predecessor of the minor emperor.

Failing



Failing the mother of the minor emperor, and a prince chosen by the emperor, the senate shall intrust the care of the minor emperor to one of the titularies of the great dignities of the empire. Neither the regent, or his descendants, or females, can be chosen to take charge of the minor emperor.

31. Declares the act of nomination, either of regent for the minority, or of a prince to take charge of the minor emperor, to be revocable at the pleasure of the emperor: and that every act of adoption, nomination, or revocation of nomination, which has not been inscribed in the journals of the senate before the death of the emperor, shall be null and void.

#### TITLE V.—OF THE GREAT DIGNITIES OF THE EMPIRE.

32. The grand dignities of the empire are those of grand elector, arch-chancellor of state, arch-treasurer, constable, and grand admiral.

33. The titularies of the grand dignities of the empire are nominated by the emperor. They shall enjoy the same honours as the French princes, and take precedence immediately after them. The period of their reception determines the rank which they respectively hold.

34. The grand dignities of the empire cannot be removed.

35. The titularies of the great dignities of the empire are senators and counsellors of state.

36. They form the grand council of the emperor; they are members of the privy council; they compose the grand council of the legion of honour. The present members of the grand council

of the legion of honour shall retain, during life, their titles, functions, and prerogatives.

37. The emperor presides in the senate and council of state. When the emperor does not preside in the senate or council of state, he shall nominate one of the titularies of the great dignities of the state to be president.

38. All acts of the senate and legislative body are passed in the name of the emperor, and promulgated or published under the imperial seal.

39. The grand elector performs the functions of chancellor—1st, in convoking the legislative body, the electoral colleges, and the cantonal assemblies; 2d, in promulgating the *senatus consulta* for dissolving the legislative body or the electoral colleges. The grand elector presides in the absence of the emperor, when the senate proceeds to the nomination of senators, legislators, or tribunes. He may reside in the palace of the senate. He makes known to the emperor the remonstrances presented by the electoral colleges of the cantonal assemblies, in regard to the preservation of their prerogatives.—When a member of an electoral college is denounced, agreeably to the 21st article of the organic *senatus consultum*, of the 16th Thermidor, year 10, as having committed any act contrary to the honour or the good of his country, the grand elector shall invite the college to manifest its will. He shall report the will of the college to the emperor. The grand elector presents the members of the senate, of the council of state, and of the legislative body, to take the oath before the emperor. He administers the oath to the presidents of the electoral colleges, of the depart-



departmental and cantonal assemblies. He presents the solemn deputations of the senate, the council of state, legislative body; tribunate and electoral colleges, when admitted to an audience of the emperor.

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GERMAN OFFICIAL PAPER.

His royal, imperial, apostolic majesty arrived at Vienna on the 10th instant from Baden, to assist at an extraordinary conference of state, at which were present his royal highness the archduke Charles, the archduke palatine of Hungary, the chancellor of Hungary, that of Bohemia and Austria, that of Transylvania, the tavernicus of Hungary, and the president of the chamber of finances and of the bank.

In consequence of the supreme determination which has been declared in this council of state, the following patent is published:

PATENT.

We, Francis II. by the grace of God, elected emperor of the Romans, always august king of Germany, of Hungary, and Bohemia, of Galicia, Lodomeria, &c. archduke of Austria, duke of Burgundy and Lorraine, grand duke of Tuscany, &c.

Though we have already attained, by the divine will, and by the choice of the electors of the Roman and Germanic empire, to a dignity which leaves no room to desire any augmentation of titles and consideration; it is, however, our duty, in our quality of chief of the Austrian house and monarchy, to provide for the maintenance and preservation of that equality of hereditary titles and dignities with the first sovereigns and powers of Europe, which

belongs to the sovereigns of Austria, both on account of the antient lustre of their house, and in regard to the extent and population of their estates, comprehending independent kingdoms and principalities, so considerable, and which have been secured to them by possession, agreeably to the right of nations, and by treaties: To establish in a durable manner this perfect equality of rank, we have determined, and think ourselves authorised, after the example which has been given us in the preceding century by the imperial court of Russia, and that which is now given to us by the new sovereign of France, to confer also on the house of Austria, as far as relates to its independent states, the hereditary title of Emperor. We have therefore resolved, after mature reflection, solemnly to assume and to establish, for us and for our successors, in the unalterable possession of our independent kingdoms and states, the title and dignity of hereditary emperor of Austria (as the denomination of our house), in such a manner that all our kingdoms, principalities, and provinces, shall invariably retain the titles, constitutions, prerogatives, and relations, which they have hitherto enjoyed.

According to this supreme decision and declaration, we decree and enact:—

I. That immediately after our title of elected emperor of the Romans, shall be inserted that of hereditary emperor of Austria; after which shall follow our other titles of king of Germany, Bohemia, Hungary, &c.; then those of archduke of Austria, duke of Stiria, &c. and those of the other hereditary countries. But as, since our accession to the throne, there have successively taken place, in the possessions



possessions of our house, several changes, which have been confirmed by solemn treaties, we at the same time make known the under-mentioned titles, newly regulated according to the present state of things; and our will is, that they be introduced and employed in future.

II. The title of imperial prince and of imperial princess, shall be given and conferred with that of archduke and archduchess, as well of royal highness, to our descendants of both sexes, and to those of our successors in the sovereignty of the house of Austria.

III. As all our kingdoms and other possessions must retain, without restriction, their present denominations and relations, this is understood in particular of our kingdom of Hungary, and of the countries which are united to it, and also of such of our hereditary states as have hitherto been in immediate relation with the Germanic empire, which ought in future to preserve the same relations with it, agreeably to the privileges granted to our house by the emperors our predecessors.

IV. We reserve to ourselves the right of determining hereafter the solemnities which shall take place at our coronation, and that of our successors, as hereditary emperor. Those, however, which were practised at our coronation, and at that of our predecessors, as king of Hungary and Bohemia, shall continue to subsist in future without any change.

V. This declaration and ordinance shall be published and carried into execution throughout all our hereditary kingdoms and states, without delay, and in the accustomed forms. We have no doubt that all our states and subjects will

receive with gratitude and patriotic interest this disposition, the object of which is to maintain the consideration of the Austrian monarchy.

Done at Vienna, the 11th of August, 1804.

#### GRAND TITLE.

We, Francis II. by the grace of God, elected emperor of the Romans, always august, hereditary emperor of Austria, king of Germany, Jerusalem, Hungary, Bohemia, Dalmatia, Croatia, Slavonia, Gallicia, Lodomeria; archduke of Austria; duke of Lorraine, Venice, Salzbουργ, Styria, Carinthia, and Carniola; grand duke of Transylvania; margrave of Moravia; duke of Wirtemberg, Upper and Lower Silesia, Parma, Placentia, Guastalla, Auschwitz and Zator, Teschen, Friuli, and Zara; prince of Suabia, Eichstadt, Passau, Trent, Brixen, Berchtolsgrad, and Lindau; princely count of Habsbourg, Tyrol, Rybourg, Gorizia, and Gradisca; margrave of Burgau, Upper and Lower Lusatia; landgrave of the Brisgau, Ortenau, and Nellenbourg; count of Monsfort and Hohenems, of Upper and Lower Hohenberg, Bregentz, Sonnenberg, and Rothenfels, Blumeneck and Hofen; lord of the march of Esclavonia, Verona, Vicenza, and Padua, &c.

#### MEAN TITLE.

We, Francis II. by the grace of God, elected emperor of the Romans, always august, hereditary emperor of Austria; king of Germany, Hungary, Bohemia, Dalmatia, Croatia, Esclavonia, Gallicia, Lodomeria, and Jerusalem; archduke of Austria; duke of Lorraine, Venice and Salzbουργ; grand duke of Transylvania; duke of Styria, Carinthia, and Carniola, Wirtemberg, Upper and Lower Silesia;

(M)

princely



princely count of Habsbourg, Tyrol, &c.

SMALL TITLE.

Francis II. by the grace of God, elected emperor of the Romans, always august, hereditary emperor of Austria; king of Germany, Hungary, Bohemia, &c. archduke of Austria; duke of Lorraine, Venice, Salzburg, &c.

[Here follow the grand titles in Latin.]

RUSSIAN NOTE TO THE DIET, UPON  
THE ARREST OF THE DUKE D'ENGHIEN.

*Ratisbon, May 7.*

The following Russian declaration, delivered by the minister resident, M. Ruppell, to the baron D'Albini, was communicated to the diet:—

NOTE.

The event which has taken place in the states of his highness the elector of Baden, the conclusion of which has been so melancholy, has occasioned the most poignant grief to the emperor of all the Russias. He cannot but view with the greatest concern the violation which has been committed on the tranquillity and integrity of the German territory. His imperial majesty is the more affected by this event, as he never could have expected that a power which had undertaken, in common with himself, the office of mediator, and was consequently bound to exert its care for the welfare and tranquillity of Germany, could have departed in such a manner from the sacred principles of the law of nations, and the duties it had so lately taken upon itself.

It would be unnecessary to call the attention of the diet to the serious consequences to which the German empire must be exposed, if

acts of violence, of which the first example has just been seen, should be passed over in silence; it will, with its accustomed foresight, easily perceive how much the future tranquillity and security of the whole empire, and each of its members, must be endangered, if such violent proceedings should be deemed allowable, and suffered to take place without observation or opposition.—Moved by these considerations, and in quality of guarantee of the constitution of the Germanic empire, and that of mediator, the emperor considers it as his duty solemnly to protest against an action which is such an attack on the tranquillity and security of Germany. Justly alarmed at the mournful prospect it presents, his majesty made no delay to represent his manner of thinking on the subject to the first consul, by the Russian chargé d'affaires at Paris.

While his majesty adopts a measure prescribed to him by his solicitude for the welfare of the German empire, he is convinced that the diet and the head of the empire will do justice to his disinterested, and manifestly indispensable care; and that they will unite their endeavours with his to transmit their just remonstrances to the French government, to prevail on it to take such steps and measures as the violation of their dignity may require, and the maintenance of their future security may render necessary.

Imperial ukase, issued by the emperor of Russia at St. Petersburg, the 7th of May, 1804, relative to the admission of foreigners into his imperial majesty's dominions.

Ist. To enter our frontiers, all persons, except in the under-mentioned



tioned cases, are to be provided with passports from our ministers or other agents residing in foreign countries. Particular instructions will be sent to our ministers and consuls as to the manner in which such passports are to be granted, so as to cause the least inconvenience to trade or general intercourse.

2d. Persons coming from cities or places where we have neither missions nor consuls, must produce passports at the frontiers from the governors or chief officers there. Passports from inferior officers, from country justices or commissioners, or from the magistrates, will not be acknowledged. The governors of our frontier provinces will receive instructions in what manner they are to communicate with the governors of provinces belonging to another power relative to this point, and directions will be given at the barriers where passports are to be acknowledged.

3d. Russian subjects, traders, and other persons usually residing in Russia, having passports to go abroad for a limited term, will be permitted to return with the same passport.

4th. Persons owing allegiance to two powers (*sujets mixtes*) must, from our side, be provided with a passport for a year from the re-gency of that government in which their property lies, with which, during that term, they may pass out and in without interruption.

5th. All persons must produce their passports at the frontiers; and, if conformable to these regulations, they will be allowed to pass without molestation, except such as may be particularly ordered to be stopped.

6th. These regulations are to extend to all sea-ports, in so far as regards passengers arriving there.

Ship-masters, and persons serving on board of ships, are to be admitted upon the former existing regulations.

7th. All these regulations shall be enforced for the nearer parts of Europe within two months; and for the more distant, namely, Italy, Spain, and Portugal, within four months, reckoning from the date of this ordinance (*ukase*), which shall be published in the newspapers of both our capitals.

8th. The daily communications of persons residing on the frontiers will remain on the former footing.

9th. The intercourse with various Asiatic nations on the frontiers of the Cuban, on the lines of the Caucasus and Orenburg, and also with the Turkish subjects in general, is to remain on the former footing.

10th. Passports will be granted to persons going out of the country as formerly.

Signed with his imperial majesty's own hand, ALEXANDER.  
(Countersigned) Ct. V. KOTCHUBEY.

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*Corfu, May 9.*—The last courier that arrived here from Russia brought orders, by virtue of which the maintenance of the Russian forces in the republic of the Seven Islands, whether land or sea, shall in future be entirely at the charge of his imperial majesty. Till now an annual sum of one hundred and twenty thousand crowns was paid from the treasury of the republic of the Seven Islands, as the half of the pay of these forces. The emperor Alexander also thanked the republic for the offer of erecting him a monument, as had been decreed by their legislative body, requesting that the funds destined for that object, should be laid out on some



work of public utility. The prince and president of the Ionian senate, yesterday announced to the people these traits of rare generosity in a sovereign, worthy in effect of their highest gratitude. The following is the

PROCLAMATION

*issued by the prince and president of the Seven Islands, dated May 8.*

Formerly, citizens, our state groaned under a hard tyranny. Liberty came suddenly within our reach; but the abuse which was made of it, and the excess of republican passions, spread trouble every where. Disorder has disappeared, and we have obtained a fixed system [of government, which promises glorious days to our posterity. Each of you, citizens, will acknowledge in the generous restorer of our well being, after God, the protector of nations, Alexander, who wishes that ours should enjoy constant happiness: and, from its infant state, the advantages of maturity. That hero, citizens of the Seven Islands, sensible of the wish expressed by our representatives, of placing the statue of his sacred person in the hall of the legislature, will not consent that a part of the feeble resources of the republic should be employed for this purpose; he wishes that it should be consecrated to some establishment which may be productive of immediate advantage to the people. He has, besides, caused to be notified to his plenipotentiary, that it is his pleasure that the expense of maintaining his invincible sea and land forces, garrisoned in our republic, should be defrayed by the imperial treasury; and that consequently it should occasion no expense to the treasury of the republic. Citizens, behold in these elevated thoughts

of Alexander, the happy destiny which is your lot, and will be that of your posterity! We can actually govern and administer, by our proper resources, found useful institutions, accelerate the establishment of the national gymnasium, occasion the revival of our mother tongue among us, and with it the virtue of our ancestors, without overburdening the people with unnecessary taxes, and even with the certain hope of assuring to our posterity a mild and agreeable life. Thus finishes the infancy of the republic of the Seven Islands. Under such brilliant auspices, and amidst so much prosperity, she appears before her august benefactor so much the more worthy of him; relying upon her proper force, she is more capable of feeling, in all its latitude, the importance of her existence. Let us live only for our country, and to render the homage of our gratitude to Alexander, the founder and protector of our republic. (Signed)

ANT. COMUTO, prince and president.

Co. CAPODISTRIA, secretary of state.

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STATE PAPER.

Note transmitted by order of his Swedish majesty to M. Caillard, the French chargé d'affaires at Stockholm, Sept. 7, 1804.

His majesty the king of Sweden has received a report of the improper, the insolent, and ridiculous observations, which monsieur Napoleon Bonaparte has allowed to be inserted in his *Moniteur* of the 14th of August, under the article *Ratisbon*.

The tone, the style, and even the subject of this article, are all of so extraor-



extraordinary a nature, that his majesty has been yet hardly able to comprehend the object of such an act of political extravagance. If it has been done in the hope of misleading the public as to the conduct of his majesty, as it appears from the uncommon pains that are taken to draw a line of separation between his majesty and his subjects, let the world understand, that any instigation to that effect never could have been less likely to succeed than at this moment, or than it always will, with a people whose interests are bound up with those of a sovereign, who has never separated his prosperity from theirs, and who never feels so happy as when he contributes to the glory and to the happiness of his subjects.

As his majesty cannot, consistently with his own dignity, or the honour of his crown, permit any official intercourse after such an insult, he has ordered me, sir, to communicate to you, that, from this day, all diplomatic intercourse of every kind, both private and public, is immediately to cease between the French legation at Stockholm and his majesty's government.

As a sentence in the article above-mentioned seems to imply that the French government is disposed to admit that the continuance of the commercial intercourse between Sweden and France would be attended with some advantages, his majesty, on his part, is willing to permit the same, from those sentiments of esteem which he has always entertained for the French people; sentiments which he has inherited from his ancestors, and which owe their origin to far happier times.

(Signed) T. D. EHRENHEIM.

*Stockholm, Sept. 11.*

The following document from our court chancellor appeared here on the 7th instant:

His majesty the king has been pleased to inform me, by his gracious letter of the 26th of August, that for a long time the prevalent tone of most French journals and daily papers has been marked by a want of due respect for kings and princes, and for every lawful government; that this insolence, so worthy of chastisement, has continued to increase, and the consequences thereof have lately appeared in one of the newspapers most generally known, which has dared to insert expressions attacking the king's exalted person, and consequently the dignity of the empire; and as this cannot be passed over without animadversion, his majesty has been pleased to order:

1. That from the hour when this notification is made public, the importation into the Swedish empire, and the provinces belonging thereto, of French journals, weekly magazines, and daily papers, is strictly prohibited; and that no exception can be granted or demanded.

2. That all importation of books and writings, which may be printed in France in future, is likewise prohibited; those however, which have already appeared, are not included, provided their contents be not contrary to the regulation of the ordinances still in force; but, with respect to French books which may be published in future, exceptions may be admitted, if an humble request be made for the purpose through the office of the king's court of chancery.

In consequence whereof I am required to publish this gracious command and ordinance of his majesty

(M 3)

the



the king, that all people may conform themselves thereto.

(Ex officio.) C. B. ZIBET.

A. D. HUMMEL.

Stockholm, Sept. 7, 1804.

*Constantinople, Aug. 9.*

Answer of the Sublime Porte to the last note of the French ambassador.

The Sublime Porte has received and considered the note delivered to it by its friend, the French ambassador. It imports that Napoleon Bonaparte, first consul, has been appointed emperor of the French; that this dignity is to be hereditary, and descend to his legitimate children and male descendants; and, in failure of them, to the princes Joseph or Louis Bonaparte, and their legitimate children and heirs; further, that the representatives of the French empire at foreign courts, as also those of other powers in France, until they shall have received their new credentials, will abstain from all reciprocal official communication, though without neglecting the pressing occurrences of the time, on which they will correspond in a friendly manner. The sublime porte, according to its usual sincerity, participates with the most intimate satisfaction, in every increase of the dignity, honour, and glory of every power with which it has friendly connections. It is consequently notified to the said ambassador, our friend, that since the ruptured bands of friendship and concord between the two powers have been renewed, the Sublime Porte has received, with sincere joy, the news of the late occurrences in France; which, since they lay a foundation for the welfare and tranquillity of that empire, must have a beneficial effect on the gene-

ral peace and security. With respect to the communications, it is admitted that the correspondence on any business that may occur, shall be carried on by non-official communications, till the necessary changes shall be made in the credentials on either side. The Sublime Porte will always avail itself of every opportunity still more to strengthen and confirm the friendship so happily subsisting between it and France.

#### PROCLAMATION

Of the Batavian government, appointing the 7th of March, as a day for acts of benevolence and public prayer.

Citizens.—As it is certain that among the nations of the earth there are but few whose existence and preservation have been marked with such signal proofs of the favour of Divine Providence as our country, so it cannot be denied but that, on the other hand, this same nation, having more than once fallen from the height of prosperity, and being threatened with approaching ruin, has learned repeatedly, and in the most striking manner, its dependence on the all-powerful Lord of the universe. Alas! there is no occasion to go so far back to the early annals of the republic to prove this; we need only reflect on the events of the two last years. Scarcely had the wish of all the friends of their country, and of the human race, been gratified by the conclusion of a peace, that put an end to a most bloody and destructive war; scarcely had the sources of our national prosperity began to flow in their accustomed channel, so as to enable us to flatter ourselves with  
the



the hope that our ruined affairs were likely, under Divine Providence, to be re-established, when ambition and cruel jealousy re-kindled the torch of war, in contempt and open violation of the treaty which had been but just concluded, and with a prodigal expense of treasure and of blood. By this unhappy war, to which not only the sacred faith of our treaties of alliance, but even the duty of self-defence compels us, we soon saw all the sources of our misfortunes and increasing poverty again open. Our ships, richly laden with the productions of our colonies, and the treasures of our reviving commerce, were captured while they were pursuing their peaceful destination, even before any declaration of war. Already some of our foreign possessions have fallen before the superior force of our enemy: every day our situation is growing worse by the stagnation which prevails in the different branches of our commerce and industry; and the considerable sacrifices which the part we have to bear in this fatal war requires from us, impose upon us the unavoidable necessity of laying new burdens upon our fellow-citizens, whose burdens are already great.

The consideration of this unfortunate and humiliating situation of the republic would make us almost despair of ever seeing its affairs re-established on a solid foundation, if we did not feel the most lively persuasion that all those evils (though stirred up by the injustice of a neighbouring power, who has rashly and hastily entered into the war) have yet happened under the wise and bountiful direction of that all-ruling Providence, whose mercy can again close the wounds which we have received from his hand,

who change oppression and adversity to the seeds of future and more lasting happiness, and has made the history of our country so often bear witness of this consoling truth. It is this encouraging persuasion which makes it our duty to recal to our recollection the proofs which we have already experienced of the Divine Goodness. Who does not recollect, that at the beginning of last year this country was threatened with a most destructive inundation by the vast collection of heaped up ice in our rivers, when our fears were suddenly dissipated, and the country saved by a thaw, which brought no misery with it? Who can consider without gratitude, that the contagious disease, more destructive and terrible than the sword of war, which, in another part of the world, is the scourge of a nation, otherwise happy in prosperity and peace, and which has already raged with fury in some parts of Europe, has not, however, reached us yet, although our extensive commerce exposed us to more danger than other nations? Who can consider, without feeling gratitude, that notwithstanding all the obstacles which the spirit of industry (that distinguishes our nation) has to encounter, still it is not quite smothered, but even now inspires hopes that in happier days it may revive?

Who can see, without gratitude, that in the midst of our increasing distresses, that there are still found men who have not only the will, but the means of relieving the distressed, and preventing the utter ruin of all the springs of industry.

These considerations, taken together, contain some motives for not despairing of the return of our former happiness: how much should we be flattered with this perspec-



tive, if, rendered wiser by our misfortunes, we shall, for the future, substitute œconomy, temperance, and moderation, for that expensive luxury which was extended to all classes of society; if we shall learn to be more rigid in our morals, and still more sincere and upright in our dealings; and if, above all things, we cultivate the respect of religion, that respect which was the ornament of the first founders of our republic, but which is now so miserably fallen, and which alone can ensure the lasting happiness of our nation.

Then, doubtless, we might hope that the God of our fathers would change our darkness into light, and would not shut his ears against our ardent prayers for the safety of the country.

It is for the advancement of this end, and for all those reasons united, that, with the approbation of the legislative body, it has been ordered, that throughout all the cities, towns, and districts of the Batavian republic, a day shall be appointed for acts of benevolence and public prayers, which we have fixed for Wednesday, the 7th of March, to give an opportunity to all the inhabitants of the republic to unite in the temples of their religious assemblies, and humble themselves in the most solemn manner before God, confessing their transgressions and sins; to adore even the chastisements which his hand inflicts upon us, to recommend to his favour and protection the urgent wants and interests of this country, with a sincere design of rendering themselves in future worthy of these blessings, which are the reward of a virtuous and religious nation. We exhort, therefore, every citizen, upon that day to pray ardently to God, that he may give us again peace and

prosperity; that he may grant that all those sacrifices we are obliged to make to obtain that object, shall tend to lay the foundations of lasting tranquillity; that he may bring to the hearts and feelings of the lovers of war, the tears and groans of the many thousands who suffer by it, so that, if possible, the effusion of human blood may cease; that he may crown with his blessing those constituted authorities, whose labour tends to those objects; and that he may open again the sources of our national prosperity, and secure their possession by the concord, virtue, and conscientious conduct of the faithful inhabitants of this country.

To attain this salutary object, the government of the state ordains, that the present proclamation shall be made as public as possible, and that the administration shall take diligent care that the said day shall be celebrated throughout the republic, with decency, solemnity, and in a manner suited to its object; and that on that day the exercise of all professions or trades shall be suspended, as well as all public amusements, that no obstacle or trouble shall occur to the good dispositions of the religious friends of their country, and that the most holy name of God shall be every where glorified and implored with all becoming respect.

At the Hague, Feb. 6, 1804.

A. F. R. E. VAN HAERSOLTE.  
By order of the government of the  
state, C. G. HULTMAN,

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Copy of a convention concluded between his majesty, the emperor of the French, and the reigning count of Bentheim Steinfurth:—

*Westphalia, July 10.*

His excellency the reigning  
count



count of Bentheim Steinfurth, having represented to the French government, 1. That the county of Bentheim was pledged for 30 years by the late count of Bentheim to the king of England, as elector of Hanover. 2. That this pledge, which was contracted in the year 1752, ought to have ceased in the year 1782. 3. That, however, it has still continued *de facto*, from that time, without any formal renewal, without the consent of the heir of the fiefs, or the confirmation of the emperor. 4. That, consequently, the death of count De Bentheim Bentheim has put an end to the obligation of this pledge, and the count of Bentheim Steinfurth has a right to enter into possession of the said county, on paying the sum for which it was pledged without deduction of the arrears and other sums, which the king of England, as elector of Hanover, was indebted to the late count of Bentheim Bentheim. 5. That the count of Bentheim Steinfurth, must apply to the French government as present possessor of the Hanoverian territory, as well to liquidate the sum for which the said county was pledged, as to receive possession of it.

All which representations having been considered, and the first consul, in the present circumstances having attended to the claims of the count Bentheim Steinfurth, and having also learned that the same are supported by the Danish and Prussian courts, the minister for foreign affairs is formally authorised to conclude a particular convention with the reigning count of Bentheim Steinfurth, of which the following shall be articles:—

Article 1. His excellency the reigning count of Bentheim Steinfurth shall, with all the proper and customary forms usual in Germany,

be put in possession of the county of Bentheim immediately, on paying into the Hanoverian treasury the sum of 800,000 livres, which, without the deductions, which the French government resigns, is the original sum for which the county was pledged.

2. The French government guaranties to the count of Bentheim Steinfurth the maintenance and full force of this convention, whatever may be the future fate of the Hanoverian territory.

Concluded between the undersigned, at Paris, the 22d of Floreal, of the year 12 (May 12, 1804).

(Signed) CH. MAU. TALLEYRAND.  
LOUIS, reigning count of  
Bentheim.

His majesty the emperor approves and ratifies the above convention, which was signed on the 22d of Floreal of the year 12, by Ch. Mau. Talleyrand, our minister for foreign affairs, provided with full powers for that purpose, and count Louis, reigning count of Bentheim.

Given at St. Cloud the 2d of Prairial (22d of May).

(Signed) The emp. NAPOLEON.  
The secretary of state, MARET.  
(A true copy). TALLEYRAND.  
The minister at war, BERTHIER.

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#### PROCLAMATION.

The president and council of the town of Flushing make public: This day we received from the French general of division Monnet, a missive, dated the 20th Fructidor, of the 12th year of the French republic, and the 1st of the French empire, in which he demands, that necessary orders should be given by us, that all Englishmen, strangers  
or



or settled here, or descendants from British parents, who, by a special favour of the general, have obtained permission to reside hitherto in this town, or the island of Walcheren, shall in future, every Sunday, before eight o'clock in the morning, present themselves before the French commander, G. Jeannin, and shew their passes and permits to remain on the island of Walcheren, given them by the above-mentioned general Monnet.

The president and council, ignorant of the names and abodes of those persons mentioned in the letter of general Monnet, and willing to prevent them from incurring any punishment for not obeying his new regulation, have determined to publish the present proclamation for the information of every one it concerns, in ordering them to present themselves in future, every Sunday morning, before eight o'clock, at the house and office of the French commander, G. Jeannin.

That no one may pretend ignorance of this new regulation, this proclamation shall be printed and posted up on the usual public places.

Given and decreed in the council of the town of Flushing, Sept. 18, 1804.

(Signed) J. C. KROEF.

#### ST. DOMINGO.

##### *Capitulation of Cape François,*

Agreed to by general Rochambeau, on the part of the French army, and general Dessalines, commanding the black troops, or, as they are termed, 'l'armée, Indigène.'

This day, the 27th Brumaire, of the 12th year, according to the

French æra, and the 19th of November, 1803, according to the common æra, the adjutant-commandant Duveyrier, having received full power from general Rochambeau, commander in chief of the French army, to treat for the surrender of the town of the Cape—and Jean Jacques Dessalines, general of the native army, being also authorised to treat on the occasion—have agreed on the following articles, viz.

Art. I. The town of the Cape, and the forts dependent thereon, shall be given up in ten days, reckoning from to-morrow, the 28th of Brumaire (Nov. 18), to the general in chief Dessalines.

II. The military stores which are now in the arsenals, the arms, and the artillery of the town and forts, shall be left in their present condition.

III. All the ships of war and other vessels, which shall be judged necessary by general Rochambeau for the removal of the troops and inhabitants, and for the evacuation of the place, shall be free to depart on the day appointed.

IV. All the officers, military or civil, and the troops composing the garrison of the Cape, shall leave the place with all the honours of war, carrying with them their arms and all the private property belonging to their demi-brigades.

V. The sick and wounded who shall not be in a condition to embark, shall be taken care of in the hospitals, till their recovery: they are specially recommended to the humanity of general Dessalines, who will cause them to be embarked for France in neutral vessels.

VI. General Dessalines, in giving the assurance of his protection to the inhabitants who shall remain



in the country, calls at the same time upon the justice of general Rochambeau to set at liberty all the natives of the country (whatever may be their colour), as they cannot be constrained, under any pretext of right, to embark with the French army.

VII. The troops of both armies shall remain in their respective positions until the tenth day after the signature hereof, which is the day fixed on for the evacuation of the Cape.

VIII. The general in chief, Rochambeau, will send as a hostage for the observance of the present stipulations, the adjutant commandant, Urbain de Vaux, in exchange for whom the general in chief Dessalines will send an officer of the same rank.

Two copies of this convention are hereby executed in strict faith, at the head-quarters on the heights of the Cape, on the day, month, and year aforesaid.

(Signed)

DUVEYRIER,  
DESSALINES.

#### EVACUATION OF ST. DOMINGO.

During the armistice of ten days, granted by Dessalines to general Rochambeau, the negro chief issued the following proclamation, which the French general ordered to be published, and stuck up throughout the town of the Cape:

Notice of the council of notables of the town of the Cape.

By virtue of orders this day transmitted to the council by the commander in chief, Rochambeau, the council informs the inhabitants of the town of the Cape, that they have received from Dessalines, the commander in chief of the indigenous army, the following letter, dated Head-quarters Haut-du-Cap,

Nov. 19, 1803. The council therefore loses no time in informing the inhabitants of the pacific dispositions of the new government, and of the protection and security granted to every individual who shall continue to reside in this colony.

At the Cape the 20th Nov. 12th year of the republic.

President of the council,

REYNOARD.

*"Head-quarters, Haut-du-Cap, (the 27th Brumaire), Nov. 19, 1803.*

*"The commander in chief of the indigenous army, to the citizens inhabitants of the town of the Cape.*

*"Citizens,*

*"Having entered this day into a negotiation with the commander in chief, Rochambeau, respecting the evacuation by his troops of the town of the Cape, that opportunity enables me, citizens inhabitants, to tranquillize the fears by which you may be alarmed on such an event. The war which we have continued to wage up to this day, has no relation whatever to the inhabitants of this unhappy colony. I have uniformly held out protection and security to the inhabitants of every complexion; and on the present occasion you shall find me adhere to the same line of conduct. The manner in which the inhabitants of every description of Jeremie, Cayes, and of Port-au-Prince, have been received and treated, afford a certain pledge of my good faith and honour. Let those among you, citizens, who feel repugnant to leave their country, remain: you shall experience under my government protection and security, both for your persons and property: those who may*  
be



be disposed to follow the French army, are free to do so.

“ I have the honour to be, &c. &c.

(Signed) “ DESSALINES.  
The president of “ REYNOARD.”  
the council,

#### CONVENTION.

The following is the convention which took place between the English commodore and Rochambeau, at the moment he was leaving the harbour.

#### *Capitulation for the evacuation of the Cape.*

Between John Bligh, captain of his majesty's ship *Theseus*, invested with the powers of J. Loring, esq. of his majesty's ship *Bellerophon*, and the senior officer of the squadron cruising before Cape François on the one hand; and on the other, Jaques Boyé, general of brigade, chief of the staff of the French army, and Henry Barre, captain of a ship, commander of the naval forces at St. Domingo, authorised conjointly by the commander in chief, Rochambeau, captain-general of the colony.

The following articles were agreed to:—

Art. I. The French ships of war and merchantmen, which now lie at anchor in this port, shall be delivered up to the English.—Answer. Granted.

II. The garrison of Cape François, embarked on board the ships, as likewise their crews, shall be prisoners of war, and shall be sent to Europe, on condition not to serve until they shall have been exchanged, and that as soon as possible, in order that the exchange may take place without delay.—Answer. Granted.

III. All the generals and other officers are comprised in the preceding article, and shall retain their arms.

IV. The sick who are embarked on board the *Nouvelle Sophie* and of the *Julienne*, shall be sent directly to France, and the English shall engage to give them every possible assistance to that effect, and also to furnish them with provisions and medicines.—Answer. The crews of the *Nouvelle Sophie*, and of the *Julienne*, being insufficient to navigate these vessels to France, the number requisite for that purpose shall be filled up from sailors out of the crews of the other ships, and all the provisions and medicines which may be furnished without inconvenience, shall be so furnished from his majesty's ships.

V. The property of individuals shall be rigorously respected. The papers belonging to the army shall be given into the hands of the chief of the staff.—Answer. Granted.

VI. The American, Spanish, and Swedish ships, on board of which are embarked such of the inhabitants of St. Domingo who shall be inclined to follow the army, and who consequently shall constitute a part of the evacuation, shall be at liberty to proceed to their respective destinations without being molested.—Answer. Granted; provided it be proved that these ships belong to those nations; and an inquiry shall be instituted to that effect.

VII. The frigates shall sail out under French colours, and shall discharge their guns before they strike.—Answer. Granted.

VIII. The servants of the officers shall be considered as belonging to the army, and individuals who



who shall voluntarily embark in order to follow the French army, shall be put on shore on the territory of St. Domingo.—Answer. Granted.

Agreed to and signed on board the *Surveillante*, at Cape François, the 30th Nov. 1803.

(Signed)

J. BLIGH, captain of the *Theseus*.

H. BARRE, captain of a ship.

J. BOYE, general of brigade, chief of the staff.

#### PROCLAMATION.

The following proclamation of the independence of the island of St. Domingo, has been published by the three principal military chiefs, Dessalines, Christophe, and Clerveaux, chiefs of St. Domingo:

In the name of the black people and men of colour of St. Domingo.

The independence of St. Domingo is proclaimed. Restored to our primitive dignity, we have proclaimed our rights; we swear never to yield them to any power on earth! The frightful veil of prejudice is torn to pieces, and is so for ever.—Woe be to whomsoever would dare again to put together its bloody tatters!

O, Landholders of St. Domingo, wandering in foreign countries! by proclaiming our independence, we do not intend to forbid you indiscriminately from returning to your property: far be it from us this unjust idea. We are not ignorant that there are some among you that have renounced their old errors, abjured the injustice of their exorbitant pretensions, and acknowledged the lawfulness of the cause for which we

have been spilling our blood these twelve years. Towards these men, who do us justice, we will act as brothers; let them rely for ever on our esteem and friendship; let them return among us. The God who protects us, the God of freemen, bids us to stretch out towards them our conquering arms. But as for those who, intoxicated with a foolish pride, and interested slaves of a guilty pretension, are blinded so much as to think that they are the essence of human nature, and affect to believe that they are destined by Heaven to be our masters and our tyrants, let them never come near the land of St. Domingo; if they come hither, they will only meet with chains and deportation! Let them stay then where they are; and, tormented by their well deserved misery and the frowns of the just men they have too long mocked at, let them still continue to move the pity and concern of nobody.

We have sworn not to listen to clemency towards all those who would dare to speak to us of slavery; we shall be inexorable, perhaps even cruel towards all the troops who, themselves forgetting the object for which they have not ceased fighting since 1780, should come yet from Europe, to carry among us death and servitude. Nothing is too dear, and every means are lawful, to men from whom it is wished to tear the first of all blessings. Were they to cause rivers and torrents of blood to run; were they, in order to maintain their liberty, to conflagrate seven-eighths of the globe, they are innocent before the tribunal of providence, that has not created men to see them groaning under harsh and shameful servitude.

If, in the various insurrections that



that took place, some inhabitants against whom we had not to complain, have been victims of the cruelty of a few soldiers or cultivators, too much blinded by the remembrance of the past sufferings to be able to distinguish the good and humane land-owners from those that were unfeeling and cruel; we lament, with all feeling souls so deplorable an end, and declare to the world, whatever may be said to the contrary by wicked people, that the murders were committed contrary to the wishes of our hearts. It was impossible, especially in the crisis in which the colony was, to be able to prevent or stop these horrors. They who are in the least acquainted with history, all know that a people, when assailed by civil dissensions, though they may be the most polished on earth, give themselves up to all kinds of excess, and the authority of the chiefs, always but poorly consolidated in a time of revolution, cannot punish all those that are guilty, without always meeting with new difficulties. But now-a-days the Aurora of peace lets us have the glimpse of a less stormy time; now that the calm of victory has succeeded to the troubles of a dreadful war, every thing in St. Domingo ought to assume a new face, and its government henceforward to be that of justice!

Done at the head-quarters, Fort Dauphin, Nov. 29, 1803.

(Signed)

DESSALINES,  
CHRISTOPHE,  
CLERVEAUX.

(True copy)

B. AMIE, sec.

LIBERTY OR DEATH!

Indigenous army of St. Domingo.

This day, the first of January 1804, the general in chief of the

indigenous army, attended by the generals, chiefs of the army, being required to take measures tending to the welfare of the country, after having made known to the generals assembled, his real intentions to secure for ever to the native inhabitants of Hayti, a stable government, the object of his most lively solicitude. This he has done by an address, which will make known to foreign powers the resolution of making this country independent, and of enjoying a liberty consecrated by the blood of the people of this island. After having collected their sentiments, and required from every general assembled an oath, to *renounce France for ever, to die sooner than live under her dominion, to fight to the last breath for independence*—the generals, deeply impressed with these sacred principles, after having with one voice shown their assent to the declared object of independence, swore every one to posterity, and to the whole universe, to renounce France for ever, and to die rather than live under her dominion.

Done at Gonaives, the 1st Jan. 1804, and the 1st day of the independence of Hayti.

(Signed)

DESSALINES, gen. in chief.

Gabard. Christophe, black. Geffiad, mulatto. Vernet, mulatto. Petwi, mulatto. Clairveaux, mulatto, general of division. Capois, black. L. Herne. P. Rouëin, black. Egerin, black. L. Francois, black. Guage, mulatto. Feron, mulatto. Yayou, black. Tous-saint Brove, black. Magloire Ambroise, black. E. Bazelais, mulatto, general of brigade.

Then follow the signatures of the adjutant-generals, chiefs of brigade,



gade, and other officers, and that of the principal secretary Boviron Tonnère.

In the name of the people of Hayti.

We, generals and chiefs of the armies of Hayti, penetrated with gratitude for the benefits we have received from the general in chief, J. Jacques Dessalines, the protector of the liberty which the people enjoy, in the name of liberty, in the name of independence, in the name of the people he has made happy, we proclaim him governor-general for life of Hayti. We swear to submit implicitly to the laws emanating from his authority. We give to him the right to make peace and war, and to name his successor.

Done at head-quarters, Gonaïves, the 1st January, 1804, and the first day of the independence of Hayti.

Signed the same as the preceding.

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LIBERTY OR DEATH!—NATIVE ARMY!

The general in chief to the people at Hayti. First year of the independence of the people of Hayti.

Citizens! Fellow countrymen!

I have, in this solemn circumstance, assembled the brave soldiers who have shed their blood for the cause of liberty: those generous men who have guided your efforts against tyranny, have not yet done enough for your happiness. Every thing which here retraces the remembrance of the French name, reminds us of the cruelties of that homicide people. Our laws, our manners, our town, every thing bears the impression of France. What do I say? there

still remain Frenchmen in our island!

Victims, alas! during fourteen years of our own credulity, of our own indulgence; subdued not by the arms of the French, but by the awful eloquence of the proclamations of their agents; when shall we in fine be tired of breathing the same air as they! What affinity do we bear to that murderous people! Their cruelty, compared with our patient moderation; the difference of their colour from ours; the immensity of seas which separate us from them; our vengeful climate, every thing tells us that those men are not our brothers; that they will never become so; and that if they find an asylum among us, they will continue to sow troubles and dissensions here.

Citizens, inhabitants of Hayti!—men, women, girls, children, cast your eyes upon each of the points of this island: seek in it, you, your wives; you, your husbands; you, your sisters; What do I say? Seek in it your children on the breast; what is become of them? They have been the prey of those vultures! In the place of those interesting victims, your eyes behold only their assassins, only tigers still glutted with their blood, and whose frightful presence upbraids you with your insensibility, your slowness to avenge them! Why delay to appease their manes! Do you hope that your remains can rest in peace with those of your fathers as long as you shall not have made tyranny disappear?—What! the ashes of your relations are in the grave and you have not avenged them! Their bones will push away yours with disdain.

Learn, citizens, that you have done nothing, if you do not give to nations a terrible but just example



ample of the vengeance which should be exercised by a brave people who have recovered their liberty, and who are jealous to maintain it. Let us frighten those who should dare to attempt to ravish it from us, and let us begin by the French.

(Signed) DESSALINES.  
*March 30.*

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Orders issued by Dessalines, in the capacity of governor-general.

All proprietors that have produce to sell shall previously pay a fourth part as a territorial imposition. The power of selling produce of the 11th year shall only belong to proprietors who belonged to the indigenous army in the 11th year. Persons who since that period have resided with the French, are not to have the benefit of that year's produce; their property being confiscated for the use of the indigenous army.

Mules, horses, and other animals belonging to the habitations sequestered, are to be given up to the administrators of domains, who are to give an account of the same to the general commanding the department, who will place them in the most advantageous manner on the sequestered estates, to be employed in cultivation.

It is expressly forbidden that any officer shall intermeddle with the cultivation of the estates.

All sugar manufactories previously given to the chiefs of corps, shall be returned to the administrators of Domains.

All proprietors resident with the French to the time of the indigenous army taking possession of a place, shall forfeit all the produce of their estates during the eleventh year.

The generals commanding departments shall cause generals of brigade to execute the fortifications ordered to be erected in the high mountains of the interior; and the generals of brigade shall, from time to time, make reports of their proceedings, and their works.

All sales, or gifts of moveables or immoveables, made by emigrants in favour of persons residing in the island, are annulled; it being understood when so made after the indigenous army had taken up arms to expel the French from Hayti.

(Signed) DESSALINES.  
*April 9, 1804.*

#### LIBERTY OR DEATH!—PROCLAMATION.

Jean Jacques Dessalines, governor-general, to the inhabitants of Hayti.

Crimes, the most atrocious, such as were until then unheard of, and would cause nature to shudder, have been perpetrated! The measure was overheaped. At length the hour of vengeance has arrived, and the implacable enemies of the rights of man have suffered the punishment due to their crimes.

My arm, raised over their heads, has too long delayed to strike. At that signal, which the justice of God has urged, your hands, righteously armed, have brought the axe upon the antient tree of slavery and prejudices. In vain had time, and more especially the infernal politics of Europeans, surrounded it with triple brass! you have stripped it of its armour; you have placed it upon your heart, that you may become (like your natural enemies) cruel and merciless. Like an overflowing mighty torrent, that tears down all opposition, your vengeful fury has carried away every



every thing in its impetuous course. Thus perish all tyrants over innocence, all oppressors of mankind!

What then? Bent for many ages under an iron yoke; the sport of the passions of men, or their injustice, and of the caprices of fortune; mutilated victims of the cupidity of white Frenchmen; after having fattened with our toils these insatiate blood-suckers, with a patience and resignation unexampled, we should again have seen that sacrilegious horde make an attempt upon our destruction without any distinction of sex or age; and we, men without energy, of no virtue, of no delicate sensibility, should not we have plunged in their breast the dagger of desperation? Where is that vile Haytian, so unworthy of his regeneration, who thinks he has not accomplished the decrees of the Eternal, by exterminating these blood-thirsty tigers? If there be one, let him fly; indignant nature discards him from our bosom; let him hide his shame far from hence; the air we breathe is not suited to his gross organs; it is the pure air of liberty, august and triumphant!

Yes, we have rendered to these true cannibals war for war, crime for crime, outrage for outrage: yes, I have saved my country; I have avenged America. The avowal I make of it, in the face of earth and heaven, constitutes my pride and my glory. Of what consequence to me is the opinion which contemporary and future generations will pronounce upon my conduct? I have performed my duty; I enjoy my own approbation; for me that is sufficient. But what do I say! The preservation of my unfortunate brothers, the testimony of my own conscience, are not my only recompense:

1804.

I have seen two classes of men, born to cherish, assist, and succour one another—mixed in a world; and blended together—crying for vengeance and disputing the honour of the first blow.

Blacks and yellows, whom the refined duplicity of Europeans has for a long time endeavoured to divide; you, who are now consolidated, and make but one family; without doubt it was necessary that our perfect reconciliation should be sealed with the blood of your butchers. Similar calamities have hung over your proscribed heads; a similar ardour to strike your enemies has signalized you: the like fate is reserved for you; and the like interests must therefore render you for ever one, indivisible, and inseparable. Maintain that precious concord, that happy harmony amongst yourselves: it is the pledge of your happiness, your salvation, and your success: it is the secret of being invincible.

It is necessary, in order to strengthen these ties, to recal to your remembrance the catalogue of atrocities committed against our species; the massacre of the entire population of this island, meditated in the silence and *sang froid* of the cabinet; the execution of that abominable project, to me unblushingly proposed, and already begun by the French with the calmness and serenity of a countenance accustomed to similar crimes. Guadaloupe pillaged and destroyed; its ruins still reeking with the blood of the children, women, and old men put to the sword; Pelage (himself the victim of their craftiness), after having basely betrayed his country and his brothers; the brave and immortal Delgresse, blown into the air with the fort which he defended, rather than ac-

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cept



cept their offered chains. Magnanimous warrior! that noble death, far from enfeebling our courage, serves only to rouse within us the determination of avenging or of following thee. Shall I again recal to your memory the plots lately framed at Jeremie? the terrible explosion which was to be the result, notwithstanding the generous pardon granted to these incorrigible beings at the expulsion of the French army? The deplorable fate of our departed brothers in Europe! and (dread harbinger of death) the frightful despotism exercised at Martinique. Unfortunate people of Martinique, could I but fly to your assistance, and break your fetters! Alas! an insurmountable barrier separates us. Perhaps a spark from the same fire which enflames us, will alight into your bosoms: perhaps, at the sound of this commotion, suddenly awakened from your lethargy, with arms in your hands, you will reclaim your sacred and imprescriptible rights.

After the terrible example which I have just given, that, sooner or later, Divine justice will unchain on earth some mighty minds, above the weakness of the vulgar, for the destruction and terror of the wicked—tremble, tyrants, usurpers, scourges of the new world! our daggers are sharpened; your punishment is ready! sixty thousand men, equipped, inured to war, obedient to my orders, burn to offer a new sacrifice to the manes of their assassinated brothers. Let that nation come, who may be mad and daring enough to attack me. Already at its approach, the irritated genius of Hayti, arising out of the bosom of the ocean, appears; his menacing aspect throws the waves into commotion, excites tempests,

and with his mighty hand disperses ships, or dashes them in pieces! to his formidable voice the laws of nature pay obedience! Diseases, plague, famine, conflagration, poison, are his constant attendants. But why calculate on the assistance of the climate and of the elements? Have I forgot that I command a people of no common cast, brought up in adversity, whose audacious daring frowns at obstacles and increases by dangers? Let them come, then, these homicidal cohorts! I wait for them with firmness and with a steady eye. I abandon to them freely the sea shore, and the places where cities have existed; but woe to those who may approach too near the mountains! It were better for them that the sea received them into its profound abyss, than to be devoured by the anger of the children of Hayti.

“War to death to tyrants!” this is my motto; “Liberty! independence!” this is our rallying cry.

Generals, officers, soldiers, a little unlike him who has preceded me, the ex-general Toussaint Louverture, I have been faithful to the promise which I made to you when I took arms against tyranny, and whilst a spark of life remains in me, I shall keep my oath—“Never again shall a colonist or an European set his foot upon this territory with the title of master or proprietor.” This resolution shall henceforward form the fundamental basis of our constitution.

Should other chiefs, after me, by pursuing a conduct diametrically opposite to mine, dig their own graves and those of their own species, you will have to accuse only the law of destiny, which shall have taken me away from the happiness and welfare of my fellow-citizens. May my successors follow



low the path I shall have traced out for them! It is the system best adapted for consolidating their power; it is the highest homage they can render to my memory.

As it is derogatory to my character and my dignity to punish the innocent for the crimes of the guilty, a handful of whites, commendable by the religion they have always professed, and who have besides taken the oath to live with us in the woods, have experienced my clemency. I order that the sword respect them, and that they be unmolested.

I recommend anew and order to all the generals of departments, &c. to grant succours, encouragement, and protection, to all neutral and friendly nations, who may wish to establish commercial relations in this island.

Head-quarters at the Cape, 28th April, 1804, first year of independence.

(Signed) DESSALINES.  
The secretary-general,  
JUSTE CHANLATTE.

A true copy.

*PUBLIC ACTS passed in the Second Session of the Second Imperial Parliament.*

*March 6, 1804.*

An act for punishing mutiny and desertion.

An act for regulating the marine forces whilst on shore.

An act of indemnification for persons exporting seed corn to Portugal.

An act for completing the number of men in ships used for the whale fishery.

An act for raising sums of money for the cutting wet docks, &c.

*March 20.*

An act for raising 2,000,000*l.* by loan or exchequer bills.

An act for granting a duty on malt made in Ireland.

An act to permit the importation of hides, tallow, horns, &c. in foreign ships.

An act for better regulating the port of London.

*May 3.*

An act for raising 8,000,000*l.* by loans or exchequer bills.

An act for raising 1,500,000*l.* by loans or exchequer bills.

An act for amending the act for warehousing sugars.

An act for clothing the militia of Great Britain.

An act ditto for Ireland.

An act for empowering his majesty to augment the militia of Ireland, and to grant leave to that militia to serve in England.

An act to provide for the wives and families of the Irish militiamen.

An act to exempt the Newfoundland vessels from the regulations for carrying passengers.

An act to enforce the canon law with respect to the ages of persons to be admitted to holy orders.

An act for increasing the capital of the bank of Scotland.

An act for increasing the rates of subsistence to be paid to innkeepers on quartering soldiers.

*May*



May 16.

An act for raising 14,500,000*l*. by way of annuities.

An act for granting additional duties on wine.

An act for more speedy completion of the establishment of militia officers.

An act for making certain allowances to subaltern militia officers, when disembodied.

An act to prevent the sale of exciseable liquors in Scotland, by persons not licensed.

An act for regulating the volunteer corps.

June 29.

An act for augmenting the regular forces of the kingdom and reducing the militia.

An act to exempt from duties all exported linens manufactured in these kingdoms.

An act for granting duties on certain goods imported into Ireland, and certain stamp duties.

An act to enable the commissioners of the treasury to issue exchequer bills for the service of the year.

An act to prevent the counterfeiting of dollars.

July 20.

An act for the better support of his majesty's household

An act to enable his majesty to raise the sum of 2,500,000*l*.

An act to obviate certain inconveniences in the receipt of the income tax.

An act for explaining and amending the hackney coach acts.

An act for the more easy apprehending criminals escaping from one part of the kingdom to another.

An act to permit certain persons in the ordnance-office to send letters free of postage.

An act for reducing the duty on oak bark imported into the kingdom.

An act for further encouragement of the British fisheries and to prevent smuggling in the Isle of Man.

An act for settling disputes between masters and journeymen in the cotton manufactories.

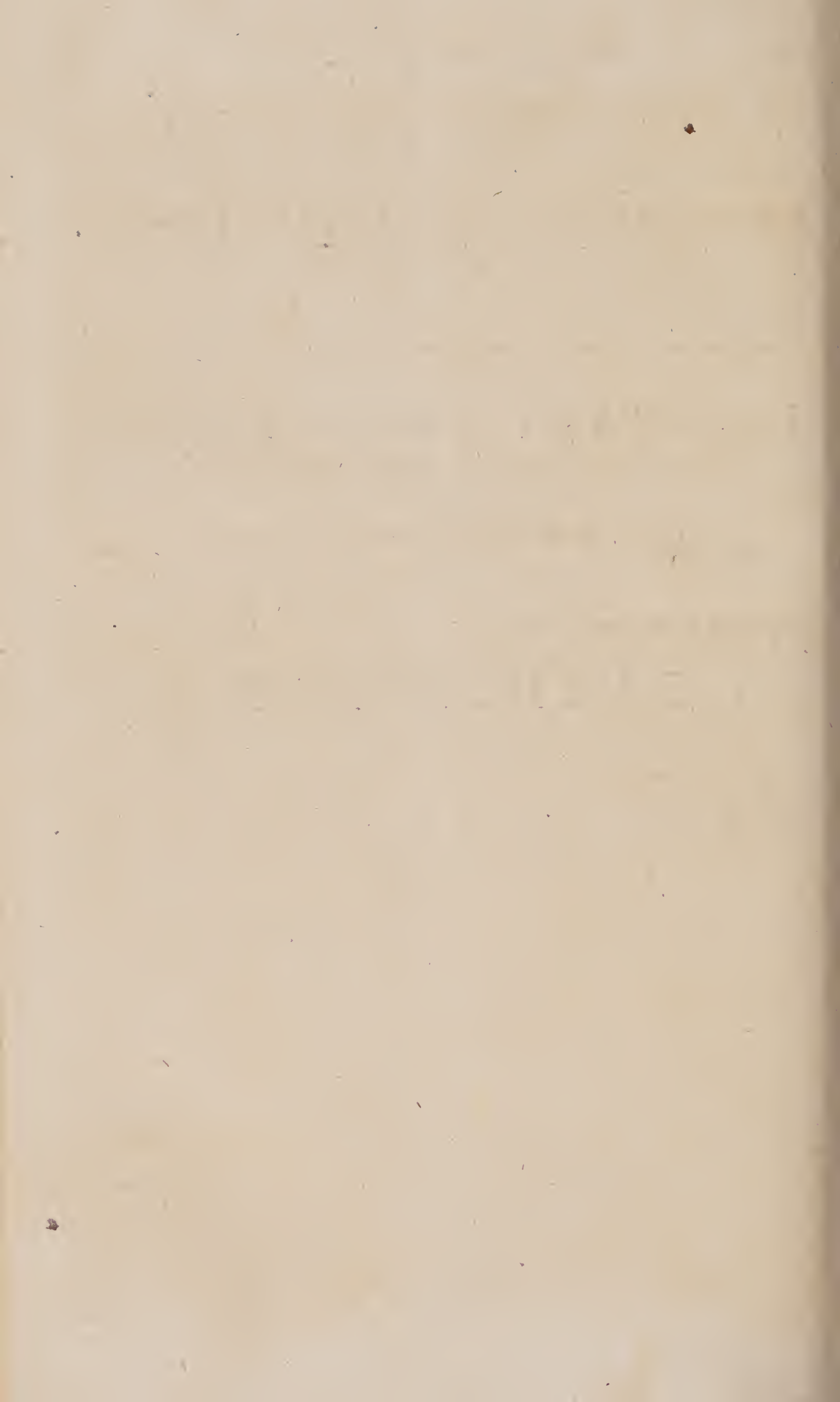


LITERARY SELECTIONS

AND

RETROSPECT.







# BIOGRAPHICAL

## ANECDOTES AND CHARACTERS.

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ANECDOTES of the LIFE of Dr. JAMES BEATTIE.

[From Mr. BOWER'S ACCOUNT of his LIFE.]

**J**AMES BEATTIE, LL. D. was born on the 5th of November, in the year 1735. The parish of Laurencekirk, in the county of Kincardine, in Scotland, has the honour of enrolling his name among those of several other literary characters which that remote part of the island has produced.

“ His ancestors had resided there for a considerable period. The Beatties or Beatons, however, came originally from the western isles; upon what occasion, or at what precise time, cannot be exactly ascertained. His father, James Beattie, followed the honourable profession of a farmer. His mother's name was Jean Watson.

Dr. Beattie's father was a man of very considerable abilities—of the strictest probity—exact in taking an account of the manner wherein he spent his time; and at his leisure hours he cultivated the muses. A journal kept by him, as well as some specimens of his poetry, are

still in the possession of his descendants. This last circumstance is the more worthy of being noticed, as it proves that Dr. Beattie derived his poetical turn from his father.

“ The subject of this memoir was deprived of his father at a very tender age; he was then only seven years old. An event of this kind is always accompanied with serious consequences, in whatever situation the sufferer may be placed; such misfortunes, however, are felt more severely by some ranks in society than by others. Those who are in circumstances not sufficiently destitute to excite the commiseration of the public, are generally left to their own unassisted exertions; and in this situation was the family of Mrs. Beattie. The hopes of the widow, and her helpless offspring, were immediately fixed upon the senior, and only brother, of the doctor. In him they were not disappointed. David Beattie, at the



time of his father's death, was eighteen years old; and as it was not then the custom, in Scotland, to initiate boys so early into the knowledge of the learned languages as has of late become fashionable, he was at that age at school prosecuting his studies. His father, in consequence of the promising talents which he discovered, had resolved to send him to the university; but a premature death deprived him of this advantage, and imperiously called upon him to relinquish such pursuits, and to devote his time and abilities to the support of his mother's family. This duty, for a long series of years, he discharged with assiduity and affection; and whatever pleasure or instruction the public have derived from Dr. Beattie's writings, they ought to consider themselves as highly indebted for it to the fostering, generous, and, I may say, parental care of his elder brother.—

“ Mr. Beattie had, as I have already observed, published proposals for printing his poems. Many of his pieces were shown to his friends; and from their opinion of the merit they possessed, the genteel part of the inhabitants of Aberdeen were desirous of cultivating his acquaintance, and were anxious to be favoured with a perusal of his verses. His situation, as master of the grammar-school, was also the means of introducing him into the best company in the town of Aberdeen.

“ In May, 1760, about two months after he printed his proposals, Mr. Beattie had accepted of an invitation to dinner from the parents of one of his scholars. It required little sagacity to discover his superior abilities; and besides, his fame had gone before him. He was, however, at last requested to

recite a part of a poem he had written. It had in a great measure escaped his memory. The specimen it was then in his power to give produced a great desire in those who heard it, to hear the whole. He accordingly went to his lodgings, and returned to the company with his manuscript. He was informed, however, either while he was going or returning from the place where he lived, of the sudden and unexpected death of professor William Duncan. This information he naturally communicated to those persons to whom he was about to show his poetical effusions.

“ There were now, it will be remembered, two vacant professorships in Marischal college, because Dr. Gerard had a year before been chosen professor of divinity on the death of Dr. Pollock, and the chair of moral philosophy had not yet been filled.

“ It was suggested by Mr. Arbuthnot, at whose particular request Beattie had gone home for his poems, that a young man of genius, and who had produced such unquestionable proofs of his talents, would be a very fit successor either to Duncan or Gerard. In consequence of this conversation, it is likely Beattie received a considerable accession to his ambition; and, though conscious of his own powers, he was pleased with the favourable opinion of Mr. Arbuthnot.

“ This gentleman, however, did not confine himself to empty and unmeaning compliments; but generously offered to write in his behalf to the earl of Erroll, lord high constable of Scotland. He actually prevailed upon his lordship to recommend him to his majesty, as one well worthy of being appointed to a vacant professorship.

“ The



\* The late duke of Argyle had in those days the nomination to almost every office in Scotland under the patronage of the crown; and it is by no means improbable, that lord Erroll's application had been principally regarded by his grace. Yet it is certain, that others interested themselves in Mr. Beattie's success. The late lord Gardenstone, in particular, made application to government, and in very strong terms recommended Mr. Beattie to those who were most likely to do him a service.

" Nearly four months, however, had elapsed before Mr. Beattie was *officially* informed that the recommendations of his friends had proved successful, and had made him be esteemed in the eyes of those at the helm of affairs as a fit object of royal bounty. Towards the end of September, 1760, his majesty's patent came to Aberdeen, appointing him a professor of philosophy in Marischal college; *and on Wednesday, the 1st of October following, his majesty's patent* came to Aberdeen, to Mr. George Skene, appointing him also a professor of philosophy.

" From the former part of this paper the reason will appear why they were both called professors of philosophy, in the patents they received. One particular branch of science, or a certain province, was not assigned to each particular professor, till upwards of a century and a half after the foundation of the college. And the private arrangement of the *senatus academicus* did not in the least affect the designation of their offices in the king's patent; though it was much calculated to accommodate the professors, and to promote the improvement of the youth committed to their care.

" The newly appointed professors, however, had both fixed their eyes upon the chair of moral philosophy. Though Mr. Beattie's patent had the advantage of being received a few days earlier than Mr. Skene's, yet this was considered as conferring no additional title to precedence, as it regarded the right of choice. It was argued, that the whole plan of education in the college, as it then (in 1760) stood, was a mere private stipulation among the professors themselves; the patents had nothing to do with the question at issue.

" Whether the two gentlemen actually cast lots, as I have often heard affirmed, I will not pretend to say; but upon Wednesday, the 8th of October, 1760, Mr. George Skene was admitted professor of natural and civil history, and Mr. Beattie professor of moral philosophy and logic.—

" An academical life is so barren of incidents that it cannot be expected to furnish much in the narrative. The lives of most literary men consist of little more than a history of their works. His pleasant and agreeable manners, even at this time, have been much commended. To his old associates he was kind and affable; and at his house and table they were always welcome.

" The doctor informs us that his *Essay on Poetry and Music*, as they affect the Mind, was written in the year 1762. It was delivered before the literary society, of which we have already given some account.

" The only prose composition he had acknowledged, and I have reason to think that (besides the discourses he delivered in the hall) the only small pieces he had written, were his preface to the first



edition of his Poems, and the short notes he added to the Pastorals of Virgil.

“ Mr. Beattie, with a felicity of arrangement peculiar to himself, has discussed with great judgment and taste the subjects he had proposed to treat of in this essay. He was eminent as an elegant critic; and every deference is due to an authority to which the public have so long looked up. After a few introductory observations he, in the first chapter, treats of *the end of poetical composition*.—

“ About the beginning of June, 1773, he again went to London. His encouragement upon his former visit was, to a man in his easy circumstances, a sufficient inducement to undertake another journey to the capital. He had another reason which, though considered by the envious and illiberal as entailing servitude, has never hitherto been applied to an improper purpose. His merit, as an author, had even called the attention of royalty: a signal proof how highly he was rated by all descriptions in the community.

“ His present majesty has, beyond all precedent, extended his patronage to eminent literary characters. This patronage has originated solely from himself; and the most discontented candidates for public favour have not had the hardihood to affirm, that the royal bounty has in any instance been conferred upon an unworthy object. This is no small testimony to the rectitude of intention, and to the discrimination of the patron.

“ A short time after Beattie went to London a memorial was presented to the king. Dr. Beattie had, it is likely, the most express assurance from his majesty's servants that his memorial should not

pass unnoticed. The form, however, of petitioning the king is never dispensed with. Beattie's petition was favourably received.

“ On the 30th of June, 1773, he was presented to the king at the levee by lord Dartmouth. The levee was on that day exceedingly crowded. Dr. Beattie, however, had the distinguished honour of conversing with the king for five minutes; a mark of attention not conferred upon ordinary men, and which those who are in the greatest favour do not always presume to expect.

“ The substance of this conversation with his majesty consisted chiefly in high commendations and compliments, strongly and elegantly expressed on his writings, particularly his Essay on Truth. Such unexpected panegyric could not fail to make a lasting impression on his mind. Any attention from one in so elevated a situation (from the chief magistrate of a great nation) is a compliment which few have ever received.

“ On the 21st of August following, Dr. Beattie received a letter from Mr. Robinson, lord North's secretary, which communicated to him the agreeable information that his majesty had been pleased to appoint him a pension, and assuring him that when other necessary business was dispatched, the warrant for payment of the pension should be made out.

“ This was accordingly done after a reasonable time had elapsed. He was obliged, however, still to remain in London, as his business was not yet completed.

“ Beattie was during this time informed that his majesty had expressed a desire to admit him to a private audience. And accordingly upon the 27th of October he had an audience of their majesties at Kew.



Kew. He remained there for an hour and a quarter. He uniformly expressed his admiration of the general knowledge which both the king and queen discovered upon every topic which happened to become the subject of conversation. A more intimate knowledge with the former and present state of literature was discovered by them, than in his opinion could have been expected from persons in their elevated station.

“ When Dr. Beattie was about to retire, he expressed himself thus to his majesty: ‘ I hope, sir, your majesty will pardon me, if I take this opportunity of returning you my humble and most grateful acknowledgements for the honour you have been pleased to confer upon me.’ His majesty was pleased to reply: ‘ I think I could not have done less for a man who has done so much service to the nation in general, and to the cause of truth. I shall be always glad of an opportunity to show the good opinion I have of you.’

“ He was chiefly employed for a considerable period after he returned from London, in preparing his Essay on Truth for another edition. This he published at Edinburgh in the year 1776. Besides the two Essays formerly mentioned, viz. that on Poetry and Music, and that on Laughter and Ludicrous Composition, there is in the same volume an Essay on the Utility of Classical Learning.

“ In the year 1777, he was engaged in copying for the press the Essay on Memory and Imagination, see p. 12 of that Essay. I say copying, because the public are expressly informed that what he then published were parts of those

lectures which he delivered to the students under his care.

“ This Essay is, in my opinion, the master-piece of Beattie’s prose works. It affords one of the best specimens of what I may perhaps be permitted to call “ the popular lecture.” It contains a vast variety of facts collected with great care, and his reasoning upon those facts is in general unexceptionable. The same observation, however, may be made here which was made upon the Essay on Poetry and Music, that the two parts of the Essay do not hang together so closely as perhaps a severe critic would be disposed to require.

“ In page 63, of the same Essay, it is mentioned, ‘ when a rider has fallen from his horse in a deep river, there have been instances of that noble creature (a dog) taking hold with his teeth, and dragging him to land by the skirts of the coat.’ This actually happened at Laurencekirk. The inn at Laurencekirk is pretty well known in the north of Scotland. It may perhaps be necessary to remark, that at the time when this event happened there was no bridge immediately in the vicinity of the village. There was then a great quantity of water in what is throughout the greater part of the year a rivulet. In attempting to cross it on horseback, a person, in a state of intoxication, fell into the water. His dog actually dragged him to the door of the inn.—

“ We are informed by Dr. Beattie, in the preface to his Dissertation, that he had been requested to publish the whole system of his Lectures; but, for reasons which he there assigns, he determined not to do so. It is probable, however,



that he had for a considerable time proposed to publish a summary of his Lectures, though he did not do it till the year 1790. It had long been his practice to make the students write notes of each discourse, with a view to assist the memory. At what particular time, however, he was engaged in drawing up this elementary work, I have not been able to discover. It is a curious fact, that he once designed to publish it in Latin; and part of it he left behind him in that language. He wrote Latin with great facility and elegance. By the publication of a work of that kind in Latin, his fame, as an accurate classical scholar, would have been greatly increased; yet I have no doubt that its usefulness must have been thereby much impaired. The merit of the *Elements of Moral Science* has been too generally acknowledged to require any panegyric in this place. The first volume contains a very accurate enumeration and arrangement of the perceptive faculties and active powers of man. He has also given a cursory view of what is called natural theology. The second volume, published in the year 1793, comprehends a great deal of miscellaneous information on ethics, economics, politics, and logic, including rhetoric.

“ In the year 1790, Dr. Beattie edited, at Edinburgh, Addison’s *Papers*, in 4 vols., and wrote the preface.

“ About this time he sustained a great loss by the death of his eldest son James Hay Beattie. The doctor wrote a very interesting account of this excellent young man. No one who has any taste for good writing, for simplicity of language, and narrative composed of a selec-

tion of the most interesting incidents, will, I am persuaded, be satisfied with perusing it only once.

“ His son’s progress in every branch of education was rapid and uncommon, almost beyond example. To the greatest quickness of parts he added what is often not to be met with, the most indefatigable application. He was, on the fourth of June, 1787, appointed assistant professor of moral philosophy and logic in Marischal college. His age was then not quite nineteen. He survived, however, his nomination to the professorship little more than three years.

“ This extraordinary young man possessed, like his father, poetical genius. Dr. Beattie, however, seems to have been designed by nature to be a poet of a superior order to his son. I have formed this opinion after comparing the poetical productions of both, when about the same time of life. The doctor’s verses discover superior poetical invention; a greater command of poetical language; and, with respect to harmony and variety of versification, there is no comparison.

“ Mr. James Hay Beattie, however, wrote Latin verses with the greatest facility. This talent, as I formerly mentioned, his father never possessed; and, perhaps, unless frequent attempts have been made at school, or at least in early life, it is not to be acquired. The favourite Latin classic of both was Virgil; and, I think, this accounts for the very frequent elisions in the Latin verses of Mr. Hay Beattie. Had he made Ovid his model in this respect, I am persuaded he would have avoided those elisions much more than he has done. His translations nevertheless possess the most



most distinguished merit, and are entitled to a very high degree of praise.

“ Dr. Beattie never completely recovered the shock he received by his son’s death. He was a tender and indulgent father; and the amiable dispositions, the filial obedience, and uncommon endowments of J. H. Beattie, gave full scope to the exercise of those paternal affections. He was cut off too at a time of life when the hopes of the father, and indeed of all who knew him, were raised very high. Though young, he had given the most undeniable proofs of great

abilities, and promised to be an ornament to that university whereof he was a member, and to be a source of comfort to his parent in his declining years.—

“ After he had endured much bodily pain, and in a great measure had become insensible even to what he himself was suffering, Dr. Beattie died, at Aberdeen, upon the 18th day of August, 1803.

“ It will be admitted, that if he was not at the time of his death the first literary character in the united kingdom, he was second or third in the list.”

## PARTICULARS of the LIFE of JOHN WILKES, Esq.

[From his LETTERS and MISCELLANEOUS POEMS.]

“ **J**OHAN WILKES was born October 28, 1727, in St. John-Street, Clerkenwell. His father, Nathanael, was a distiller, of great opulence, and of a most respectable character.

“ From the nature of the government, and from the habits of the people of Great Britain, an easy intercourse subsists between all its orders of society. When industry has obtained for itself more than competence, it naturally becomes desirous of distinction. The powers of wealth, however great, are yet circumscribed: to the wealthy, the wealth of others is of small importance; and where there are many rich, riches of course give little pre-eminence. Another standard of merit is then resorted to, and abilities and rank are made the objects of regard. Mr. Wilkes was early accustomed to meet at the table of his father with persons of literary excellence, as well as with

those of weight in the commercial world; and hence he imbibed that taste for letters which he continued to cultivate through life.

“ His education, however, though liberal, was domestic; and, though not severe, yet sufficiently sober. His philosophy therefore (that of enjoying the world, and passing laughingly through it) was not so much the fruit of levity and custom, as of his own reflection; and as adopted in compliance with his own view of human nature. And this he was himself very willing to have believed.

“ His parents (one of them, at least) were not of the church of England; and Mr. Wilkes, having passed his school years, partly at Hertford and partly in Buckinghamshire, was sent, not to either of our English universities, but with a private tutor, to the university of Leyden, where his talents attracted much notice.

“ In



"In the year 1749 he married Miss Mead, heiress of the Meads of Buckinghamshire; from which marriage probably originated his connexion with that county. In April 1754, he offered himself as a candidate to represent in parliament the borough of Berwick, and addressed the electors in terms not ill according with that political spirit which afterwards marked his public conduct. He was not however on this occasion successful; but in July 1757, he was elected burgess for Aylesbury, and was also again chosen (at the general election) in 1761, for the same place.—

"On the second day of the June following, the first number of the North Briton issued from the press; a work of which Mr. Wilkes was the chief supporter.

"Amongst the memoranda of Gibbon, as given to the public by their noble editor, is a note of a spirited dinner party, in which col. Wilkes is mentioned as having supported his share of the conversation with much vivacity and intelligence." He is also related to have made a frank acknowledgment of his resolution to take advantage of the times and "make his fortune." That Mr. Wilkes, then colonel of the Buckinghamshire militia, made such a declaration, there is no doubt. But there may be much and reasonable doubt, whether any construction can be put on this beyond an intimation of his desire to become an object of popular attention. Neither his habits of living, nor his turn of disposition, were such as to render any supposition, that a plan of pecuniary advancement crossed his mind, at all natural.

"When cardinal de Retz was reminded that his debts were large,

he replied, 'Cæsar's at my age were greater.' Such in all probability would have been the language of Wilkes, whose cast of temper was as little likely, as even theirs, to make interest the scope of his endeavours. It is not indeed easy to perceive how, even in imagination, he could promise himself, by the course of action which he adopted, that liberal provision as to worldly circumstances which he eventually obtained.

"The truth, I believe, is, that to be known amongst men was his ruling passion, and it must be owned that he undoubtedly possessed many of the qualities which deservedly command renown. A weak administration and ill-directed public counsels afforded him a harvest of materials for attack. He saw his opportunity, 'put in his sickle,' and crowned his toil with plenty beyond expectation.

"The North Briton had been established but for a few months, and had reached no further than the twelfth number, when it involved him in a quarrel with lord Talbot; a quarrel which ended in a duel. By a retired scholar, unacquainted with the world, it might not unnaturally be made a question, whether a paper like this could by possibility have become a ground on which two reasonable beings should stake the hazard of their lives. And it should seem even to others that the liberty of political attack was certainly at that period in its infancy, when such a trifle occasioned such a meeting. The number complained of has for its subject some pensions, which had been bestowed by the administration of that day, amongst which were those allotted to Dr. Johnson and the author of Douglas. Had there been no juster cause of murmur



mur than this, they who then held the reins of government might have continued safe in power. When, however, a spirit of dissatisfaction is abroad, the lightest circumstance will tend to widen the circle of its influence. Even this complaint was not without its effect. Lord Litchfield also, and lord Talbot, bear a part in the paper; the chief assault against lord Talbot being a sneer upon his horsemanship at the coronation. His lordship however was irritable, and demanded, first by a note, and then by a message, a disavowal on the part of Mr. Wilkes of his being concerned in the composition of the number which reflected upon his lordship's name. Wilkes, to whose views an affair of this sort was not ill-suited, contented himself with a denial of his lordship's right to interrogate him upon the subject. An appointment was made between them, and they exchanged pistol-shots at Bagshot, without hurt to either party. Mr. Wilkes having fired, 'walked immediately up to lord Talbot and avowed the paper.'—

"Mr. Wilkes was now daily becoming more known to, and, from his opposition to lord Bute, a greater favourite with, the public. The North Briton still went on, and Mr. Wilkes also became possessed of a most able coadjutor in Churchill, the poet. In March 1763, he addressed a dedication to lord Bute, prefixed to the tragedy of Roger Mortimer, an unfinished play of Ben Jonson. Between Mortimer, the favourite of Isabel, the mother of Edward the Third, and lord Bute, he drew a parallel necessarily not very favourable to the character of that nobleman.

"The busy and more important part of the life of Wilkes was now arriving. The far-famed No. 45

of the North Briton appeared on the 23d of April, and on the morning of the 30th, Mr. Wilkes was served by a king's messenger with a general warrant, in consequence of which he was on the same morning conveyed to the Tower. That 'a warrant to apprehend and seize, 'together with their papers, the authors, printers, and publishers of 'a work,' without naming who those authors, printers, and publishers were even suspected to be, has upon its very face an appearance of illegality, cannot be denied. But in justice to the secretaries of state, who signed it, it should be remembered, that for a hundred years the practice of their office had been to issue such; and that in so doing they did no more than what precedents seemed to justify.

"It is worthy of remark, that this event came not upon Mr. Wilkes unforeseen. It was a *piège tendu* for his adversaries, rather than a net thrown over him by them. And if the knowledge of this circumstance should in any degree tend to diminish the praise claimed loudly for him at the time, upon the score of presence of mind, it will at least establish, what is perhaps still more to his reputation, and what, I believe, was as truly the real character of his understanding, that he possessed the talent of weighing with skill the consequences of his public actions. In a letter addressed by him to the right hon. George Grenville, in November 1769, he writes thus:—"The affair of Mr. Beardmore has been 'misrepresented. The warrant 'against him for several numbers 'of the Monitor was made *special* 'but directed the *seizing* of his 'books and papers. Mr. Wilkes 'knew Mr. Beardmore personally, 'went to visit him at the messenger's



ger's house, and endeavoured to persuade him to bring an action of false imprisonment and damages for himself, his clerk, books, papers, &c. against lord Halifax. This Mr. Beardmore at that time absolutely refused. The transaction was in November 1762.' Mr. Wilkes, therefore, had examined the nature of his case, before any step personally hostile to him was taken: and it must, I think, be owned that his battle was well fought, and that the advantage gained on the part of general liberty was not inconsiderable. Mr. Wilkes's behaviour under the arrest was intrepid and spirited in a great degree. One instance of his collectedness (which certainly sprung out of the incident of the moment) he thus relates himself in his second letter to the duke of Grafton, 1766:

'Whilst some of the messengers and their assistants were with me, Mr. Churchill came into the room. I had heard that their verbal orders were likewise to apprehend him; but I suspected they did not know his person, and by presence of mind I had the happiness of saving my friend. As soon as Mr. Churchill entered the room, I accosted him, "Good morrow, Mr. Thompson. How does Mrs. Thompson do? Does she dine in the country?" Mr. Churchill thanked me, said she then waited for him, that he only came for a moment to ask me how I did, and almost directly took his leave. He went home immediately, secured all his papers, and retired into the country. The messengers could never get intelligence where he was.'

"It has already been observed, that the secretaries might well stand morally excused in issuing a war-

rant, which had so often been issued before without opposition by other secretaries. But it is difficult to say why they thought it necessary to command Mr. Wilkes into close custody, or why one of them should give orders for his being dragged out of bed at midnight. In all political contention between the governed and their governors, so much of natural jealousy will ever be excited in behalf of the former, that he is little fit to exercise authority who permits mere personal irritation to shape his conduct. If it be necessary for the state to punish, it can be necessary only on public grounds. Power to procure respect should at all times be accompanied with discretion; but when power takes upon itself the office of crimination, if its demeanour be not grave and decent, it ceases to be power, and is tyranny.

"If that could be deemed a moral law, which regulates itself, not by general utility, but partial instances, the morality of duelling, with regard to this peculiar case, might almost be admitted.

"It is known that Mr. Wilkes was prevented from challenging lord Egremont only by his lordship's death. His lordship could not without reproach, which even he perhaps (not much alive to feeling) would ill have been willing to sustain, have refused giving that satisfaction which his antagonist avowed his intention to demand, whenever, by his giving up the seals, his lordship should become a private citizen. That ferocity, which the law of honour and of courtesy could not prevent, one should perhaps, were the correction certain, not altogether be displeased at its chastising. Fortunately, however, there are considerations of a higher sort to guide mankind than mere



mere natural indignation; and the question therefore need not be agitated. It is to think more justly, to notice the superiority over his lordship, which Mr. Wilkes derived from the occurrence; a superiority sufficiently mortifying to a proud man, and more mortifying, because brought upon him by his own misconduct. Through the whole interview with the two secretaries, Mr. Wilkes bore himself in a high manner; nor perhaps, weighing his situation fairly, is it to say too much, to use the expression which he uses himself, that no friend of his had reason to wish one word unuttered.

“ Upon his commitment to the Tower, an application was instantly made to the court of common pleas for his habeas corpus, and he was brought up on the 3d of May. On the 4th he was dismissed from his situation as colonel of the Buckinghamshire militia. On the 6th the validity of his warrant of commitment was argued, his plea of privilege was allowed, and he was in consequence discharged. He immediately erected a printing-press in his house, in George-street, published a narrative of the transactions in which he had been engaged, and renewed the publication of the North Briton. He visited Paris a few months after, and was there challenged, in the month of August, by a captain Forbes, who, standing forth as the champion of Scotland, asked satisfaction of him, as the editor and conductor of the North Briton, for the calumnies heaped upon his native country. Mr. Wilkes behaved on this occasion with much moderation, and declared himself no prize-fighter. Being again urged, however, though in terms of politeness, he half complied, but was in the mean while put under an arrest by the marshals

of France, to whom he pledged his honour not to fight on French ground. When set at liberty he proceeded to Menin, and there awaited his challenger: but no meeting took place. The winter now advancing, Mr. Wilkes returned to England, previous to the opening of parliament, and again took upon himself the superintendence of the North Briton. Mr. Martin, member for Camelford, and late secretary to the treasury, having been treated in that paper with much asperity, at length took occasion to say in a very full house of commons, that the writer of the North Briton, who attacked him, was a cowardly as well as malignant scoundrel. Mr. Wilkes, though present, took no notice of the expression in the house, but early on the following morning dispatched a note to Mr. M. avowing himself to be the author of all the passages complained of—an immediate rencontre took place at the ring in Hyde Park.

“ When the gentlemen met, they walked together for a little while to avoid some company which seemed coming up to them. They brought each a pair of pistols. When they were alone, the first fire was from Mr. M.’s pistol: Mr. M.’s pistol missed Mr. W. and the pistol in Mr. W.’s hand flashed in the pan. The gentlemen then each took one of Mr. W.’s pair of pistols: Mr. W. missed, and the ball of Mr. M.’s pistol lodged in Mr. W.’s belly: Mr. W. bled immediately very much. Mr. M. then came up, and desired to give all the assistance in his power. Mr. Wilkes replied, that Mr. M. had behaved like a man of honour; that he was killed, and insisted on Mr. M.’s making his immediate escape, and  
no



‘no creature should know from Mr. W. how the affair happened. Upon this they parted; but Mr. M. came up again in two or three minutes to Mr. W. offering him a second time his assistance, but Mr. W. again insisted on his going off. Mr. M. expressed his concern for Mr. W.; said the thing was too well known by several people, who came up almost directly; and then went away. Mr. W. was carried home, but would not tell any circumstance of the case till he found it so much known. He only said to the surgeon, &c. that it was an affair of honour. The day following, Mr. W., imagining himself in the greatest danger, returned Mr. M. his letter, that no evidence might appear against him; and insisted upon it with his relations, that in case of his death no trouble should be given to Mr. M. for he had behaved as a man of honour.’ Mr. Martin was afterwards made the hero of Churchill’s Duellist.

“Whilst confined by the wound received in this encounter, the public sympathy in his behalf was still further awakened by an attack made upon him by one Dunn, who was overheard to threaten the life of Mr. Wilkes, and appears to have sought an interview, chiefly that he might put his threat in execution.

“Mr. Wilkes, on the first day of the session of parliament, had risen to address the chair of the speaker on the subject of his privilege as a member of that house having been violated. It had usually been considered as the established custom of parliament to enter upon the discussion of breaches of privilege before all other matters. In this instance the custom

was overruled, and a message from the sovereign was conveyed to the commons, informing them, that J. Wilkes, esq. was the author of a most seditious and dangerous paper, and acquainting them with the measures which had been resorted to by the servants of the crown. The house, the proofs of the libel being entered upon, proceeded to vote, that No. 45 of the North Briton was, as it had been represented to be, a false, scandalous, and malicious libel, &c. and it was ordered to be burnt by the common hangman. A day having been appointed for the hearing of Mr. Wilkes’s defence against the charge of being the author of the libel, he thought it proper to acquaint the house of the incapacity occasioned by his wound, and further time was in consequence allowed him. The house, however, suspecting some unnecessary delay, appointed Dr. Heberden and Mr. Hawkins to attend him, in addition to his own surgeon and physician; and further ordered them to report the state of his health. Mr. Wilkes politely rejected the offer of their visit. The house, he said, had desired them to visit him, but had forgotten to desire him to receive them, which he most certainly should not.

“At the same time, in vindication of the professional gentlemen whom he himself had employed, he sent for Dr. Duncan, one of his majesty’s physicians in ordinary, and Mr. Myddleton, one of his majesty’s serjeant-surgeons, humourously telling them, that as the house of commons thought it fit that he should be watched, he himself thought two Scotchmen most proper for his spies. About a week after he suddenly withdrew to France; a retreat which prudence,



not timidity, occasioned. His circumstances were much involved, and, though fearless to encounter any peril, by which reputation was to be gained, he yet thought it wise to avoid the risk of suffering through those more private claims, against which there was no just defence, and from resisting which no honour could be acquired. From Paris, where he sought an asylum, he certified to the speaker of the house of commons, by the signatures of the physician of the king of France, and other gentlemen, his confinement to his room, and the impossibility, from his state of health, of his venturing to undertake the journey back to England. Unsatisfied, of course, with the neglect with which the house had passed over his complaint of privilege, he however had sufficient ground for triumph in the verdict found for him in the court of common pleas. He had early brought his action against Robert Wood, esq. the under-secretary of state, for the seizure of his papers, as the supposed author of the North Briton. It was tried, before a special jury, on the 6th of December, and 1000*l.* damages were given.—The charge to the jury, delivered by lord chief justice Pratt, concluded thus:—‘This warrant is unconstitutional, illegal, and absolutely void; it is a general warrant, directed to four messengers, to take up any persons, without naming or describing them with any certainty, and to apprehend them, together with their papers. If it be good, a secretary of state can delegate and depute any of the messengers, or any even from the lowest of the people, to take examinations, to commit, or to release, and do every act which the highest judicial officers the law knows can do or order.

‘There is no order in our law-books that mentions these kinds of warrants, but several that in express words condemn them. Upon the maturest consideration, I am bold to say, that this warrant is illegal; but I am far from wishing a matter of this consequence to rest solely on my opinion; I am only one of twelve, whose opinions I am desirous should be taken in this matter; and I am very willing to allow myself to be the meanest of the twelve. There is also a still higher court, before which this matter may be canvassed, and whose determination is final; and here I cannot help observing the happiness of our constitution in admitting these appeals, in consequence of which, material points are determined on the most mature consideration, and with the greatest solemnity. To this admirable delay of the law (for in this case the law’s delay may be styled admirable) I believe it is chiefly owing that we possess the best digested, and most excellent body of law, which any nation on the face of the globe, whether antient or modern, could ever boast. If these higher jurisdictions should declare my opinion erroneous, I submit, as will become me, and kiss the rod; but I must say, I shall always consider it as a rod of iron for the chastisement of the people of Great Britain.’—

“On the 11th of March the public were awakened by the following address:

*To the liverymen of the city of London.*

‘Gentlemen and fellow-citizens,  
‘In deference to the opinion of some very respectable friends, I presume to offer myself a candidate for my native city of London, at the ensuing general election.



'tion. The approbation you have  
 'been pleased on several occasions  
 'to express of my conduct, induces  
 'me to hope that the address I have  
 'now the honour of making to you,  
 'will not be unfavourably received.  
 'The chief merit with you, gentle-  
 'men, I know to be a sacred love  
 'of liberty, and of those generous  
 'principles, which at first gave,  
 'and have since secured to this na-  
 'tion the great charter of freedom.  
 'I will yield to none of my coun-  
 'trymen in this noble zeal, which  
 'has always characterised English-  
 'men. I may appeal to my whole  
 'conduct, both in and out of par-  
 'liament, for the demonstration  
 'that such principles are deeply  
 'rooted in my heart, and that I  
 'have steadily pursued the interests  
 'of my country, without regard to  
 'the powerful enemies I created,  
 'or the manifest dangers in which  
 'I must thence be necessarily in-  
 'volved; and that I have fulfilled  
 'the duties of a good subject. The  
 'two important questions of public  
 'liberty, respecting general war-  
 'rants and the seizure of papers,  
 'may perhaps place me among  
 'those who have deserved well of  
 'mankind, by an undaunted firm-  
 'ness, perseverance, and probity;  
 'these are the virtues which your  
 'ancestors never failed to exert in  
 'the same national cause of liberty,  
 'and the world will see renewed in  
 'their descendants on every great  
 'call of freedom and our country.  
 'The nature and dignity of the  
 'trust, gentlemen, which I now  
 'solicit, strike me very forcib-  
 'ly. I feel the warmest zeal for  
 'your interests, and affection for  
 'your service. I am conscious  
 'how unequal my abilities are, yet  
 'fidelity and integrity shall in some  
 'measure compensate that deficien-  
 'cy, and I will endeavour through  
 'life to merit the continuance of

'your approbation; the most pre-  
 'cious reward to which I aspire.  
 'If I am honoured with so near a  
 'relation to you, it will be my am-  
 'bition to be useful, to dedicate  
 'myself to your service, and to dis-  
 'charge with spirit and assiduity,  
 'the various and important duties  
 'of the distinguished station in  
 'which I may be placed by the fa-  
 'vour of you, gentlemen, the livery  
 'of London.

'I am, with the utmost respect,  
 'Your most faithful and  
 'obedient humble servant,  
 'JOHN WILKES.

'March 10, 1768.'

"Nothing could well be more  
 adventurous than this declaration.  
 Broken in fortune, outlawed, two  
 convictions upon record against  
 him, should that outlawry be re-  
 versed, the throne and its ministers  
 arrayed in opposition to him, un-  
 supported as heretofore by con-  
 nexion with the great, with nothing  
 on his side but the favour of the  
 multitude—relying upon that fa-  
 vour, and animated with an un-  
 daunted spirit of energy, he took  
 his stand, and dared his antagonists  
 to remove him. This stand was not  
 made unadvisedly. His letter of  
 submission to the king was written  
 on the 4th of March, his address to  
 the liverymen of London on the  
 10th of the same month. It was  
 probably intended as prelude to  
 the course upon which he had de-  
 termined. It was not the mere  
 populace only that supported him.  
 He was looked up to by the mid-  
 dle ranks of society as a martyr for  
 their rights. The fate of the let-  
 ter in no way could have been other  
 than of advantage to him. If re-  
 ceived with benignity, and his par-  
 don granted, from many of his dif-  
 ficulties he would have instantly  
 been relieved. Couched in terms



of humility to the sovereign, yet as it still arraigned the former servants of the crown, he perhaps scarcely expected it would be treated otherwise than it was. If unnoticed, or rejected, as the enmity borne towards his person and his cause would be more apparent, his claim upon the affection of the people would of course be strengthened. His outlawry was, he knew, no bar to his return to parliament. Precedents of outlaws sitting as representatives existed, at once precise and numerous. The love of the people was his; to that he trusted, and through that he triumphed. He threw himself into their embrace, and it at length bore him safely to shore—

———‘præceps saltu sese omnibus armis

In fluvium dedit: ille suo cum gurgite flavo

Accepit venientem, ac mollibus extulit ulnis.’

“The election for the city of London took place on the 16th. Six candidates started along with him; and though finally the lowest in number on the poll, he yet had a respectable minority of votes. Baffled in the city, he declared himself a candidate for the county. The sympathy of popular opinion in the interval spread from man to man. The beacon on one hill was answered by the flame kindled on the next. They were friendly signals, that the country was in arms for his defence. He carried his election for Middlesex on Monday the 28th, against two gentlemen of large property and hereditary interest, and carried it by a great majority. The whole poll was conducted with the greatest regularity and order, nor was the least violence offered to the voters of either party.

“Mr. Wilkes, on the 22d, a week  
1801.

previous to the day of election for Middlesex, wrote to the solicitor of the treasury, intimating his intention, in the ensuing term, to appear personally in the court of king’s bench. Mr. Wilkes fulfilled his engagement, and no sooner had finished the address in which he surrendered himself up to the discretion of the court, than the attorney general moved for his instant commitment upon the outlawry. Mr. attorney general (Thurlow) was replied to by Mr. serjeant Glynn and other counsel, who moved, on their part, for a writ of error: it had before been demanded of the law-officers of the crown, and had been refused. Lord Mansfield and the rest of the judges concurred in opinion that they could not commit upon a voluntary appearance. ‘The attorney general could not with the least appearance of reason or law move for the commitment of a person who was not legally before them; nor had the counsel for the defendant any better plea for their motion in favour of a man who appeared in court gratis.’ Both parties were dismissed. On the 27th, at noon, Mr. Wilkes was served with a writ of *capias utlagatum*, and in about a week after, writs of error were allowed. Bail, offered on behalf of Mr. W. was rejected by the attorney general, and he was consequently ordered to the king’s bench prison. The uproar of the multitude during these events, and the armed preparation and military precaution of the ministry, are well known. Mr. W.’s letter of thanks to the electors of Middlesex on his being chosen their representative, was written to them from prison, on the 5th of May. The argument upon the outlawry was heard upon the 7th of the same  
B month,



month, and on the 9th of June, in the following term, it was finally reversed.—

“ The outlawry reversed, objections were next taken to the verdicts found against him. Amongst others, one was vehemently urged on the ground of the informations having been altered by lord Mansfield, without the consent of the solicitor of the defendant, the evening previous to the trial. The word tenor was substituted for purport. That it was altered without the consent of the defendant's agent is true; but in none but a political cause would a practitioner of experience have withheld his consent.

“ The objections were over-ruled; and he was sentenced, for re-printing and publishing the North Briton, No. 45, to pay a fine of 500*l*. and (having already been imprisoned two) to a confinement of ten months longer. For publishing the Essay on Woman his sentence was to pay a second fine of 500*l*. and to be imprisoned for another twelvemonth. He was at the expiration of these terms to find securities for his future conduct during seven years, himself under a penalty of 1000*l*. his sureties in 500*l*. each. This judgment was far milder than had been expected by the public: and it is said indeed that Mr. Wilkes might, had he chosen so to do, have certainly made, at this period, his peace with government. A negotiation was opened with him upon the subject, with the knowledge of the duke of Grafton (the prime minister), and one condition only was proposed to him, in which he refused to concur. Mr. Wilkes declared, on the 3d of November, to the freeholders of Middlesex, that he should shortly present to the house of commons a

petition relative to his case, upon which he should demand their decision. This, administration foresaw, would necessarily involve in its discussion all the transactions of the late parliament. The condition therefore proposed, upon which he was to take his seat unimpeded, was, that this petition should not be presented. A pledge, however, he conceived had been given to the contrary, and from this public pledge he resolved not to withdraw. The petition was laid before the house on the following day by sir J. Mawbey. It was received as the declaration of a second war.

“ On the 10th of May the populace had assembled in great numbers about the neighbourhood of the king's bench prison, where Mr. Wilkes was in confinement. The riot-act was read by the justices of Surrey, and the mob not dispersing, the military was imprudently ordered to fire: several persons were slightly wounded, some more seriously, and one was killed on the spot. Lord Weymouth, the secretary of state, had written to the magistrates a letter dated April 17, exhorting them to firmness in the suppression of any popular tumult which might arise: and lord Barrington, the secretary at war, returned written thanks after the fatal 10th of May, in the name of his majesty, to the officers and soldiers of that regiment of guards which had been employed upon the occasion. These two letters were transmitted to the newspapers by Mr. Wilkes, accompanied with some prefatory remarks, in which he termed the unhappy transaction a massacre. Of these remarks he avowed himself, at the bar of the house of commons, to be the author. The remarks were voted libellous, and he, as the author of them,



them, was expelled. If the people were irritated before, they were still more irritated now. If Mr. Wilkes was dear to them before, he was now endeared to them tenfold. If before the voice of the county of Middlesex was favourable to him, it was now wholly his own: it uttered no sound but that of his name, unless it was the cry 'Liberty,' which, echoed far and wide, was considered as almost synonymous with 'Wilkes.' He was rechosen on the 16th of February, without opposition. On the following day he was declared by a majority of the house of commons incapable of being elected into that parliament, and the election was vacated:— This was assuming at once that the expulsion of a member of parliament was equivalent to exclusion; and that a single branch of the legislature could control by its fiat the choice of electors, however explicitly declared. But it rested not here. On the 17th of February, the day after his re-election, Mr. Wilkes was again expelled, the house resolving that he was incapable of being elected into that parliament. Notwithstanding this resolution, he was a third time elected, again without opposition; a Mr. Dingley indeed offering himself as a candidate, but not obtaining a single freeholder even to nominate him. That election was also, on the next day, declared void. On the 13th of April Mr. Wilkes was, a fourth time, elected by a majority of 1143 votes, against Mr. Luttrell, who had only 296. The same day the house of commons resolved 'that Mr. Luttrell ought to have been returned.' On the 29th of April a petition was presented by sir George Saville, from the freeholders of Middlesex, declaring that their intention was

not, in voting for Mr. Wilkes, to throw away those votes, or waive their right of representation, and praying therefore against the return of Mr. Luttrell. Notwithstanding which it was finally determined, on the 8th of May, 'that Mr. Luttrell was duly elected.' Mr. Wilkes's contests, like the battles of Homer, arose one above the other in progressive majesty. Not within the walls of the legislative assemblies only was it fought, but without also; in the wider plains of literature, of general intellect, and general feeling. In this, his fiercest and most important fight, the immortals descended into the war. The gravity of Johnson, biassed by its favourite political prepossessions, brought forward to the aid of power its impressive weight. The sage Blackstone, with his book of wisdom, the characters of which were attempted to be read against him, supported also the cause of ministers. Burke, more subtle, if less vehement than in latter days, broke his lance in defence of popular right; Burke, supporting as utility seemed to him to require, the people or the throne; and turning, like the poet's feigned Almanzor, in favour of the weaker side, the scale of fortune. Above all, the fiery and the rapid Junius, in dazzling armour, but his beaver down, coursed along the lists, scattering lightnings round him. Nor were the thunders rolled in the senate less awful than the eloquence of the press. Lord Chatham, how much soever he had once personally condemned Mr. Wilkes, was now, with the fulness of his great soul, of his party; for his party was that of the constitution. He quoted lord Somers and lord Holt; 'he called them honest men, who knew and loved the English con-



‘stitution. I vow to God (to  
 ‘lord Mansfield, who defended the  
 ‘measures of the majority), I vow  
 ‘to God, I think your lordship  
 ‘equals them both in abilities.  
 ‘The house of lords is privileged  
 ‘to interfere, in the case of an inva-  
 ‘sion of the people’s liberties; and  
 ‘the case of the county of Middle-  
 ‘sex is a case of such invasion.’—

“To the vote of the 17th of February 1769, wisely and fortunately no resistance was made but the resistance of logic and complaint; the murmur was loud and long, but vented itself in the legal mode permitted and justified by the constitution. The petitions presented to parliament were, by lord Chat-ham, styled honourable and manly; by the partisans of ministers seditious, by some of them even ‘treasonable.

“Petitions were succeeded by remonstrances, some of which were composed in language sufficiently intemperate: but the flame, which ministers had incautiously raised, they possessed not the courage to extinguish. They believed, probably, it would of itself in time consume and die away: they stood therefore wholly on the defensive, rejecting the propositions made in parliament to rescind the resolution, but carefully avoiding to punish those, without doors, who complained, however rudely, of its injustice. Mr. Wilkes in the mean while, within the walls of the king’s bench prison, continued to pass a not inglorious confinement. From the time of his first election for Middlesex in March 1768, through the whole of the year 1769, and even far into 1772, he was the sole unrivalled political idol of the people, who lavished upon him all in their power to bestow, as if willing to prove that in England it was

possible for an individual to be great and important through them alone. A subscription was opened for the payment of his debts, and 20,000*l.* are said in a few weeks to have been raised for that purpose, and for the discharging his fine. The society for the support of the Bill of Rights presented him with 300*l.* Gifts of plate, of wine, of household goods, were daily heaped upon him. An unknown patriot conveyed to him, in a handsomely embroidered purse, five hundred guineas. An honest chandler enriched him with a box containing of candles, the magic number of dozens, forty-five. High and low contended with each other who most should serve and celebrate him. Devices and emblems of all descriptions ornamented the trinkets conveyed to his prison: the most usual was the cap of liberty placed over his crest: upon others was a bird with expanded wings, hovering over a cage, beneath a motto, ‘I love liberty.’ Every wall bore his name, and every window his portrait. In china, in bronze, or in marble, he stood upon the chimney-piece of half the houses of the metropolis: he swung upon the sign-post of every village, of every great road throughout the country. He was accustomed himself to tell with much glee of a monarchical old lady, behind whom he accidentally walked—looking up, she murmured, within his hearing, in much spleen, ‘He swings every where ‘but where he ought:’ he passed her, and, turning round, politely bowed. But the voice of disapprobation, whether of old women or of young, of men or of youths, was the voice of one amidst a thousand. The most grateful of all harmony, says Balzac, arises from the dissenting voice of a single individual, when



when mixed in the general concert of public applause: the appetite for popularity is not often distinguishing; it loves to number rather than select.

'Praise from the rivell'd lips of toothless, bald

Decrepitude; and in the looks of lean And craving poverty; and in the bow Respectful of the smutch'd artificer; Is oft too welcome, and may much disturb The bias of the purpose.'

What wonder then, if, accompanied by the praise also of the splendid, the polished, and the wealthy, it invigorate and confirm the purpose?

"Amongst the public bodies that testified their approbation of his spirit, the city of London took the lead. As early as the 2d of January 1769, he was elected alderman of the ward of Faringdon Without: by a mistake in closing the poll-books the election however was pronounced void; but on the 27th of the same month he was declared duly elected.

"In November 1769, he brought his action against lord Halifax, for false imprisonment and the seizure of his papers: he obtained a verdict of 4000*l*. On the 17th of April 1770, he was discharged from his imprisonment. On the 24th he was sworn as alderman.

"In 1771 he seized the advantage afforded by his magisterial situation to make reprisals on the house of commons. A messenger having orders from the house to command the attendance of a printer (against whom complaint was made that, contrary to the privileges of parliament, he had published the debates of the house), attempted in vain to execute what was required.

"After several fruitless visitations, the serjeant at arms reported that the printer was not to be met with. An address to the sovereign

was drawn up, in pursuance of which a proclamation was issued, offering for the apprehension of the printer a considerable reward. He was apprehended, and the reward claimed. Mr. alderman Wilkes discharged him, as apprehended under an illegal warrant, and bound over the printer to prosecute the party apprehending him for an assault. He at the same time wrote a letter to lord Halifax, the secretary of state, acquainting him with what had been done. The same conduct was adopted by Mr. alderman Oliver, and the lord mayor, Brass Crosby, with relation to other parties similarly situated: nor did they stop here; in one instance the magistrates of the city not only discharged the person against whom the house of commons had directed their orders, but, as their joint act, committed the messenger who endeavoured to put them in force. The commons, fired at this contempt of their authority, proceeded to command the attendance of the magistrates.—The lord mayor and Mr. alderman Oliver, as members of the house, attended in their places, and justified the part which they had acted. They were committed to the Tower; and though brought up by habeas corpus to the court of common pleas, where their case was argued at length, were remanded thither, and continued there till the close of the sessions. Their being, however, as members, within the jurisdiction of the house, was not applicable to Mr. Wilkes. In a letter to the speaker, he peremptorily refused to comply with the order of attendance, except as representative of the county of Middlesex. The order was renewed, and renewed again, but it was not obeyed. At length he was ordered to be pre-



sent on the 8th of April, and an adjournment was then made to the 9th: and thus, to use the words of Junius, 'by this mean, pitiful evasion' was the point given up. The wretchedness of this shift became still more apparent from the house having previously erased out of the Guildhall rota book an entry taken by the magistrates of their examination of the printer, for answering of whose charge they bound over the messenger to give security. These minutes were at the command of the house expunged by the lord mayor's clerk at the speaker's table.

"If the power of the commons in parliament was such as to justify this interposition, it seemed to follow as a necessary consequence, that it was such as to justify the commitment of Mr. Wilkes, who with his colleagues had signed the minutes. If their jurisdiction were circumscribed, and extended only to that which was immediately a part of their body, it became difficult to say, what control they possessed over the judicial papers of the city magistracy. Lord Chatham, in the house of peers, denominated this interference the act, not of a parliament, but of a mob: and the metropolis at the time approved so much of the conduct of their magisterial officers, that at a court of common council thanks were voted to them, for having supported the privileges and franchises of the city, and having so firmly defended the British constitution. Mr. Wilkes triumphantly observed, that it was now evident the house 'had had enough of him.' His victory was decisive; and all that a well-wisher to the country could regret was, that it was a victory gained over the elected representatives of the nation, and that

those representatives had, in part, merited their defeat.

"From this period, Mr. Wilkes's career was a course of good fortune. On the 3d of July 1771, he was chosen sheriff; in October 1774 he was elected lord mayor; and, parliament being suddenly dissolved in its sixth session, he was elected one of the new representatives of Middlesex, and took his seat unmolested in the December of the same year. He had during the whole of the last parliament publicly termed himself the real and legal representative of that county: its sheriffs too had, at two distinct calls of the house, returned him as such. In 1774 he actually attended to be sworn, but the tender of the oath was refused, without a certificate from the clerk of the crown; which, naturally enough, was refused also. His election secure, he had now the privilege 'of calling names,' and the still more important privilege of pressing upon the house, in person, an oft repeated motion for rescinding the resolution of 1769. This for several years was not accompanied with complete success, though it was, at almost each attempt, attended with an augmentation in number of those who voted with him. In April 1775, he presented, as lord mayor, a remonstrance to the sovereign, from the city of London; and in July, a petition: both of them relating, not to his own peculiar case, but to the state of public affairs; both, however, hostile to the conduct of ministers. Having several times stood candidate for the chamberlainship of London, against alderman Hopkins, he, in 1779, upon the death of his opponent, obtained that, not dishonourable, and very lucrative, office. He obtained it by a most decided majority, and held



held it, without interruption, for life. Amid these more substantial benefits, it is scarcely worth relating that a Mr. Temple left him, by will, 300*l*. ‘for his strenuous endeavours in the cause of freedom, and his noble defence of the constitution against a series of despots and wicked ministers;’ and that the city of London presented him with a valuable silver cup, embossed with the death of Cæsar in the capitol.

“In 1782, upon the dismissal from office of the ministers who conducted the war against America, the obnoxious resolution was, at length, upon his own motion, expunged from the journals. This was the crown of those political labours, which more immediately concerned his own personal actions. He thenceforward deemed himself ‘a fire burnt out.’ Such are the main and more important incidents of the life of John Wilkes, a man, about whom, even were it unwilling, posterity necessarily must make inquiries; since the circumstances of his life are interwoven with the history of his time, and with the history of the constitution of his country. His after-life was passed in the punctual and faithful discharge of the duties attached to his office of chamberlain; in a temperate attention, as a senator, to national affairs and the proceedings of parliament; and in the cultivation of letters and the fine arts. As treasurer of the city of London (such is the chamberlain) his accounts were kept with exactness, and his personal attendance was most regular. No officer subordinate to him, no person in any way concerned with his office, ever had occasion to wait one moment beyond the appointed time of daily business. Though careless of ex-

penditure, he was yet tenacious of the accustomed rights and advantages of his situation: like Swift, he usually took care to be in the right, and, knowing himself to be so, was not to be driven from his demands. On the whole, however, he was a rare and fortunate example of a man in place and power, who still preserved popularity, amongst those from whom he derived them. To the very last, the metropolis retained, and even now continues to retain, numerous staunch ‘Wilkites.’ Both as chamberlain and alderman he is spoken of with much respect. As the latter, in the riots of 1780, he, first and almost alone, of the city magistrates, acted with firmness and celerity. He received for his useful services at that period, the thanks of the privy council; of the king’s privy council, in the year 1780! Such is England.

“In parliament, having steadily opposed through all its stages the fatal war with America, he maintained against those who supported it, his opposition, even when the war, the cause of that opposition, was at an end. He supported the peace of 1783; a peace inadequate to the hopes and wishes of the nation; the terms of which, however, if not accepted, could only have been avoided by a new appeal to the sword. What Dr. Franklin since said is now well known; that he, and he believed most other statesmen of influence in America, would have advised and pressed for continued war, had the boundary ceded to the United States been seriously contested, or had the article relative to the abandonment of the loyalists been rejected. From his situation in the city, or from respect to Mr. Hastings (the latter, a feeling, though wholly unconnected with the wisdom of the



measure, at present common to most men of understanding), Mr. Wilkes strenuously opposed Mr. Fox's East India bill. His opposition could scarcely be supposed to flow from any dread of diminishing the influence of the crown; nor indeed, in his speech to the house, does he touch upon any such topic. During the debates on the regency bill he was wholly neuter. Of the war with France, though then not in parliament, he, at least at its commencement, disapproved. Upon other questions, he supported that side which he naturally might be expected to support. For a more fair and equal representation of the people in parliament, he moved himself; and he voted affirmatively upon all similar propositions. He spoke more than once against the interference of peers in elections.—The bill for the relief of protestant dissenting ministers, as well as that for the relief of Roman catholics, met with his warm concurrence. Having, however, none but mere personal interest, and being wholly unconnected with either of the great parties which in the beginning of the year 1790 filled the opposite benches of the house of commons,

he, upon the dissolution of parliament, felt the hazard of risking an election too great, and prudently declined standing as a candidate. Though advanced in years, he showed no decay of intellect.—His short congratulatory addresses spoken as chamberlain to those public characters, who received between 1790 and 1797 (the year of his death) the freedom of the city, were his last public exertions. That to vice-admiral Waldegrave was delivered on the 5th of December, not many days before he expired. He died on the 26th, aged seventy. He was interred in Grosvenor chapel, South Audley-street. According to the directions of his will, eight labouring men, dressed in new mourning, bore his coffin from the door of the chapel to the vault. The bearers, by his will, received, in addition to their clothes, a guinea each. A tablet, its inscription written by himself, has this memorial:

The Remains  
of  
JOHN WILKES,  
a Friend to Liberty;  
Born at London, Oct. 17, 1727, O.S.  
Died in this Parish."

#### CHARACTER OF CHARLES MACKLIN.

[FROM MEMOIRS OF HIS LIFE.]

“**U**NDER such masters Macklin had to form himself as an actor. It must be confessed he had good opportunities; and, considering the many impediments thrown in his way from original disadvantages, he availed himself of such masters very creditably, both for his talents and industry. He was a long time, however, before he could make

any way on the theatre. He was, as we have before stated, at first rejected by Rich almost as totally inefficient—a repulse which, to a mind less daring than Macklin's, would have deterred him from a second attempt: but he seemed to know the powers that then lay dormant in his mind; and the perseverance he was master of, and his future success



success in life fully answered all his expectations.

“When he was first *let in* to the theatre, (as he himself expressed it) —‘For, sir, my salary was so small I could hardly say I was engaged,’ —his characters were very trifling —the mere faggots and subordinate parts of the drama. This must have been very mortifying to a man who, in his probationary country excursions, figured away in Richard, Hamlet, &c. but he considered London as the great emporium for talents, and he trusted to himself for the rest.

“An opportunity at last presented itself of taking him out of this drudgery, by being accidentally cast in the comedy of the Coffee-house Politician, writted by Harry Fielding, and brought out in 1730. This part was originally designed for another, who either failed in the representation, or was taken ill after the first night; so that it was on the spur of the occasion Macklin was thought of. He more than answered the author’s expectation; for, if we are to believe his own opinion, his performance much contributed to the success of the piece. And indeed, when we consider that this comedy had a considerable run, though much under the par of Fielding’s general abilities, we are inclined to think Macklin did not over-compliment himself.

“His next step to preferment was in the drunken colonel, in *The Intriguing Chambermaid*; a part which Macklin valued himself much on, and was well received in; and yet, though he might have considerable practice in the dissipation of those times, we must, from what we have seen of him in *Sir John Brute*, think him greatly deficient in the character of a rake of fashion. Woodward, who succeeded him in this

part, must have been much his superior—but Woodward was an actor, amongst some others of that day, who has left his niche in the temple of the drama still uninhabited.

“From this period, Macklin’s theatrical glass pointed upwards, and he was called into a variety of parts, which increased his salary and reputation, till the full extent of his abilities were discovered in *Shylock*, in ‘*The Merchant of Venice*.’

“From this fixed point of view, we shall now consider him as an actor, and inquire into what qualifications, and in what lines of performance, he was entitled to the praise of this character.

“In his person he was above the middle size, rather stout than well proportioned, with a marked eye, an aquiline nose, and a face altogether that expressed more acumen than grace, or even than what we call openness of countenance.

“His voice was strong, clear, important, and sufficiently variable for the parts he generally played: he had likewise the peculiar manner of governing it, and hence the terminations of his sentences were as well heard, ‘even in the whirlwind of passion,’ as in the middle parts—a point of attention which he supported to the end of his stage life, and which he inculcated in all the various pupils he had under his direction; adding, by way of example, ‘Sir, there is no hearing nine actors out of ten through the whole of a passage, and it is nine to one but that the tenth man roars like a bull.’

“With these requisites, he was always perfect in his parts, which talent, he said, he by no means received from nature, (having always what the players call ‘a hard study,’)



study,') but strengthened his memory from much private reading in his profession, as well as by attending to as many rehearsals as he could. Rehearsals, too, in his time, were very different from what they are at present. Players were not permitted to 'mouth over their parts,' and hurry from one passage to another, without attending to the enunciation, or exhibition of the character; almost every thing was demanded at a rehearsal as before an audience; every person did their best to please; and their errors were either modestly reprehended by the manager, or deputy, or by the mutual correction of themselves.

"But hear how a contemporary author has described these rehearsals, of which he was often a spectator. 'If a new play (says he, speaking of the period of Wilks, Booth, and Cibber's administration) was coming on, the first three readings fell to the share of the author: if a revived play, it fell to the share of the manager, who was the principal performer in it. The readings over, there followed a limited number of rehearsals with their parts in the players hands; after which, a distant morning was appointed for every person in the play to appear perfect, because the rehearsals only then begin to be of use to the actor. When he is quite perfect in the words and cues, he can then be instructed, and practise his proper entrées, emphasis, attitudes, and exits.

"Thus the rehearsals went on under the eye of a person who had ability to instruct, and power to encourage and advise, those of industry and merit, and to forfeit and discharge the negligent and worthless. They soon found, by expe-

rience, that regularity was the first step to success; and not only the merits of the great actors appeared by that in their full lustre, but even those of the lowest class acquired a decency that saved them from contempt\*.'

"Macklin, through life, was a hearty amateur of his profession, and, of course, was always thinking and observing on what could induce to his own improvement, and the credit of the stage. Hence, the moment he got an ascendancy in the theatre, which commenced under the management of Mr. Highmore, he began the office of drilling and organizing. 'This man (says Victor, speaking of Macklin) was at that time of seeming humble pretensions, but of capabilities to raise himself to the office of lord high cardinal.' No doubt he was not without ambition, and was fond of showing the power delegated to him by the manager: hence he was constantly informing his recruits how the great actors managed formerly; that they were not only attentive to the performance of their own parts, but to the bye-play, which was always to be expected from persons interested in the scene. He enjoined them to keep their eyes from wandering over the house, either in search of admiration, or the looser companions of their leisure hours; but to consider the audience, as connected with the conduct of the piece, 'as so many 'cabbage-stalks,' &c. &c. In short, those who remember him in the latter part of his life at rehearsals, as well as in the performance of plays, must have observed a peculiar decorum, not only in the part he represented, but throughout the whole piece; every thing run more

\* Victor's History of the Theatres.



upon all fours than usual, which very much contributed 'to the cunning of the scene.'

"As he grew old, he was, at times, a little too dictatorial in these rehearsals; and when he desired a thing to be done, which was not readily complied with, he would let loose the natural irritability of his temper, and assume a tone too managerial. He likewise would grow tedious in arranging the *etiquette* of the scene, in respect to sitting or standing; crossing the stage, or remaining still; and many other little peculiarities, that in a great measure must be left to the discretion of the performer. At one of his late rehearsals of 'The Man of the World,' he was going on in this kind of way, when a performer, not a little goaded at this school-boy kind of treatment, tartly observed, 'Why, d—n it, Mr. Macklin, you don't mean to teach me the A. B. C. of my profession at this time of day?' 'No, sir,' says Macklin, assuming one of his civil sarcastic leers, 'I only wanted to teach you manners.'

"To estimate Macklin as an actor, from the various parts he played through the range of his profession, would be injurious to his reputation, as he was for many years the *creature of necessity* in the hands of the manager, and sometimes of vanity in his own hands: we shall therefore only consider him in those parts in which he ultimately settled, and which gave him that degree of fame which he was so justly entitled to on the roll of his profession.

"Of his Shylock, in 'The Merchant of Venice,' we have a number of living witnesses, as evidences of its being one of the finest pieces of modern acting; and there are passages in it, particularly in the

third act, which exhibit the contrasting passions of grief for his daughter's elopement, and joy at Antonio's misfortunes, which demand an uncommon versatility of powers. This, and the whole of the trial scene, we may safely pronounce, have not been equalled, at least, since Macklin had possession of the part. Many have since attempted it, and with considerable success; such as the late Mr. Henderson, the present Mr. Murray, and Mr. Cooke; each of whom would be principals, but for Macklin's superior abilities, which have placed them in the second class. To Henderson's Shylock, the veteran himself paid this compliment, when asked, whether he was entitled to that popular applause which he received? 'Sir, there is no putting out the light of the sun—the young fellow has very considerable merit.' At Murray's Shylock, he was so insensible, (such was the deranged state of Macklin's intellect at the time) that he frequently asked, in the course of the representation, what play it was? He then seemed to recollect himself, and screw up his attention to the scene; but nature was too imbecile for any sort of mental combination. All these succeeding Shylocks, though just and pleasing portraits of the character, wanted the original firmness and colouring of Macklin's pencil. There was, beside his judgment, which went to the study of every line of it, such an iron-visaged look, such a relentless savage cast of manners, that the audience seemed to shrink from the character; nor could they recover the true tone of their feelings, till the merchant was liberated from the fangs of such a merciless creditor.—Cooke seems to be nearest the original,



original, of any we have ever seen.

“His Sir Pertinax Mac Sycophant, in ‘The Man of the World,’ and Sir Archy Mac Sarcasm, in ‘Love à la Mode’—characters both drawn and performed by himself, did equal credit to his pen and performance. They are both cunning, plodding men, of intrigue and knowledge of the world; and they were both given in a fine style of colouring and discrimination.—The difficulty of an Englishman keeping up the Scotch accent, through the whole of a five act piece, may likewise be numbered amongst the merits of this actor.

“The above three characters being the only ones that the rising generation can remember him in, we shall now proceed to others (which can be remembered but by a few) in which he had great celebrity; such as his Iago, Sir Gilbert Wrangle, Sir Francis Wronghead, Sir Paul Pliant, Trapanti, Scrub, Lory, &c. &c.

“The first of these (Iago) we have seen him in about thirty years ago, to the Othello and Desdemona of the then Mr. and Mrs. Barry; and it would be difficult for any critic of the first reputation to name a play so strongly cast and represented. The merit of the two former we have had frequent occasions to mention as of the first order—nor did Macklin fall short of such excellence: his gradual disclosure of the character; his seeming openness, and concealed revenge; and, above all, his soliloquies, were so much the natural workings of real character, as to demand the profoundest attention. It was, indeed, a most finished performance; and received the approbation of Drs. Johnson and Goldsmith, Messrs. Langton, Steevens,

&c. &c. who composed part of the audience of that night, and whose judgments must be considered as decided reputation.

“Sir Gilbert Wrangle was another of the parts he was esteemed in. He generally played it for his own or daughter’s benefit, and always drew the attention and applause of the public.

“His Sir Francis Wronghead was by far the best of modern times, because Macklin could remember the manners from which the original was composed. Fastidious critics, it is true, sometimes said, the portrait was rather too coarse; but they did not consider the difference of the times, when country gentlemen were almost a distinct race of beings from what they are now—their manners, their dress, their ideas, and conversation, all smelt of the honest plain soil they sprung from. The farmers were of a still homelier strain; as monopolies had not then given them the means of vitiating the whole course of their original habits, setting a bad example to others, and grinding the face of a laborious poor.

“The Miser of Macklin gained him a considerable part of his early reputation; and we always considered it as a just and correct draught of the character. Shuter, we must confess, had more mellowness; but it diverged, at times, too much from the chastity of the original. Though Macklin declined this part many years before he left the stage, he was to the last well received in it; and it was always one of the stock pieces which he engaged himself to perform in his articles with town and country managers.

“He gave a quiet arch dryness to the character of Sir Paul Pliant, which was very congenial to the original, and very properly avoided



ed those buffooneries which Foote, and others after the example of Foote, had introduced into it. The fact was, the predominancy of Macklin's dramatic character was chastity, and he seldom or never played stage tricks with any of his parts.

"In the character of Trapanti, though he wanted the flippancy with which it is now generally played, he exhibited that low arch comedy and intrigue which belong to the original. Modern Trapanis have the town-bred English Footman too much about them—Macklin was the Valet de Place, which is certainly more the author's meaning: and yet, who that has seen King in Trapanti, would wish him to play it in any other manner than he does?

"In the lower parts of comedy and farce, such as Scrub, Lory, &c. &c. he had humour, vulgarity, rusticity, and cunning, at his disposal; and he could lay his colours on the character he assumed with singular propriety.

"As to the imperial walks of tragedy, such as Richard, 'Macbeth, &c. which he latterly performed, (with some abatement in favour of his knowledge in the outline of these characters,) they must be considered as the reveries of approaching dotage; and it is to be presumed, that his better powers, and better sense, would have restrained him from the attempt, especially before a London audience, who have greater opportunities of judging and comparing. He met with many rebuffs in this latter attempt, and particularly one day at the rehearsal of Macbeth, from the late facetious Ned Shuter. Macklin had been teasing him about the propriety of some passage for a long time; at last, Shu-

ter could hold out no longer, but exclaimed,

—— 'the times have been  
'That when the brains were out the man  
'would die,  
'And there an end—but now they rise  
'again,  
'With twenty mortal murders on their  
'crowns,  
'And push us from our stools.'

"The performers on this could not resist a general laugh; which though Macklin felt for a moment, by growling out the word '*Buffoon*,' it was not sufficient to restrain him from his project.

"We have now gone through most of the principal characters which established Macklin's theatrical reputation; and taking him on the general scale of his merits, we may fairly conclude him to be an actor in some parts original, in many respectable; and in the walks of low comedy, and farce, one of the first in his own times.

"Having considered Mr. Macklin as an actor, and appropriated to him, in that capacity, such talents as we thought he possessed, we are now to review him as an author, and a man.

"In the first of these characters he is to be sought for in his original situation, in order the better to see how far that, connected with his natural abilities, might accelerate or retard his progress. 'An author,' says Dr. Johnson, 'is a general challenger; and every man has a right to praise or blame him, according to the best of his judgment.'

"If we look round the general circle of authors, we shall find, however defective they might be in genius, the choice of subjects, designation, &c. they have generally some pretensions to literature. The books which they have read at school, or at college, first generally induce



induce them to make books themselves : their learning is the foundation of their knowledge, and furnishes materials not only to the philosopher and logician, but to the poet of the sublimest imagination. But even with the aid of learning, it is no common step to pass from a reader to a writer : a man must have a feeling within himself to do something, which he thinks, at least, has not been done before ; or, if done, not so well as he is capable of performing it : he must possess the art of arranging his matter, and constructing his sentences ; have a good ear ; and a deference for that public, before whom he is about to appear in the assumed character of a preceptor. In short, insignificant as many who invest themselves with this character of an author may be thought, yet, classed with the general run of readers, they rise into a kind of comparative importance.

“ But, alas ! where shall we look for the foundation of Macklin’s authorship ? We have already sketched his education, which, taken at its supposable extremity, could amount to no more than a capacity for reading some of the commonest English school-books, with scarcely any knowledge of the habits of civilized life. Thrown upon the world, therefore, with this scantiness of information, aided by a vigorous constitution, and strong desires to fill some niche in society, the odds were greatly against him, that he would have run rapidly down the stream of vulgar vice, and be no more heard of ; but nature seems to have kept something in store for him, in order to turn these circumstances to his advantage. With an ardent desire to emerge from his low circumstances, and do something for himself, he took

care that this something should not be wrong, or at least not sufficiently so as to hurt his moral character. It is true, when he first entered himself as a performer on the stage, he was, from his eccentricities, called the ‘ mad Irishman ;’ yet no man attended the duties of his profession more than he did, or laid in more observation and remark : so that, though he indulged his passions, in general, his passion for improvement always seemed to claim his principal attention.

“ What could have at first induced him to commence author, it is difficult to say : if we might venture a conjecture, we should think it might arise from the atmosphere of Trinity college, of which he was for some time a badge-man, or porter : for though he became an author many years after he left this place, and after passing through a great variety of life, yet the seeds, though unknown to himself, might be laid here. In a college, learning is the general traffic of the students ; by it the spirit of emulation is excited, and by it the degrees of honour are obtained. Macklin saw all this ; and though he saw it at an humble distance, it might have roused some wishes to be entitled to those advantages, which, though his subsequent habits of scrambling for a livelihood might have for a time blown off, were not totally eradicated.

“ What share Macklin had in the alteration of lord Lansdowne’s play of ‘ The Jew of Venice,’ and restoring it to the stage about the year 1740, we do not exactly know ; he never claimed any further merit himself, than some suggestions, and the arrangement of his own part of Shylock in point of dress, with other little particulars : he therefore can scarcely be said to have



have commenced his authorship here: though he did that of an established actor; for in Shylock his merit was such, that, whilst ever the English stage preserves its character, his name will be remembered, as the original, in its fullest extent of praise.

“The first evident proof we have of his being an author, then, we are to fix in the year 1746, when he brought out the historical play of ‘Henry the Seventh, or, The Popish Impostor,’ at Drury Lane Theatre. Though this tragedy, in the title of Popish Impostor, carries a nominal absurdity on the face of it, (Protestantism at that point of time not being known in the country,) and though it was the hasty sketch of a six weeks writing, those who have seen it have spoken of it with respect, and, in many passages, report they discovered a more than ordinary mind. It, however, met with general disapprobation on the stage; and he had good sense enough to abide by that determination; though, in most other respects, fully attached to the offspring of his own brain.

“He was more successful in his next attempt, which was a farce, entitled, ‘A Will or No Will; or, A Bone for the Lawyers.’ This was very favourably received at that time, and continued to be so for many years afterwards, being acted occasionally at his benefits, but never printed.

“The farce of ‘The Suspicious Husband Criticised; or, The Plague of Envy,’ followed next; the idea of which was taken up on the liberal ground of defending the celebrated comedy of ‘The Suspicious Husband;’ which, like the choicest fruit, tempted some critic flies of that day to peck at.

Macklin raised the laugh successfully against those Zoiluses, and had the honour of being aided by the juvenile pen of the late right hon. John Hely Hutchinson, (father of the present celebrated lord Hutchinson,) then a student of the Middle Temple, who wrote the prologue.

“To these succeeded the farce of ‘The Fortune Hunters,’ &c. &c. all of which, though they might be, at that time, of service to him as an actor, did not raise his reputation as a comic writer; insomuch, that if he had stopped here, his pieces would have only borne their titles in the Dramatical Register, along with the long list of forgotten things that are recorded there; and the still longer list which modern *play-makers* are daily preparing for this literary mausoleum.

“Macklin seemed to be the first to feel his insufficiency in these pieces, and very prudently never printed them, (except Henry the VIIth,) to stand on a future day as recorded vouchers against him: he therefore lay fallow for a certain time, in order to correct his former mistakes, and enlarge the circle of his experience. His next attempt at authorship was not till the year 1760, when he produced his farce of ‘Love à la Mode;’ a dramatic *morceau*, which, though it had many enemies to combat with, from personal prejudices, has long since surmounted them, and given to the author the merited rank of an able comic writer.

“Having now produced a piece which would stand the test of time, he was ambitious of producing a comedy which would carry the same seeds of longevity; and for this purpose, without consulting books, which are very often but the multiplied copies of fanciful originals,



nals, he sought his principal characters from his own long experience of life, and of the stage; and with these aids produced a comedy, which, considered for regularity of plot, strength of character, and knowledge of the world, will remain a favourite on the stock list, whilst there are performers found capable of supporting so arduous and discriminating a part as that of Sir Pertinax Mac Sycophant.

“To the praises of this comedy, the time of life he produced it in should not be forgotten (near or above fourscore); an age when the great generality of mankind have long ceased from their labours, and which, if they survive, possess no minds capable of deep reflection and combination: but Macklin’s mind seemed to have grown like the oak, long maturing, and long flourishing; as, during the time of his writing it, he wrote with all the ardour and love of fame incident to a young author, who was to lay the foundation, and reap the benefits, of future celebrity. ‘When I finish this, sir, (says he one day, reading some of the loose sheets of his comedy to a friend,) I have another upon the stocks, which I think will not disgrace me; and then, sir, you may depend upon it, I shall no longer procrastinate writing my own life.’ Such was the unusual gaiety of hope that fluttered about the heart of this extraordinary man.

“Macklin, therefore, is only to be judged as an author by these two last pieces (for, to say the truth, his former productions should only be considered as so many efforts of an uneducated mind labouring at perfection); and as such, we must place him considerably elevated on the dramatic scale; for though he does not possess the wit

of some, or the classic dialogue and novelty of others, his characters are drawn with truth and precision; his language is appropriated to those characters; and, in the management of his plots, they are so simply, yet judiciously constructed, that, although we believe he never read Aristotle’s Poetics, they partake of many of his best instructions.

“Upon the whole, we are warranted in pronouncing him a very respectable author: and had he been early and properly educated, and brought out under the auspices of good company, and an easy fortune, there is every reason to suppose (from the uncommon strength of his natural observation) that he would have stood in the very first class of English dramatic writers,

“We are now to review this veteran of the stage in his last, yet most-to-be-esteemed character—that of a man—a character, compared to which, talents, and the highest literary reputation, ‘are but as tinkling cymbals.’

“To the great generality, who only saw Macklin at a stage distance, and in his principal character of Shylock, we have no doubt, impressions have been ignorantly received against his private character, arising from those combinations, that naturally enough slide into the inexperienced mind, ‘that he who plays a villainous character so well, must have some corresponding qualities of the heart:’ nor is even the applause that an actor receives under this circumstance (whatever his real merit be) so loud and general, as in the performance of suffering or triumphant virtue. Cibber accounts for this in the following shrewd observation:

“‘When virtue is applauded, the spectator



‘spectator gives part of it to himself; because his applause, at the same time, lets others about him see, that he himself admires it; but when a wicked action is going forward, when an Iago is meditating revenge and mischief, though art and nature may be equally strong in the actor, the spectator is shy of his applause, lest he should, in some sort, be looked upon as an aider or abettor of the wickedness in view; and therefore rather chuses to rob the actor of the praise he may merit, than give it him in a character which he would have you see his silence modestly discourages. From the same fond principle, many actors have made it a point, to be seen in parts sometimes, even flatly written, only because they stood in the favourable light of honour and virtue.’

“But, lest any of the film of this prejudice should remain on the public eye, relative to Macklin as a man, we shall review him abstracted from all stage characters: and here it will be found, that he put off the masks of Shylock and Iago at the stage door, entering into the superior characters of the honest and benevolent man on the great theatre of the world.

“We have before observed, that he entered into life under an inauspicious planet, which might for some time have hurried him down the stream of vice and dissipation. But whatever lapses he might have made when imperious necessity over-ruled him, from that part of his life which commenced upon the English stage, his general conduct has been marked with an integrity and benevolence which do credit to his memory.

“In respect to his public situation, he had many trials, as it was  
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his lot (partly, perhaps, arising from natural temper, and partly from the unavoidable accidents of life) to be engaged in many controversies, in which others as well as himself were concerned; and though he might sometimes incline a little too much to rigid justice, we believe it arose more from a self-aborrence of doing wrong, than any sinister or disputatious views.

“Many proofs might be given of this, and particularly his agreement with Garrick, and other performers, to stand or fall together, in opposition to Fleetwood, the then manager of Drury-Lane theatre; for though Garrick, from prudential reasons, thought fit to break through this agreement, Macklin stood firm to his engagement to the last; nor could the seduction of Garrick’s offered benevolence, nor the calamities usually attending on a disengaged actor, nor the forlorn hope of fighting singly, shake him from his purpose—‘till, sir,’ says he, ‘the fears of starving myself and family, made me stoop to do that which others ought to have rescued me from.’

“It was likewise to his firmness and resolution in supporting the rights of his theatrical brethren, that they have been relieved from a species of oppression, to which they had been ignominiously subjected for many years, whenever the caprice or malice of their enemies chose to exert itself. We allude to the prosecution which he commenced and carried on against a certain class of insignificants, who, calling themselves the public, used frequently to disturb the entertainment of the theatre, to the terror of the actors, as well as the annoyance and disgrace of the town. His generosity on this occasion should not be omitted, as it  
C showed



showed the purity of his sentiments in carrying on the prosecution; for no sooner had he established the legal rights of the theatre, and had his enemies in his grasp, than he let them off for a small remuneration for himself; contented with the higher reward of being serviceable to the rights of his profession.

“Indeed, Macklin’s character for punctuality and integrity was so well and long established, that very often, when the Irish manager’s credit was so low, that some of the higher performers would not rely on it, Macklin’s verbal security was always accepted as a bond; and he never once gave an instance of its being defective, though often considerably to his own cost.

“In the walks of private life, he carried the same justice and punctuality; for whether fixed in winter quarters, or strolling through the country, he always discharged every current debt at the end of the season, or his temporary engagement; and for this purpose he had a quarto bound book, in which he entered the receipts of the different tradesmen. Many a time have we seen him trudging through the streets with this book under his arm; and on being challenged on the particularity of his method, he used to reply, ‘Sir, I keep this as a check upon my tradesmen—for those kind of people are sometimes troubled with short memories, and can remember nothing out of book—so, sir, this gives them their cues occasionally.’

“In his private charities, and kindnesses, he was ever prompt, both with his purse and advice, relieving many of the inferior performers in their distress, and recommending them to different engagements. Upon all occasions, he was ready to subscribe to any

charity that was recommended, or presented itself to him as meritorious, and sometimes at the expence of his prudence; as was the case on the death of the late Dr. Frederick Glover.

“Mr. Glover had been originally on the Dublin stage, where Macklin knew him; and to know him, it was impossible not to be attached to him; for if ever man possessed the often calamitous secret of being a fascinating jolly companion, it was him—he had wit, reading, anecdote, with a perpetual fund of good humour to set them in motion, and a total absence of all worldly cares. This man, with whom Macklin spent many a joyous night, happened to die suddenly, leaving his family, as is usual with these kind of choice spirits, in great distress. Some friends immediately opened a subscription for them; which Macklin no sooner heard of, than, with a tear of sympathy rolling down his old iron cheeks, he hurried into the city, and paid down his ten pounds for their immediate relief. This happened about the year 1786, when his own finances were very inadequate to such a bounty; as in so short a time as seven years afterwards, through age and inability, he was obliged to ask the same relief himself. The public, very much to their honour, admitted the justice of his claims: and he had not only the satisfaction of seeing himself respected by this liberal notice of him, but literally to experience the reward held out by scripture, ‘He that giveth to the poor, lendeth to the Lord;’ &c.

“In respect to Macklin’s character, as it stood at the head of his family, (which consisted of a wife, a son, and daughter,) nothing could be more correct and respectable;



able; for though he would ride before sometimes, this once understood, and submitted to, every thing was conducted with liberality and propriety. His daughter, he rather educated above the par of his fortune, or expectation; but as he designed her for the stage, this may be his excuse. Nothing was spared to accomplish her in the highest degree—music, dancing, French, Italian, &c. insomuch that it appeared, on his bankruptcy, no less a sum than twelve hundred pounds had been expended on her education. She had talents to imbibe these instructions with advantage to herself in her profession; which, indeed, were her principal advantages; as her natural genius for the stage, independent of these qualifications, was not alone sufficient to give her any considerable rank in the theatre.

“His conduct to his son deserves particular notice; as he not only took care to give him the best education in his power, to fit him for the many situations which the versatility of the boy’s temper led him to, but constantly added the best and most forcible advice relative to his moral character. Speaking of Macklin as a man, there is nothing which points out his innate character more, than his letters to his son on this subject. They are not the letters of a man writing with a view to aggrandize himself or family; they do not consist, either in the frivolous exteriors of education, or the saws and subtleties of mere worldly prudence, or with a view to the parade of literary abilities—they are the warm effusions of his

own heart, appreciating the high value of moral character; and he inculcates this leading principle with all the authority of his long experience with the world, and the anxious solicitude of a tender, benevolent father.

“The world has, from time to time, been presented with letters on various occasions; many of which, though written by men of genius and integrity, smell more of the lamp than the heart; and are relished more as the productions of a scholar, than the man of long experience. But if all the letters which Macklin wrote to his son and daughter, were properly collected and arranged, we have no doubt they would be found a very useful and entertaining volume. They would tell us, what few men from themselves are privileged to tell us, the many temptations which attach to the inequalities of life—the miseries of poverty, and the vices which sudden and high fortunes are subject to. They would calculate for us the value of time, the riches of health and industry, the pride of independence, the calamities and contempts which follow prodigality; and, above all, the grand secret of being useful and conciliating to our fellow-creatures. From what we have seen of these letters, and from those which we have heard to be in the late miss Macklin’s possession, we have a right to expect these benefits, as well as to conclude, they might more strongly inculcate this useful and never-to-be-forgotten maxim, ‘That honesty is the best policy.’



## ANECDOTES OF SPRANGER BARRY.

[From the same.]

“BARRY was born on the 19th of November, 1719. He was descended from a genteel family, who long resided in the vicinity of Dublin; but as his parents could not afford to give him an university education, after having gone through the grammar-school, and the ordinary course of English literature, he was bound apprentice to a silversmith in Dublin; and soon after he was out of his time, married a lady of decent fortune in that capital, and set up on his own account. It is in vain, however, to circumscribe nature; with such a number of concurring qualities for the stage as Barry possessed, the dull entertainment of a shop, with the still more insipid detail of mechanical profession, (with whatever lucrative advantages they were attended,) could not long retain him in that situation. A very few years settled the account of profit and loss in the silversmith way; and as a new business was to be chosen, the stage, which before had engaged a considerable part of his attention, now engrossed him solely; and in the winter of 1745 he made his *début* in the character of Othello, under the management of the late Mr. Thomas Sheridan.

“The state of the Irish stage before Mr. Sheridan’s management had been at a very low ebb.—Whilst Ashbury and Elrington were managers, it supported a considerable degree of credit; but after their death, matters were so ill directed, and so much under the government of chance, that few

performers of any eminence were even so much as sought after; and dramatic performances, of course, till about the year 1740, were sunk into the lowest contempt.

“Sheridan, who took the management a few years afterwards, remedied these abuses with that zeal and ardour which he was well known to possess in all literary and scientific pursuits. Born a gentleman, and educated at Trinity college, Dublin, he laboured to render the profession he had chosen as respectable in the eyes of the world as he could. He was countenanced in this by all the old friends of his father (Dr. Sheridan) and Swift; whilst the members of the college, with that *esprit du corps* for which they ever distinguished themselves, rallied round him as his principal supporters.

“Othello, as we before observed, was the character Barry first appeared in; and never did a young actor, perhaps, shew such judgment in the choice of a part. The harmony of his voice, and the manly beauty of his person, spoke him alike the hero and the lover; and those who before doubted of the poet’s consistency in forming a mutual passion between such characters as the *black* Othello, and the *fair* Desdemona, were now convinced of his propriety. They saw, from Barry’s predominant and fascinating manner, that mere colour could not be a barrier to affection; and they united in opinion with the heroine of the play, ‘of seeing Othello’s visage through his mind.’

“In



"In short, so much did Barry establish his reputation as an actor in this and some other subsequent parts, that Garrick, who was then playing in Dublin, and at the same theatre, wrote over several letters to his friends in confirmation of his uncommon talents; and in one particularly described him, 'as the best lover he had ever seen on any stage.' Lacy likewise was in Dublin at the same time, upon the recruiting service for Drury Lane, the patent of which he had just obtained through the favour of the duke of Grafton\*, and immediately engaged him at a very considerable salary for the next season.

"It must be confessed, that the Irish stage shone with unrivalled lustre at that period; and it brings an incontestable proof of the sterling merit of Barry, that he could, at once, start into such high reputation amongst such a cluster of celebrated performers. Victor, who was present at several of those performances, speaks highly of the infinite pleasure they afforded him; particularly in the Fair Penitent, where Garrick acted Lothario; Sheridan, Horatio; and Barry, Altamont. 'To see them all *now* in one play (says he many years after this period) would be a pleasure greatly to be envied.'

"On Barry's arrival in London, he was introduced to Macklin, whom Lacy had engaged at the same theatre, and who, as we before observed, had given many proofs of his being a good preceptor. It is true, nature had been so lavish to Barry in figure, voice, and manners, that he wanted little as-

sistance from art; yet this assistance is necessary to the sublimest genius; even Shakespeare felt its benefit, as we are to ascribe some of the most finished of his pieces to that period when he was better acquainted with the principles of his profession. Macklin offered his services to his young countryman with a zeal well known to be congenial to his temper, viz. to lower his old adversary Garrick, who had just listed under Rich at Covent Garden; and as this veteran of the stage not only knew his art scientifically, but was likewise well acquainted with all its finesse and dexterity, there is every presumption to believe that Barry benefited by his precepts.

"Barry's task was critically arduous. With very little assistance in his line of parts but himself, he had to contend with an actor who was generally esteemed by far the first of his day, and who, beside this, had the warm support of his *countrymen*, naturally inclined to be partial in objects of national competition. With these advantages against him, he, however, took the field; and though justice obliges us to decide that Garrick was the best *general actor* of the two, as well as the best *general*, yet in particular characters, we have no hesitation in pronouncing Barry his superior. There are not many now living who remember both these extraordinary actors in the meridian of their powers; but to those few we appeal, whether in Othello and Jaffier, Castalio, Essex, Orestes, Romeo, &c. Garrick could equal him: in short, in all the scenes of

\* Lacy is said to have attracted the notice of the duke of Grafton, by attending his hunting parties, riding with uncommon spirit, and having always, when opportunity offered, some elegant and savory refreshment to offer to his grace. These qualities, it is said, produced an intimacy, which smoothed his way to the patent.



love and domestic tenderness he stood alone ; but in the blended passages of *rage* and *heartfelt affection*, (such as in several passages of *Othello*,) he can only be remembered with enthusiasm.

“ But a competition of a more particular nature soon offered itself in the rival representation of *Romeo and Juliet*. In the infancy of Garrick’s management, he revived this favourite play of Shakespeare’s, which had lain upon the shelf for near eighty years, and very properly appropriated the principal parts to Barry, Mrs. Cibber, and Woodward ; and the revival deservedly met with the greatest applause. But in one of those revolutions which take place in theatrical affairs, Barry, disgusted with being under the controul of a rival, who certainly had it in his power not to shew him fair-play, revolted to Rich, and brought with him Mrs. Cibber, reinforced by Quin, Mrs Woffington, and others. These formed a grand opposition ; and as the tragedy of *Romeo and Juliet* had so lately brought overflowing houses to Drury Lane, it was one of the first plays seized upon for representation at Covent Garden ; and no doubt a skilful manœuvre in turning the enemy’s cannon against themselves.

“ Garrick appeared, however, not to be discomfited. What he wanted of the *lion’s skin* in the combat, he endeavoured to lengthen out by the *fox’s tail* : he therefore concealed his design of opposing them play to play, whilst he secretly studied the part of *Romeo* himself, and instructed miss Bellamy, then a rising young actress with promising powers, in the character of *Juliet*. Seemingly secure of no opposition, Rich announced the

night of representation ; whilst Garrick, equally ready to take the field, suddenly called the public to the same entertainment on the same night at Drury Lane. - The matter was now at issue, and the public were to judge between the merits of two of the greatest actors of their day.

“ This tragedy ran so many nights at both theatres, that, although it was admirably acted, the repetition began to disgust the town, as they found they were put under the necessity of sacrificing their amusement to the jealousy of rival actors. They expressed their resentment in many squibs and paragraphs, which have been long since consigned to oblivion, except the following, which it is thought Garrick wrote himself, in order to get rid of a contest, which he was sensible he had the worst of, both in fame and profit :

‘ Well, what’s to night ? ’ says angry Ned,  
As up from bed he rouses ;  
‘ *Romeo* again ! ’ and shakes his head ;  
‘ Ah ! pox on both your houses ! ’

“ Accident, however, put an end to this controversy. After twelve successive nights, Mrs. Cibber’s strength failing her, another play was obliged to be given out ; which Garrick taking advantage of, had the parting blow, which he closed with a diverting epilogue, spoken by Mrs. Clive.

“ *Parties* were much divided about which of the *Romeos* had the superiority ; but the *critics* seemed to be unanimous in favour of Barry. His fine person and silver tones spoke the very voice of love. The *lover* was likewise his predominant character in private life ; whilst Garrick wanted these requisites, at least in that eminent degree. ‘ The Drury Lane hero (said they) is the *modern*, the Covent Garden hero the *Arcadian*



*"Arcadian wooer;"* and, indeed, those who saw him in the several tender interviews with his beloved Juliet, (even many years after this contest,) must confess he was the Romeo which Shakespeare drew.

"In this dispute the friends of Garrick often wanted to compromise it, by giving Barry the superiority in the three first acts, and Garrick in the two last; and some of them supported this opinion, by frequently leaving Covent Garden in the middle of the play, to see it finished at Drury Lane. But this *finesse* did not succeed. Romeo's meeting with Paris in the tomb scene, and his last interview with Juliet, were as fine specimens of Barry's abilities as any in the course of the play. But what seems to decide the superiority now, better than any speculation at that time, is this, that Barry was a favourite Romeo with the public whilst he had any remaining powers of health and juvenility; whilst Garrick, with his *usual prudence*, gave it up for life after this contest.

"In *King Lear* (which was likewise a bone of contention between the rival performers) Garrick, however, had the advantage; for though Barry was very impressive in some passages, Garrick's was a finer study, and a more perfect general exhibition. The best judges of that day thought so, as appears by the two following epigrams, which were much talked of at that time.

*On the two Lears.*

The town has found out different ways  
To praise the different Lears:  
To Barry they give loud huzzas;  
To Garrick—only tears.

*Another.*

A King—nay, every inch a King;  
Such Barry doth appear:  
But Garrick's quite a different thing;  
He's every inch *King Lear*.

"For twelve long years did Barry meet his antagonist in the tented field, wherein both generals reaped many and deserved laurels. Garrick had a greater variety of parts, both in tragedy, comedy, and farce, which undoubtedly, as a general actor, gave him the pre-eminence: but Barry had enough for fame; and in some characters, which we have already mentioned, he had no competitor.

"But neither fame nor profit will sometimes compensate for the love of vanity. Whether Barry envied Garrick the superiority of *management*, by which he could always draw out his talents to greater advantage, or whether actuated by simple vanity, he was determined to wield a manager's truncheon; and, under the impulse of this *mad ambition*, opened a negociation, about the year 1757, with the proprietors of the Music Hall, Crow Street, Dublin, for the purpose of erecting a new theatre there, in opposition to Mr. Sheridan.

"It was generally thought, at that time, that Macklin (between whom and Barry there was always a constant friendship) was his principal adviser. Amongst Macklin's oddities, he was always a great *projector*, and, like most people who take up this character from a certain restlessness of temper, his projects were generally unsuccessful, both to himself and friends. One should imagine that *common sense* would be Barry's best counsellor in an affair of this kind. He was at the pinnacle of fame and salary in London, where it was the interest of managers to find him a suitable heroine. He had saved no fortune, to enable him to make experiments; and he must have known (did he think proper to take it under his consideration) that Dublin, half a



century ago, could not possibly support two theatres. He had even the offer of his rival (Sheridan) to engage him at the greatest salary ever given to a performer, or to admit him to a share of the profits, and afterwards leave the theatre entirely to his management.

“No! the die was cast! he would rise by the *struggles of opposition*. He, Macklin, and Woodward, in the summer of 1758, landed in Dublin; and soon after their arrival, the walls of the late Music Hall, Crow Street, Dublin, with some adjacent buildings, were levelled to the ground, to lay the foundation of a new theatre: ‘a foundation (as Victor truly observed) of misfortune to many.’

“The public are too well acquainted with the particulars of this *wild goose chase* to need a repetition here. Barry, with the expence of building a new house, and engaging a set of performers, who, for excellence and variety, were, perhaps, never equalled in any other theatre at one time, had the poor satisfaction of ruining his rival, only to be at last devoured himself. In short, after combating difficulties upon difficulties, after involving every friend that was concerned with him in pecuniary embarrassments, he was obliged to take a French leave of his project, and return to London in the year 1766—a sad memento to all those men, who, according to Sancho’s proverb, ‘would have better bread than is made of wheat.’

“On Barry’s return to London in 1766, he had no previous engagement at any of the theatres here; he trusted entirely to the force of his long and established merit, and such merit was surely ‘no bad letter of recommendation.’ He, however, had been between eight

and nine years absent, (an age in the world of taste and fashion,) in which time new audiences had started up, new prejudices and attachments had arisen, which are often fatal to moderate abilities, and require even the efforts of great genius to recover.

“He arrived here about the beginning of July, when the two theatres were shut, a great part of the nobility and principal gentry out of town, whilst Foote, at the little theatre in the Haymarket, attracted the remaining part of the public, who preferred his *wit* and *humour* to the rounds of Ranelagh, and the saunters of Vauxhall. In such a situation, it may very well be supposed, that Barry had no other alternative than to wait for the opening of one of the winter theatres—but neither his spirit or purse could brook such ordinary delays. He rented the opera house in the Haymarket for a certain number of nights, and, with the assistance of Mrs. Dancer, afterwards his wife, (late Mrs. Crawford,) the late Mr. Lee, and a few others, he opened that theatre with the tragedy of Othello.

“This celebrated character had almost lain dormant on the theatrical shelf since Barry left Covent Garden theatre. Garrick was wise enough not to risque his reputation on it after one trial; and though now and then a few young performers made the attempt, experience shewed them their inability; so that, like the armour of Achilles, it lay neglected in the absence of the *master*; little known to the stage, or the public. So far it had novelty. Barry’s name was another novelty; and these co-operating, produced one of the finest houses which could be expected at that time of the year.



"It would be needless to say how he performed this character, after his long and established reputation in it, did not his particular exertions this night demand a particular encomium. The generality of the audience receiving him entirely in the light of a new performer, waited with silent expectation till after his speech to the senate, which he spoke under the impression of so commanding a figure, such a melodious and captivating voice, as drew forth the unanimous approbation of the whole house. The pit and boxes gave him all the applause consonant to the good breeding of that meridian—whilst the *Gods* above (amongst whom we could distinguish the voices of several of Barry's countrymen) shouted in roars of triumph.

"He proceeded regularly, gaining on their admiration till he came to the third act, when Iago first gives him the hint of jealousy. Here, and through the whole course of this act, he gained entire possession of their feelings; and the general buz of the house was, (when they could recover from their tears,) Who is this charming man? Whence comes he? &c. &c. Many of the audience never saw him before; others might have seen him before their taste had been ripened into any judgment; others, as they see every thing else, without the least trace of memory, or observation; whilst a comparatively smaller number saw and felt an actor return to the stage, who had been long one of its brightest supports and ornaments.

"We must likewise confess, in justice to the whole of the performance, it was very ably supported. Mrs. Dancer, who played Desdemona, was then in the bloom of youth and beauty; she had been for

some years under the tuition of Barry, and, to a fine natural genius for her profession, she acquired the harmony of his tones. Desdemona too was a part seemingly congenial to her feelings; and it must be remembered, through the whole course of her stage life, she had *no competitor* in this character—a character *which, like the simplicity of fine writing, or good breeding*, induces many to attempt, without this preparatory knowledge, 'that art is necessary to conceal art.'

"Lee's Iago, too, was very respectable, and shewed a good judgment, and thorough representation of the character. This actor was not without considerable pretensions, were they not more than allayed by his vanity. He had a good person, a good voice, and a more than ordinary knowledge in his profession, which he sometimes shewed without exaggeration; but he wanted to be placed in the chair of Garrick, and, in attempting to reach this, he often deranged his natural abilities. He was for ever, as Foote said, 'doing the honours of his face;' he affected uncommon long pauses, and frequently took such out-of-the-way pains with *emphasis* and *articulation*, that the natural actor seldom appeared. In this *coxcombry* he was supported by many of his bottle companions, as well as those disappointed critics who were glad of an engine against Garrick: but the consequence of this temper was, he was *chasséd* from almost every theatre but that of Bath, where, between lecturing and acting, he continued till he died.—Another sad memento of the folly of weighing a man's merits in the balance of his own imagination.

"Othello was played several nights to overflowing audiences;



to which succeeded many of his principal parts, such as Jaffier, Orestes, Essex, Lord Townly, &c. &c. In short, the season was so successful to him, both in point of profit and fame, that Foote jocularly said, 'he had much rather give him 'board and lodging at his *own* 'house for nothing, than have him 'so troublesome a neighbour.'—The consequence was, he engaged Barry and Mrs. Dancer for the next season at his little theatre in the Haymarket; and, after the former had gone over to Dublin 'to make up his mangled matters 'as he could,' he returned to London as the place of his future principal residence.

"Their re-appearance was in the summer of 1767; and as Foote had prepared the town for the reception of his celebrated visitors, he secured to himself crowded audiences. The insensibles of fashion followed him because it was the *rage*—the critics hailed him as one of the great supporters of theatrical taste—and John Bull simply for the gratification of his feelings: so that all concurred so much in their admiration of him, that, although the summer was a remarkably hot one, the house continued to fill, night after night, to the conclusion of the season.

"Merit like this could not long remain trusting to such casual engagements. Garrick cast his eye upon those two performers the summer before, as necessary reinforcements to his theatrical corps; and this summer he often made one of the pit in the Haymarket at some of their capital representations. He had long before known, and justly appreciated, Barry's merits. Mrs. Dancer was a novelty to the London boards; but she made her impressions so forcibly

bly on this great judge of his art, that he candidly confessed, 'she 'had capabilities to make a first-rate actress.' He accordingly engaged them both for the next season at Drury Lane theatre, at the very liberal salary of fifteen hundred pounds.

"The state of Old Drury had about this period been rather in a declining condition; principally owing to that ravager *Time*, who ultimately 'spoils every thing he takes in hand.' Mrs. Cibber had just closed a life of high theatrical reputation, where her transcendent merit, in a great variety of parts, must be feelingly remembered by all those who had the pleasure of seeing her. Powell, a rising young actor, from whom much was obtained, and more expected, had no sooner revolted to Covent Garden theatre, (where he had purchased a share in the patent,) than he fell a victim to a raging fever; Mrs. Pritchard was on the eve of retirement; so was Mrs. Clive; whilst Havard felt a decline of powers, (never much above par,) which rendered most of his parts very imbecile performances; so that the whole weight of the theatre lay between Garrick, Holland, and Mrs. Yates. The first, it must be confessed, 'a host within himself;' the second with very respectable abilities; and the last having just reached that point of fame which ranked her one of the first actresses of her time.

"Garrick, in making this liberal engagement with Barry, no longer considered him as his rival. He had in himself a satiety of fame, fairly given him by applauding nations for a course of near thirty years, and which he knew how to maintain with unimpaired brilliancy. He was likewise arrived at  
that



that period of life, when other passions blend themselves with the love of fame, viz. *the love of accumulation*; and who so likely to add to the reputation of his stage, and the profits of his management, as two such performers? Beside this, Garrick wanted an occasional writ of ease for himself; and as he knew Barry, from his novelty and merit, would draw audiences, he endeavoured to render his situation as agreeable to him as he could, by giving him an uncontrolled choice of parts, and consulting his ease and convenience as much as the business of the theatre would admit.

“This arrangement answered every purpose of the contracting parties. Barry and his fair heroine carried all before them: she was the Desdemona to his Othello—the Rutland to his Essex—the Moimimia to his Castalio, &c. &c.; whilst Mrs. Yates, in the loftier tread of imperial tragedy, gave very considerable assistance. In this group, too, must be numbered the late Mrs. Pope (then Miss Younge): she was at that period just making her *débüt* on the stage; but even in this early trial, she exhibited such strong marks of theatrical genius, as evidently proclaimed she would not long be content with a *second place*. Time justified her pretensions, as she was for many years as great an ornament to her profession as she was respectable in the duties of private life.

“In the comic line, Mrs. Abington (who had just returned from Ireland, crowned with theatric laurels) stood alone. She was, by turns, the representative of Mrs. Pritchard and Mrs. Clive, occasionally filling the parts of those distinguished actresses with the highest reputation; as her Estifa-

nia, Portia, Mrs. Oakly, &c. &c. fully evinced.

“Having now no actress in the same line of pre-eminence to contend with, (which in others might rebate the ardour of profession,) she called out the full force of her abilities. Nothing in the range of comedy escaped her, from the pert chamber-maid to the accomplished woman of fashion; and in all she was excellent. Who that remembers her Miss Prue, in ‘Love for Love,’ with her *girlish tones*, and *boiding airs*, drawing almost the whole attraction of this delightful comedy to herself, could suppose it was the same actress, who, perhaps, the next night, performed the part of the high-bred, accomplished Millamant! Yet it was difficult to say in which she excelled—*nature* and *art* were so much at her devotion.

“It must give great pleasure to every *amateur* of the drama to be informed, that, although this accomplished actress has retired from the stage, she still enjoys the *otium cum dignitate* in good health and spirits, and in the bosom of many of those ladies of rank and respectability, who patronized her for so many years in her public profession.

“Miss Pope played a good back hand to Mrs. Abington, and in many of Mrs. Clive’s characters, and others of a similar cast, gave great support to this theatre; which she still supports with her *fair fame*, and seemingly undiminished abilities.

“From this period (1768) to 1774, Drury Lane revived to its highest point of attraction. The frivolity of modern times had not then reached either green-room—the managers were content principally to subsist on the good old stock



of tragedies and comedies left them by Shakespeare, Jonson, Otway, Rowe, Cibber, Steele, Addison, Congreve, &c. &c. now and then reinforced by more modern productions, whose authors were supposed to have *some capacity* for writing, as well as *some little acquaintance* with the rules of their art. Actors, likewise, constantly studied in the language of such writers, became progressively versed in the elements of their profession; and thus the theatre exhibited a school of improvement, as well as entertainment—tragedy, by its lawful energies, *terror* and *compassion*, purifying the heart; whilst comedy shewed the world in all its great variety of real characters.

“From Barry’s age he might have calculated upon a much longer run of theatrical powers; but an early gout, more hereditary than brought about by any intemperance, occasionally much afflicted him; sometimes by confining him to his room, and gradually weakening his general powers of exertion. He often complained of this to his friends, and particularly to Mr. Murphy, (the well-known dramatist,) requesting him, at the same time, to turn his thoughts to some tragedy where a proper *niche* might be found for him under the then imbecility of his powers. Mr. Murphy felt the force of this request; and, with that urbanity, and disposition to oblige, which has ever marked his character, took the subject under his immediate consideration, and in the ensuing winter (1772) produced his *Grecian Daughter*.

“Of this tragedy, those who can remember Barry in Evander, and Mrs. Dancer (now Mrs. Barry) in Euphrasia, must likewise remember with what exquisite sensibility

they were entertained. Nothing could be more luckily hit off by the author than the story, as by it the principal character became peculiarly adapted to the imbecility of the actor’s frame; whilst the music, and enchanting breaks of his voice, gave a pathos to the performance which was excellence itself. Euphrasia was likewise sustained throughout with great ability; all that firmness and constancy in the hour of danger—all that sweet solicitude for her father’s safety and existence, were portrayed with such a true and feminine expression, as all acknowledged, and all repaid with their tears. We have often seen this character performed by others, and by some with much applause; but in our opinion, the *natural Euphrasia* is now no more.

“A situation so desirable as Drury Lane Theatre, with such a salary, and all the indulgencies paid by Garrick to Barry’s infirmities, could not give constancy to this actor’s mind. Some pretended disgust, or, what is most probable, the prospect of gaining a still larger income, induced him to listen to proposals from the patentees of Covent Garden; when, after a few meetings for this purpose, the terms of agreement were closed for him and his wife, in 1774, at the extraordinary salary of seventeen hundred pounds.

“Some exertions were now necessary to compensate for this generous engagement; and it is but justice to both performers to say, they called out the full force of their abilities in most of their principal parts. But illness, like anger, ‘has its privileges:’ Barry’s infirmities rapidly increasing on him after the first season, he performed but seldom, and then generally in such characters as were best suited to



to his imbecilities; and yet now and then the genius of the player broke out in its original splendour. We saw him the last time he appeared in his favourite character of Jaffier; and so infirm did he appear before the curtain drew up, that it was the general opinion he could not go through the part; but no sooner was he warmed in the interest of the scene, no sooner did he feel the glow of love and tenderness, than he communicated his feelings to all around: he went through the play with the same animation, but returned to the green-room almost in a state of insensibility.

“ Powers so much debilitated could not last long: one half of his time confined to a bed of sickness, the duties of his profession became painful to him. *Nature* too forcibly told him, he could no longer play the *lover*, or the *hero*; and as he was never much indebted to *art*, she could less assist him under such trying circumstances. He struggled in this manner till the close of the season of 1776, when he was obliged to take entirely to his bed, where he lay under the excruciating pains of gout and rheumatism, till the 10th of January 1777, and then was released from all his labours.”

## PARTICULARS of the LIFE of SAMUEL RICHARDSON.

[From Mrs. BARBAULD'S ACCOUNT of his CORRESPONDENCE.]

“ **M**R. Samuel Richardson, whose name and genius no English readers, and, it may be added, few foreign ones, are unacquainted with, is one instance, among innumerable others, of natural talents making their way to eminence, under the pressure of narrow circumstances, the disadvantage of obscure birth, and the want of a liberal education.

“ The following is the account he gives of his family, in a letter to Mr. Stinstra: ‘ My father was a very honest man, descended of a family of middling note, in the county of Surry; but which having for several generations a large number of children, the not large possessions were split and divided, so that he and his brothers were put to trades, and the sisters were married to tradesmen. My mother was also a

‘ good woman, of a family not  
‘ ungentle; but whose father  
‘ and mother died in her in-  
‘ fancy, within half-an-hour of  
‘ each other, in the London  
‘ pestilence of 1665.

‘ My father's business was that  
‘ of a joiner, then more distinct  
‘ from that of a carpenter than  
‘ now it is with us. He was a  
‘ good draughtsman, and under-  
‘ stood architecture. His skill  
‘ and ingenuity, and an under-  
‘ standing superior to his busi-  
‘ ness, with his remarkable integri-  
‘ ty of heart and manners, made  
‘ him personally beloved by se-  
‘ veral persons of rank, among  
‘ whom were the duke of Mon-  
‘ mouth and the first earl of  
‘ Shaftsbury, both so noted in  
‘ our English history. Their known  
‘ favour for him having, on the  
‘ duke's attempt on the crown,  
‘ subjected him to be looked upon  
‘ with



‘ with a jealous eye, notwithstanding he was noted for a quiet and inoffensive man, he thought proper, on the decollation of the first-named unhappy nobleman, to quit his London business, and to retire to Derbyshire, though to his great detriment; and there I and three other children out of nine were born.—

‘ I recollect, that I was early noted for having invention. I was not fond of play, as other boys: my school-fellows used to call me Serious and Gravity; and five of them particularly delighted to single me out, either for a walk, or at their fathers’ houses, or at mine, to tell them stories, as they phrased it. Some I told them, from my reading, as true; others from my head, as mere invention; of which they would be most fond, and often were affected by them. One of them particularly, I remember, was for putting me to write a history, as he called it, on the model of Tommy Pots. I now forget what it was, only that it was of a servant-man preferred by a fine young lady (for his goodness) to a lord, who was a libertine. All my stories carried with them, I am bold to say, an useful moral.’

“ It is in like manner related of the abbé Prevôt, one of the most affecting of the French novelists, that, when he was among the Carthusians, into which order he had originally entered, he was accustomed to amuse the good fathers with telling them stories of his invention; and once, it is recorded, they sat up the whole night listening to him. But not only our author’s inventive turn, the particular mode in which he exercised it was very early deter-

mined. He was fond of two things, which boys have generally an aversion to—letter-writing, and the company of the other sex. An incident, which he relates in the following words, shews how early he had devoted himself to be the Mentor of his female acquaintance:

‘ From my earliest youth I had a love of letter-writing: I was not eleven years old when I wrote, spontaneously, a letter to a widow of near fifty, who, pretending to a zeal for religion, and being a constant frequenter of church ordinances, was continually fomenting quarrels and disturbances, by backbiting and scandal, among all her acquaintance. I collected from the scripture texts that made against her. Assuming the style and address of a person in years, I exhorted her, I expostulated with her. But my hand-writing was known. I was challenged with it, and owned the boldness; for she complained of it to my mother with tears. My mother chid me for the freedom taken by such a boy with a woman of her years; but knowing that her son was not of a pert or forward nature, but, on the contrary, shy and bashful, she commended my principles, though she censured the liberty taken.’

“ Notwithstanding the ill-will which this freedom might draw upon him from individuals, he was, he tells us, a general favourite with young and old.

‘ As a bashful and not forward boy, I was an early favourite with all the young women of taste and reading in the neighbourhood. Half a dozen of them, when met to work with their



their needles, used, when they got a book they liked, and thought I should, to borrow me to read to them; their mothers sometimes with them; and both mothers and daughters used to be pleased with the observations they put me upon making.

‘I was not more than thirteen, when three of these young women, unknown to each other, having an high opinion of my taciturnity, revealed to me their love-secrets, in order to induce me to give them copies to write after, or correct, for answers to their lovers’ letters: nor did any one of them ever know that I was the secretary to the others. I have been directed to chide, and even repulse, when an offence was either taken or given, at the very time that the heart of the chider or repulser was open before me, overflowing with esteem and affection; and the fair repulser, dreading to be taken at her word, directing *this* word, or *that* expression, to be softened or changed. One, highly gratified with her lover’s fervour, and vows of everlasting love, has said, when I have asked her direction; I cannot tell you what to write; but, (her heart on her lips) you cannot write too kindly; all her fear was only, that she should incur slight for her kindness.’

“Human nature is human nature in every class; the hopes and the fears, the perplexities and the struggles, of these low-bred girls in, probably, an obscure village, supplied the future author with those ideas, which, by their gradual development, produced the characters of a *Clarissa* and a *Clementina*; nor was he probably happier, or amused in a more

lively manner, when sitting in his grotto, with a circle of the best informed women in England about him, who, in after times, courted his society, than in reading to these girls in, it may be, a little back-shop, or a mantua-maker’s parlour, with a brick-floor. In the mean time, years went on; and the father of Richardson, being disappointed in his views of bringing him up to a profession, it became incumbent on him to chuse a humbler employment, and he fixed upon that of a printer; chiefly, as he informs us, because he thought it would gratify his thirst for reading. He was bound apprentice to Mr. John Wilde, of Stationers-hall, in the year 1706. He did not, however, find it easy to gratify this thirst, though the stream ran by his lips. ‘I served,’ says he, ‘a diligent seven years to it; to a master who grudged every hour to me that tended not to his profit, even of those times of leisure and diversion, which the refractoriness of my fellow-servants obliged him to allow them, and were usually allowed by other masters to their apprentices. I stole from the hours of rest and relaxation, my reading times for improvement of my mind; and, being engaged in a correspondence with a gentleman, greatly my superior in degree, and of ample fortune, who, had he lived, intended high things for me; those were all the opportunities I had in my apprenticeship to carry it on. But this little incident I may mention: I took care that even my candle was of my own purchasing, that I might not, in the most trifling instance, make my master a sufferer (and who used to call me the pillar of his house), and not to disable myself  
‘by



‘ by watching or sitting-up, to perform my duty to him in the day-time.’ The correspondence with the gentleman just mentioned, must have been of great service to the young apprentice, in gaining that fluency of pen which he was remarkable for, though it appears he was deprived by death of the patronage he expected. ‘ Multitudes of letters passed between this gentleman and me; he wrote well, was a master of the epistolary style. Our subjects were various: but his letters were mostly narrative, giving me an account of his proceedings, and what befel him in the different nations through which he travelled. I could from them, had I been at liberty, and had I at that time thought of writing as I have since done, have drawn great helps: but many years ago, all the letters that passed between us, by a particular desire of his (lest they should ever be published) were committed to the flames.’

“ After the expiration of his apprenticeship, our author continued five or six years working as a compositor and corrector of the press to a printing-office, and part of the time as an overseer; and, at length thus working his way upwards into day-light, he took up his freedom, and set up for himself; at first in a court in Fleet-street, from whence, as his business grew more extensive, he removed into Salisbury-court.

“ Richardson was not one of those who make genius an excuse for idleness. He had been diligent and conscientious as an apprentice, he was assiduous and liberal as a master. Besides the proper work of a printer, he did a good deal of business for the booksellers, in writing for them in-

dexes, prefaces, and, as he styles them, honest dedications. These humble employments tended to facilitate to him the use and management of the pen. Mr. Richardson’s punctuality, and the honour and generosity of his dealings, soon gained him friends, and his business greatly flourished. He printed, for a while, the *True Briton*, a periodical paper, published in 1723, under the auspices of the duke of Wharton, who, at that time, was endeavouring to foment a spirit of opposition in the city; and, to gain popularity, became a member of the wax-chandlers company. Richardson, though his principles were very different, was intimate with him, as was also, in early life, Dr. Young. Some of the numbers of the *True Briton* were prosecuted; but Mr. R. escaped, as his name did not appear. He was engaged some time in printing a newspaper, called *The Daily Journal*, and afterwards, *The Daily Gazetteer*. Through the interest of the speaker, Mr. Onslow, he had the printing of the journals of the house of commons, in twenty-six volumes, folio. Mr. Onslow had a great regard for him, and often received him at his house in Embury-court. Polite regards are sometimes more easily obtained than money from the court end of the town. Mr. R. did not find this branch of his business the one which yielded him the quickest returns. He thus writes to his friend Aaron Hill: ‘ As to my silence, I have been at one time exceedingly busy in getting ready some volumes of journals, to entitle myself to a payment which yet I never had, no, not to the value of a shilling, though the debt is upwards of three thousand pounds, and though I have pressed for it, and



‘and been excessively pressed for  
‘the want of it.’

“He was chosen master of his company, an office, which, in the stationer’s company, is not only honourable but lucrative, in 1754; on which occasion one of his friends tells him, that though he did not doubt his going very well through every other part of the duty, he feared his habitual abstemiousness would allow him to make but a very poor figure at the city feasts. His indulgencies were not of the sensual kind—he had, according to the salutary custom of the London citizens, a country residence; first at North-end, near Hammer-smith, and afterwards at Parsons’s-green, where he spent the time he could spare from business, and seldom without visitors. He loved to encourage diligence and early rising amongst his journeymen, and often hid a half-crown amongst the letters, so that the first who came to work in a morning might find it. At other times he brought, for the same purpose, fruit from his garden.

“Mr. R. was twice married; his first wife was Allington Wilde, his master’s daughter; she died in 1731. His second was the sister of Mr. James Leake, bookseller, at Bath, with whom he always maintained a very friendly intercourse: this lady survived him. Of his family, history, and the many wounds his affectionate nature received in the loss of those dear to him, he thus speaks in a letter to lady Bradshaw, who had been pleading against a melancholy termination to *Clarissa*.

““Ah! madam; and do you thus  
‘call upon me! Forgive an inter-  
‘rupting sigh, and allow me a  
‘short abruption.

““I told you, madam, that I have  
1804.

‘been married twice; both times  
‘happily: you will guess so, as to  
‘my first, when I tell you that I  
‘cherish the memory of my lost  
‘wife to this hour: and as to the  
‘second, when I assure you that I  
‘can do so without derogating  
‘from the merits of, or being dis-  
‘allowed by my present; who  
‘speaks of her on all occasions, as  
‘respectfully and affectionately as  
‘I do myself.

““By my first wife I had five  
‘sons and one daughter; some of  
‘them living, to be delightful  
‘prattlers, with all the appear-  
‘ances of sound health, lively in  
‘their features, and promising as  
‘to their minds; and the death of  
‘one of them, I doubt, accele-  
‘rating from grief, that of the  
‘otherwise laudably afflicted mo-  
‘ther. I have had, by my pre-  
‘sent wife, five girls and one boy;  
‘I have buried of these the pro-  
‘mising boy, and one girl: four  
‘girls I have living, all at present  
‘very good; their mother a true  
‘and instructing mother to them.

““Thus have I lost six sons (all  
‘my sons) and two daughters,  
‘every one of which, to answer  
‘your question, I parted with with  
‘the utmost regret. Other heavy  
‘deprivations of friends, very near,  
‘and very dear, have I also suf-  
‘fered. I am very susceptible, I  
‘will venture to say, of impres-  
‘sions of this nature. A father,  
‘an honest, a worthy father, I lost  
‘by the accident of a broken thigh,  
‘snapped by a sudden jirk, endea-  
‘vouring to recover a slip passing  
‘through his own yard. My fa-  
‘ther, whom I attended in every  
‘stage of his last illness, I long  
‘mourned for. Two brothers, very  
‘dear to me, I lost abroad. A  
‘friend, more valuable than most  
‘brothers, was taken from me.

D

‘No



‘No less than eleven affecting deaths in two years! My nerves were so affected with these repeated blows, that I have been forced, after trying the whole *materia medica*, and consulting many physicians, as the only palliative (not a remedy to be expected) to go into a regimen; and, for seven years past have I forborne wine and flesh and fish; and, at this time, I and all my family are in mourning for a good sister, with whom neither I would have parted, could I have had my choice. From these affecting dispensations, will you not allow me, madam, to remind an unthinking world, immersed in pleasures, what a life this is that they are so fond of, and to arm them against the affecting changes of it?’

“Severely tried as he was, he had yet great comfort in his family; his daughters grew up under his tuition, amiable and worthy; they were carefully educated, and engaged his fondest affections. It is remarkable that his daughter Anne, whose early ill-health had often excited his apprehensions, was the last survivor of the family. They were all much employed in writing for him, and transcribing

his letters; but his chief amanuensis was his daughter Martha.

“In addition to his other business, Mr. Richardson purchased, in 1760, a moiety of the patent of law printer to his majesty, which department of his business he carried on in partnership with miss Catherine Lintot. From all these sources he was enabled to make that comfortable provision for a rising family, which patient industry judiciously directed, will, generally, in this country enable a man to procure.—

“He now had leisure, had he had health, to enjoy his reputation, his prosperous circumstances, his children, and his friends: but, alas! leisure purchased by severe application often comes too late to be enjoyed; and in a worldly, as well as in a religious sense,

—————when we find  
The key of life, it opens to the grave.

“His nervous disorders increased upon him, and his valuable life was at length terminated by a stroke of an apoplexy, on the 4th of July, 1761, at the age of seventy-two. He was buried, by his own direction, near his first wife, in the middle aisle, near the pulpit of St. Bride’s church.”

## CHARACTER OF SAMUEL RICHARDSON.

[From the same Work.]

“THE author of *Clarissa* was always fond of female society. He lived in a kind of flower-garden of ladies: they were his inspirers, his critics, his applauders. Connections of business apart, they were his chief correspondents. He had generally a number of young

ladies at his house, whom he used to engage in conversation on some subject of sentiment, and provoke, by artful opposition, to display the treasures of intellect they possessed. Miss Mulso, afterwards Mrs. Chapon; miss Highmore, now Mrs. Duncombe; miss Talbot, niece to Secker,



Secker, and author of some much esteemed devotional pieces; miss Prescott, afterwards Mrs. Mulso; miss Fieldings; and miss Colliers, resided occasionally with him. He was accustomed to give the young ladies he esteemed the endearing appellation of his daughters. He used to write in a little summer-house, or grotto, as it was called, within his garden, before the family were up; and, when they met at breakfast, he communicated the progress of his story, which, by that means, had every day a fresh and lively interest. Then began the criticisms, the pleadings, for Harriet Byron or Clementina; every turn and every incident was eagerly canvassed, and the author enjoyed the benefit of knowing before-hand how his situations would strike. Their own little partialities and entanglements, too, were developed, and became the subject of grave advice, or lively raillery. Mrs. Duncombe thus mentions the agreeable scene, in a letter to Mrs. Mulso.

“ ‘ I shall often, in idea, enjoy  
‘ again the hours that we have so  
‘ agreeably spent in the delightful  
‘ retirement of North End :

‘ For while this pleasing subject I pursue,  
‘ The grot, the garden, rush upon my  
  view ;  
‘ There in blest union, round the friendly  
  gate,  
‘ Instruction, peace, and chearful freedom  
  wait ;  
‘ And there, a choir of list’ning nymphs  
  appears  
‘ Oppress’d with wonder, or dissolved in  
  tears :  
‘ But on her tender fears when Harriet  
  dwells,  
‘ And love’s soft symptoms innocently tells,  
‘ They all, with conscious smiles, those  
  symptoms view,  
‘ And by those conscious smiles confess  
  them true.’

“ Mr. Richardson was a friend

to mental improvement in women, though under all those restrictions which modesty and decorum have imposed upon the sex. Indeed, his sentiments seem to have been more favourable to female literature, before than after his intercourse with the fashionable world; for Clarissa has been taught Latin, but miss Byron is made to say, that she does not even know which are meant by the learned languages, and to declare, that a woman who knows them is an owl among the birds. The prejudice against any appearance of extraordinary cultivation in women, was, at that period, very strong. It will scarcely be believed, by this generation, that Mrs. Delany, the accomplished Mrs. Delany, objects to the words *intellect* and *ethics*, in one of the conversation pieces, in Grandison, as too scholastic to proceed from the mouth of a female. What would some of these critics have said, could they have heard young ladies talking of gases, and nitrous oxyd; and stimuli, and excitability, and all the terms of modern science! The restraint of former times was painful and humiliating; what can be more humiliating than the necessity of affecting ignorance? and yet, perhaps, it is not undesirable that female genius should have something to overcome; so much, as to render it probable, before a woman steps out of the common walks of life, that her acquirements are solid, and her love for literature decided and irresistible. These obstacles did not prevent the Epictetus of Mrs. Carter, nor the volumes of Mrs. Chapone, from being written and given to the world.

“ The moral qualities of Richardson were crowned with a serious and warm regard for religion; it



is conspicuous in all his works; and we shall, probably, not find any writings of the class of novels, in which virtue and piety are so strongly and uniformly recommended, without any party spirit, or view to recommend a particular system; and it would be doing injustice to the taste of the world not to say that they were highly valued on that account. The house of Richardson was a school of virtuous sentiment and good morals. The following letter, from Mr. Reich, of Leipsic, shews the pleasing impression a visit to him made on the lively feelings of a foreigner.

“ “ You know, sir, I set out for England purely with a view of cultivating a personal acquaintance with so great a man as Mr. Samuel Richardson, who had so long endeared himself to me by his works, and who, afterwards, by the correspondence established between us, granted me his friendship. I arrived at London the eighth of August, and had not much difficulty in finding Mr. Richardson in this great city. He gave me a reception worthy of the author of Pamela, Clarissa, and Grandison; that is, with the same heart which appears throughout his works. His person, his family, and even his domestics, all answer this character. He carried me into his library, and his printing-house, (for he is a printer,) in both which I never saw things so well disposed. Sunday following, I was with him at his country-house, (Selby-house) where his family was, with some ladies, acquaintances of his four daughters, who, with his lady, compose his family. It was there I saw beauties without affectation;

wit without vanity; and thought myself transported to an enchanted land. After chocolate, Mr. Richardson brought us into the garden, adjoining to the house. He invited me to partake of its fruits, of which the trees afforded the finest of their kind; and, perceiving that I hesitated, gathered some himself, which he presented to me. Every thing I saw, every thing I tasted, recalled to me the idea of the golden age. Here are to be seen no counterfeits, such as are the offspring of vanity, and the delirium of fools. A noble simplicity reigns throughout, and elevates the soul. The harmony of this charming family furnished me with many reflections on the common ill-judged methods of education, whence springs the source either of our happiness or misery. The ladies affected not that stiff preciseness peculiar to coquettes. Trained up by a parent who instructs them still more by his example than by his works, they strive to imitate him; and, if you feel a tenderness for objects so lovely, you will surely be sensible of a still greater respect for them.

“ “ In the middle of the garden, over against the house, we came to a kind of grotto, where we rested ourselves. It was on this seat, Mr. Le Fevre (Mr. Richardson's friend) told me, that Pamela, Clarissa, and Grandison, received their birth; I kissed the ink-horn on the side of it. We afterwards proceeded to table, (dinner) where an opportunity was offered me of reading the letters written to me by Malle Sack, from Berlin, concerning my voyage, and Mr. Richardson. One might in them discern that wit which is the peculiar characteristic



'teristic of that lady; and every  
 'one listened with the closest at-  
 'tention to whatever truth obli-  
 'ged me to say concerning her.  
 'Whereupon Mr. Richardson ob-  
 'served to me, that the ladies in  
 'company were all his adopted  
 'daughters: that he should be  
 'very proud to give to them, as  
 'well as to his own, so charming a  
 'sister; and desired to signify as  
 'much to her, and to send her his  
 'picture, which he gave me for  
 'that purpose. The rest of our  
 'discourse turned on the merits of  
 'Mr. Gellert, and of some other  
 'Germans of distinction. I told  
 'him, we had the same reason to  
 'glory in our relationship, as coun-  
 'trymen of these worthy gentle-  
 'men, as the English had in re-  
 'gard to him. Mr. Richardson's  
 'usual modesty dictated his answer.  
 'Towards evening he brought me  
 'to London, where he made me  
 'promise to come and see him as  
 'often as I could. On the Sunday  
 'following I was with him again  
 'at his pleasant country seat. We  
 'found there a large company, all  
 'people of merit; Mr. Miller, au-  
 'thor of the Gardener's Dictionary,  
 '(which has been translated at  
 'Nurnburg, with such success,)  
 'and Mr. Highmore, the famous  
 'painter, were there. This last,  
 'two days afterwards, conferred  
 'on me a genteel piece of civility,  
 'which I shall never forget: he  
 'must, indeed, be the accomplish-  
 'ed gentleman he appears to be,  
 'by obliging with so good a grace.  
 'I was extremely concerned on not  
 'seeing his only daughter, who  
 'was in the country. I have read  
 'some of her letters, which excite  
 'in me the highest esteem both for  
 'her understanding and her heart.  
 'In the evening I took my leave  
 'of the family, and returned with

'Mr. Richardson. I saw him se-  
 'veral times since, during the eight  
 'days I staid in England; but it  
 'was necessary, at last, to quit  
 'that divine man. I gave him the  
 'letter entitled No. I. he em-  
 'braced me, and a mutual ten-  
 'derness deprived us of speech. He  
 'accompanied me with his eyes as  
 'far as he could; I shed tears.'

"Richardson was, in person,  
 below the middle stature, and in-  
 clined to corpulency; of a round,  
 rather than oval, face, with a fair  
 ruddy complexion. His features,  
 says one, who speaks from recol-  
 lection, bore the stamp of good  
 nature, and were characteristic of  
 his placid and amiable disposition.  
 He was slow in speech, and, to  
 strangers at least, spoke with re-  
 serve and deliberation: but, in his  
 manners, was affable, courteous,  
 and engaging; and when surround-  
 ed with the social circle he loved to  
 draw around him, his eye sparkled  
 with pleasure, and often expressed  
 that particular spirit of archness  
 which we see in some of his charac-  
 ters, and which gave, at times, a  
 vivacity to his conversation, not  
 expected from his general taciturn-  
 ity and quiet manners. He has  
 left us a characteristic portrait of  
 himself, in a letter to lady Brad-  
 shaigh, written when he was in his  
 sixtieth year, before they had seen  
 one another. She was to find him  
 out by it (as she actually did,) as  
 he walked in the park. 'Short,  
 'rather plump, about five feet five  
 'inches, fair wig, one hand gene-  
 'rally in his bosom, the other a  
 'cane in it, which he leans upon  
 'under the skirts of his coat, that  
 'it may imperceptibly serve him  
 'as a support, when attacked by  
 'sudden tremors or dizziness, of a  
 'light brown complexion, teeth not  
 'yet failing him.' What follows



is very descriptive of the struggle in his character between innate bashfulness and a turn for observation. 'Looking directly fore-  
'right, as passengers would ima-  
'gine, but observing all that stirs  
'on either hand of him, without  
'moving his short neck; a regular  
'even pace, stealing away ground  
'rather than seeming to rid it; a  
'grey eye, too often overclouded  
'by mistiness from the head, by  
'chance lively, very lively if he sees  
'any he loves; if he approaches a  
'lady, his eye is never fixed first  
'on her face, but on her feet, and  
'rears it up by degrees, seeming  
'to set her down as so or so.'

"The health of Richardson was grievously affected by those disorders which pass under the denomination of nervous, and are the usual consequence of bad air, confinement, sedentary employment, and the wear and tear of the mental faculties. It is astonishing how a man who had to raise his fortune by the slow process of his own industry, to take care of an extensive business, to educate his own family, and to be a father to many of his relations, could find time in the breaks and pauses of his other avocations, for works so considerable in size as well as in merit, 'nineteen close printed volumes,' as he oftens mentions, when insisting upon it, in answer to the instances of his correspondents, that he would write more, that he had already written more than enough. Where there exists strong genius, the bent of the mind is imperious, and will be obeyed: but the body too often sinks under it. 'I had  
'originally,' says he, 'a good con-  
'stitution; I hurt it by no intem-  
'perance, but that of application.'

"Richardson scarcely writes a letter without mentioning those

nervous or paralytic tremors, which indeed are very observable in those letters written with his own hand, and which obliged him often to employ the hand of another. Yet his writing, to the last, was small, even, and very legible. Though a strong advocate for public worship, he had discontinued for many years going to church, on account, as he tells lady B. of his not being able to bear a crowd. It is probable, however, that he also wanted the relaxation of a Sunday spent in the country. He took tar-water, then very much in vogue, and lived for seven years upon a vegetable diet; but his best remedy was probably his country house, and the amusement of Tunbridge, which he was accustomed to frequent in the season. He never could ride, being, as he declares, quite a cockney, but used a chamber horse, one of which he kept at each of his houses. His nervous maladies notwithstanding increased, and for years before his death he could not lift the quantity of a small glass of wine to his mouth, though put into a tumbler, without assistance. He loved to complain; but who that suffers from disorders that affect the very springs of life and happiness, does not? Who does not wish for the friendly soothing of sympathy, under maladies from which more material relief is not to be expected? That sympathy was feelingly expressed by Mrs. Chapone, in her Ode to Health, in the following apostrophe:

'Hast thou not left a Richardson unblest?

'He woos thee still in vain, relentless maid.

'Tho' skill'd in sweetest accents to persuade,

'And wake soft pity in the savage breast;

'Him virtue loves, and brightest fame is his:

'Smile thou too, goddess, and complete his bliss.'

"In



“ In the latter part of his life he was rarely seen among his workmen, sometimes not twice in a year, and, even when he was in town, gave his directions by little notes. His principal workman was hard of hearing; and Richardson felt a nervous irritation, which made it not easy for him to bear any thing of hurry or personal altercation.

“ His will shews the same equitable, friendly, and beneficent disposition, which was apparent in his life; legacies to a tribe of relations, to whom, it appears, he had given

little pensions during his life; one third of his fortune to his wife, and the rest to be divided equally among his daughters; recommending, however, his daughter Anne to her mother's peculiar care, from the weak state of her health and spirits. Yet this object of his tender anxiety was the survivor of the whole family. She is said to have possessed ‘an excellent and cultivated understanding, true piety, sensibility, resignation, and strength of mind.’ ”

## SHORT ACCOUNT OF E. DARWIN.

[From Miss SEWARD'S MEMOIRS of his LIFE.]

“ **D**R. Erasmus Darwin was the son of a private gentleman, near Newark, in Nottinghamshire. He came to Lichfield to practise physic in the autumn of the year 1756, at the age of twenty-four; bringing high recommendations from the university of Edinburgh, in which he had studied, and from that of Cambridge, to which he belonged.

“ He was some what above the middle size, his form athletic, and inclined to corpulence; his limbs too heavy for exact proportion. The traces of a severe small-pox; features, and countenance, which, when they were not animated by social pleasure, were rather saturnine than sprightly; a stoop in the shoulders, and the then professional appendage, a large full-bottomed wig, gave, at that early period of life, an appearance of nearly twice the years he bore. Florid health, and the earnest of good humour, a sunny smile, on entering a room, and on first accosting his friends,

rendered, in his youth, that exterior agreeable, to which beauty and symmetry had not been propitious.

“ He stammered extremely; but whatever he said, whether gravely or in jest, was always well worth waiting for, though the inevitable impression it made might not always be pleasant to individual self-love. Conscious of great native elevation above the general standard of intellect, he became, early in life, sore upon opposition, whether in argument or conduct, and always revenged it by sarcasm of very keen edge. Nor was he less impatient of the sallies of egotism and vanity, even when they were in so slight a degree, that strict politeness would rather tolerate than ridicule them. Dr. Darwin seldom failed to present their caricature in jocose but wounding irony. If these ingredients of colloquial despotism were discernible in unworn existence, they increased as it advanced, fed by an ever-



growing reputation within and without the pale of medicine.

“Extreme was his scepticism to human truth. From that cause he often disregarded the accounts his patients gave of themselves, and rather chose to collect his information by indirect inquiry and by cross-examining them, than from their voluntary testimony. That distrust and that habit were probably favourable to his skill in discovering the origin of diseases, and thence to his preeminent success in effecting their cure;—but they impressed his mind and tintured his conversation with an apparent want of confidence in mankind, which was apt to wound the ingenuous and confiding spirit, whether seeking his medical assistance, or his counsel as a friend. Perhaps this proneness to suspicion mingled too much of art in his wisdom.

“In 1757, he married miss Howard, of the Close of Lichfield, a blooming and lovely young lady of eighteen. A mind, which had native strength; an awakened taste for the works of imagination; ingenuous sweetness; delicacy animated by sprightliness, and sustained by fortitude, made her a capable, as well as fascinating companion, even to a man of talents so illustrious.—To her he could, with confidence, commit the important task of rendering his children’s minds a soil fit to receive, and bring to fruit, the stamina of wisdom and science.

“Mrs. Darwin’s own mind, by nature so well endowed, strengthened and expanded in the friendship, conversation, and confidence of so beloved, so revered a preceptor. But alas! upon her early youth, and a too delicate constitution, the frequency of her maternal

situation, during the first five years of her marriage, had probably a baneful effect. The potent skill, and assiduous cares of him, before whom disease daily vanished from the frame of others, could not expel it radically from that of her he loved. It was however kept at bay thirteen years.—

“Thus died this superior woman, in the bloom of life, sincerely regretted by all, who knew how to value her excellence, and passionately regretted by the selected few, whom she honoured with her personal and confidential friendship. The year after his marriage, Dr. Darwin purchased an old half timbered house in the cathedral vicarage, adding a handsome new front, with venetian windows, and commodious apartments. This front looked towards Beacon-street, but had no street annoyance, being separated from it by a narrow, deep, dingle, which, when the doctor purchased the premises, was overgrown with tangled briars and knot-grass. In antient days it was the receptacle of that water, which moated the Close in a semicircle, the other half being defended by the Minster pool. A fortunate opening between the opposite houses and this which has been described, gives it a prospect, sufficiently extensive, of pleasant and umbrageous fields. Across the dell, between his house and the street, Dr. Darwin flung a broad bridge of shallow steps with chinese paling, descending from his hall-door to the pavement. The tangled and hollow bottom he cleared into lawny smoothness, and made a terrace on the bank, which stretched in a line, level with the floor of his apartments, planting the steep declivity with lilacs and rose-bushes; while he screened his terrace from the



the gaze of passengers, and the summer sun,

— by all that higher grew,  
 'Of firm and fragrant leaf. Then swiftly  
 rose  
 'Acanthus, and each odorous, bushy  
 shrub,  
 'To fence the verdant wall.'

"The last gentleman who purchased this house and its gardens, has destroyed the verdure and plantations of that dell, for the purpose of making a circular coach-road from the street to the hall-door; a sacrifice of beauty to convenience, and one of many proofs, that alteration and improvement are not always synonymous terms. To this *rus in urbe*, of Darwinian creation, resorted, from its early rising; a knot of philosophic friends, in frequent visitation. The rev. Mr. Michell, many years deceased. He was skilled in astronomic science, modest and wise. The ingenious Mr. Kier, of West Bromich, then captain Kier. Mr. Boulton, known and respected wherever mechanic philosophy is understood. Mr. Watt, the celebrated improver of the steam engine. And, above all others in Dr. Darwin's personal regard, the accomplished Dr. Small, of Birmingham, who bore the blushing honours of his talents and virtues to an untimely grave.

"About the year 1765, came to Lichfield, from the neighbourhood of Reading, the young and gay philosopher, Mr. Edgeworth, a man of fortune, and recently married to a miss Ellars of Oxfordshire. The fame of Dr. Darwin's various talents allured Mr. E. to the city they graced. Then scarcely two-and-twenty, and with an exterior yet more juvenile, he had mathematic science, mechanic ingenuity, and a competent portion of classical learning, with the pos-

session of the modern languages. His address was gracefully spirited, and his conversation eloquent. He danced, he fenced, and winged his arrows with more than philosophic skill; yet did not the consciousness of these lighter endowments abate his ardour in the pursuit of knowledge.

"After having established a friendship and correspondence with Dr. Darwin, Mr. Edgeworth did not return to Lichfield till the summer of the year 1770. With him, at that period, came the late Mr. Day, of Bear-hill, in Berkshire. These young men had been fellow-students in the university of Oxford. Mr. Day was also attracted by the same celebrated abilities, which, five years before, had drawn his friend into their sphere. He was then twenty-four, in possession of a clear estate, about twelve hundred pounds per annum.—

"During the course of the year 1780, died colonel Pole. Dr. Darwin, more fortunate than Petrarch, whose destiny his own had resembled in poetic endowment and hopeless love, then saw his adored Laura free, and himself at liberty to court her favour, whose coldness his muse had recorded; to 'drink softer effusion from those eyes,' which duty and discretion had rendered repulsive. He soon, however, saw her surrounded by rivals, whose time of life had nearer parity with her own, yet in its summer bloom, while his age nearly approached its half century; whose fortunes were affluent and patrimonial; while his were professional; who were jocund bachelors, while he had children for whom he must provide.

"Colonel Pole had numbered twice the years of his fair wife. His temper was said to have been  
 peevish



peevish and suspicious, yet not beneath those circumstances had her kind and cheerful attentions to him grown cold or remiss. He left her a jointure of six hundred pounds per annum; a son to inherit his estate, and two female children amply portioned.

“Mrs. Pole, it has already been remarked, had much vivacity and sportive humour, with very engaging frankness of temper and manners. Early in her widowhood she was rallied in a large company upon Dr. Darwin’s passion for her, and was asked what she would do with her captive philosopher. ‘He is not very fond of churches, I believe, and if he would go there for my sake, I shall scarcely follow him. He is too old for me.’ ‘Nay, madam, what are fifteen years on the right side?’ She replied, with an arch smile, ‘I have had so much of that right side!’

“The confession was thought inauspicious to the doctor’s hopes; but it did not prove so; the triumph of intellect was complete. Without that native perception and awakened taste for literary excellence, which the first charming Mrs. Darwin possessed, this lady became tenderly sensible of the flattering difference between the attachment of a man of genius, and wide celebrity, and that of young fox-hunting esquires; dashing militaries, and pedantic gownsmen; for she was said to have specimens of all these classes in her train. They could speak their own passion, but could not immortalize her charms. However benevolent, friendly, and sweet-tempered, she was not perhaps exactly the woman to have exclaimed with Akenside,

“Mind, mind alone, bear witness earth and heaven!

‘The living fountain in itself contains  
‘Of beauteous and sublime!’

“Yet did her choice support his axiom when she took Dr. Darwin for her husband. Darwin, never handsome, or personally graceful, with extremely impeded utterance; with hard features on a rough surface; older much in appearance than in reality; lame and clumsy!—and this, when half the wealthy youth of Derbyshire were said to have disputed the prize with him.

“But it was not without some stipulations, apparently hazardous to his pecuniary interest, that Mrs. Pole was persuaded to descend from her Laura-eminence to wifehood, and probably to silence for ever, in the repose of possession, those tender strains, which romantic love and despair, and afterwards the stimulating restlessness of doubtful hope, had occasionally awakened.

“During that visit to Dr. Darwin, in which Mrs. Pole had brought her sick children to be healed by his skill, she had taken a dislike to Lichfield, and decidedly said, nothing could induce her to live there. His addresses did not subdue that resolve.

“After so long and prosperous a residence, to quit that city, central in the Mercian district, from whence his fame had diffused itself through the circling counties, seemed a great sacrifice; but the philosopher was too much in love to hesitate one moment. He married Mrs. Pole in 1781, and removed directly to Derby. His reputation and the unlimited confidence of the public followed him thither, and would have followed him to the metropolis, or to any provincial town, to which he might have chosen to remove.



“ Why he constantly, from time to time, withstood solicitations from countless families of rank and opulence, to remove to London, was never exactly understood by the writer of these memoirs. She knows that the most brilliant prospects of success in the capital were opened to him, from various quarters, early on his residence at Lichfield, and that his attention to them was perpetually requested by eminent people. Undoubtedly those prospects acquired added strength and lustre each year beneath the ever-widening spread of his fame. Conscious of his full habit of body, he probably thought the established custom of imbibing changed and pure air by almost daily journies into the country, essential to his health; perhaps to the duration of his life. In allusion to that perpetual travelling, a gentleman once humorously directed a letter ‘ Dr. Darwin upon the road.’ When himself wrote to Dr. Franklin, complimenting him on having united philosophy to modern science, he directed his letter merely thus, ‘ Dr. Franklin, America;’ and said, he felt inclined to make a still more flattering superscription. ‘ Dr. Franklin, the World.’ His letter reached the sage who first disarmed the lightning of its fatal power, for the answer to it arrived, and was shown in the Darwinian circles; in which had been questioned the likelihood of Dr. Franklin ever receiving a letter of such general superscription as the whole western empire. Its safe arrival was amongst the triumphs of genius combined with exertion, ‘ they make the world their country.’

“ From the time of Dr. Darwin’s marriage and removal to Derby, his limited biographer can

only trace the outline of his remaining existence; remark the dawn and expansion of his poetic fame, and comment upon the claims which secure its immortality. The less does she regret this limitation, as Mr. Dewhurst Bilbury, his pupil in infancy, his confidential friend, and frequent companion through ripened youth, is now writing at large the life of Dr. Darwin, who once more became a happy husband, with a second family of children springing fast around him. To those children the miss Poles, as themselves grew up to womanhood, were very meritoriously attentive and attached. The eldest miss Pole married Mr. Bromley, and is said to be happy in her choice of a worthy and amiable man. The second miss Pole gave her lovely self to Mr. John Gisborne, younger brother to the celebrated moralist and poet of that name.—

“ Sunday, the eighteenth of April, 1802, deprived Derby and its vicinity, and the encircling counties, of Dr. Darwin; the lettered world of his genius. During a few preceding years he had been subject to sudden and alarming disorders of the chest, in which he always applied the lancet instantly and freely; he had repeatedly risen in the night and bled himself. It was said that he suspected *angina pectoris* to be the cause of those his sudden paroxysms, and that it would produce sudden death. The conversation which he held with Mrs. Darwin and her friend, the night before he died, gave colour to the report. In the preceding year he had a very dangerous illness. It originated from a severe cold caught by obeying the summons of a patient in Derby, after he had himself taken strong medicine.—

His



His skill, his courage, his exertion, struggled vehemently with his disease. Repeated and daring use of the lancet at length subdued it, but, in all likelihood, irreparably weakened the system. He never looked so well after as before his seizure; increased debility of step, and a certain wanness of countenance, awakened those fears for him which great numbers felt who calculated upon his assistance when hours of pain and danger might come. It was said, that during his illness he reproved the sensibility and tears of Mrs. Darwin, and bid her remember that she was the wife of a philosopher.

“The public papers and magazines recorded, with tolerable accuracy, the nature of his final seizure; the conversation he held in the garden of his new residence, the Priory, with Mrs. Darwin and her female friend; the idea which he communicated to them, that he was not likely to live to see the effect of those improvements he had planned; Mrs. Darwin affectionately combating that idea by observing, that he looked remarkably well that evening; his reply that he had generally found himself in his best health a few days preceding his attacks; the spirits and strength with which he arose the next morning at six to write letters; the large draught of cold butter-milk, which, according to his usual custom, he had swallowed: all these circumstances early met the public eye; and, in the imperfect sketches of his life which accompanied them, a strange habit was imputed to Dr. Darwin, which presents such an exterior of idiot-seeming indelicacy that the author of this tract is tempted to express her intire disbelief of its truth; viz. that his tongue was generally hanging out of his mouth

as he walked along. She has often, of late years, met him in the streets of Lichfield, alone and musing, and never witnessed a custom so indecent. From the early loss of his teeth he looked much older than he was. That loss exposes the tongue to view while speaking, and Dr. Darwin's mouth certainly thus disclosed the ravages of time, but by no means in any offensive degree.

“It was the general opinion that a glass of brandy might have saved him for that time. Its effects would have been more powerful from his utter disuse of spirits; but such was the abhorrence in which he held them, that it is probable no intreaties could have induced him to have swallowed a dram, though surely on any sudden chill of the blood, its effect, so injurious on habitual application, might have proved restoring.

“On that last morning, he had written one page of a very sprightly letter to Mr. Edgeworth, describing the priory, and his purposed alterations there, when the fatal signal was given. He rang the bell, and ordered his servant to send Mrs. Darwin to him. She came immediately, with his daughter, miss Emma Darwin. They saw him shivering and pale. He desired them to send directly to Derby for his surgeon, Mr. Hadley.—They did so; but all was over before he could arrive.

“It was reported at Lichfield, that, perceiving himself growing rapidly worse, he said to Mrs. Darwin, ‘My dear, you must bleed me instantly.’ ‘Alas, I dare not, lest—’ ‘Emma, will you? There is no time to be lost.’ ‘Yes, my dear father, if you will direct me.’ At that moment he sunk into his chair, and expired!”



## ANECDOTES OF THOMAS DAY, Esq.

[From the same Work.]

“HE was then twenty-four, in possession of a clear estate, about twelve hundred pounds per annum.

“Mr. Day looked the philosopher. Powder and fine clothes were, at that time, the appendages of gentlemen. Mr. Day wore not either. He was tall and stooped in the shoulders, full made, but not corpulent: and in his meditative and melancholy air a degree of awkwardness and dignity were blended. We found his features interesting and agreeable amidst the traces of a severe small pox. There was a sort of weight upon the lids of his large hazle eyes; yet when he declaimed,

————— of good and evil,  
‘Passion, and apathy, and glory, and  
shame,’

very expressive were the energies gleaming from them beneath the shade of sable hair, which, Adam-like, curled about his brows. Less graceful, less amusing, less brilliant than Mr. E., but more highly imaginative, more classical, and a deeper reasoner: strict integrity, energetic friendship, open-handed bounty, sedulous and diffusive charity, greatly overbalanced, on the side of virtue, the tincture of misanthropic gloom and proud contempt of common-life society, that marked the peculiar character, which shall unfold itself on these pages. In succeeding years, Mr. Day published two noble poems, *The Dying Negro*, and *the Devoted Legions*; also *Sandford and Merton*, which by wise parents is put into every youthful hand.—

“Mr. Day’s father died during his infancy, and left him an estate of twelve hundred pounds per annum. Soon after his mother married a gentleman of the name of Philips. The author of this narrative has often heard Mr. Day describe him as one of those common characters, who seek to supply their inherent want of consequence, by a busy teizing interference in circumstances with which they have no real concern.

“Mrs. Philips, jointured with three hundred pounds a year out of her son’s estate, was left his sole guardian, or united with another person in the trust, whom she influenced. Herself, influenced by such a husband, often rendered uncomfortable the domestic situation of a high-spirited youth of genius. We may well suppose he impatiently brooked the preceptive impertinence, and troublesome authority of a man whom he despised, and who had no claim upon his obedience, though he considered it as a duty to pay some outward respect to the husband of his mother.

“She frequently repined at the narrowness of her jointure, and still oftener expressed solicitude lest Mr. Philips, who had no fortune of his own, should lose in the decline of life, by losing her, all comfortable subsistence. It was Mr. Day’s first act, on coming of age, and into possession of his estate, to augment his mother’s jointure to four hundred, and to settle it upon Mr. Philips during his life. This bounty, to a man who had needlessly mortified



mortified and embittered so many years of his own infancy and youth, evinced a very elevated mind. That mind had also been wounded by the caprice of a young lady, who 'claimed the triumph of a lettered heart,' without knowing how to value and retain her prize.—

"Even at that period, 'when youth, elate and gay, steps into life,' Mr. Day was a rigid moralist, who proudly imposed on himself cold abstinence, even from the most innocent pleasures; nor would he allow an action to be virtuous, which was performed upon any hope of reward, here, or hereafter. This severity of principle, more abstract and specious, than natural or useful, rendered Mr. Day sceptical towards revealed religion, though by no means a confirmed deist. Most unlike doctor Johnson in those doubts, he resembled him in want of sympathy with such miseries as spring from refinement and the softer affections; resembled him also, in true compassion for the sufferings of cold and hunger.— To the power of relieving them he nobly sacrificed all the parade of life, and all the pleasures of luxury. For that mass of human character which constitutes polished society, he avowed a sovereign contempt; above all things he expressed aversion to the modern plans of female education, attributing to their influence the fickleness which had stung him. He thought it, however, his duty to marry; nursed systematic ideas of the force of philosophic tuition to produce future virtue, and loved to mould the infant and youthful mind.

"Ever despicable in Mr. Day's estimation were the distinctions of birth, and the advantages of wealth; and he had learnt to look back with resentment to the allurements of

the graces. He resolved, if possible, that his wife should have a taste for literature and science, for moral and patriotic philosophy.— So might she be his companion in that retirement, to which he had destined himself; and assist him in forming the minds of his children to stubborn virtue and high exertion. He resolved also, that she should be simple as a mountain girl, in her dress, her diet, and her manners; fearless and intrepid as the Spartan wives and Roman heroines. There was no finding such a creature ready made; philosophical romance could not hope it. He must mould some infant into the being his fancy had imaged.

"With the late Mr. Bicknel, then a barrister, in considerable practice, and of taintless reputation, and several years older than himself, Mr. Day lived on terms of intimate friendship. Credentials were procured of Mr. Day's moral probity, and with them, on his coming of age, these two friends journeyed to Shrewsbury, to explore the hospital in that town for foundling girls. From the little train, Mr. Day, in the presence of Mr. Bicknel, selected two of twelve years each; both beautiful; one fair, with flaxen locks, and light eyes; her he called Lucretia. The other, a clear, auburn brunette, with darker eyes, more glowing bloom, and chesnut tresses, he named Sabrina.

"These girls were obtained on written conditions, for the performance of which Mr. Bicknel was guarantee. They were to this effect; that Mr. Day should, within the twelvemonth after taking them, resign one into the protection of some reputable tradeswoman, giving one hundred pounds to bind her apprentice; maintaining her, if she behaved well, till she married,



married, or began business for herself. Upon either of these events, he promised to advance four hundred more. He avowed his intention of educating the girl he should retain, with a view to making her his future wife; solemnly engaged never to violate her innocence; and if he should renounce his plan, to maintain her decently in some creditable family till she married, when he promised five hundred pounds as her wedding portion.

"Mr. Day went instantly into France with these girls; not taking an English servant, that they might receive no ideas, except those which himself might choose to impart.

"They teased and perplexed him; they quarrelled, and fought incessantly; they sickened of the small pox; they chained him to their bed-side by crying, and screaming if they were ever left a moment with any person who could not speak to them in English. He was obliged to sit up with them many nights, to perform for them the lowest offices of assistance.

"They lost no beauty by their disease. Soon after they had recovered, crossing the Rhone with his wards in a tempestuous day, the boat upset. Being an excellent swimmer he saved them both, though with difficulty and danger to himself.

"Mr. Day came back to England in eight months, heartily glad to separate the little squabblers.—Sabrina was become the favourite. He placed the fair Lucretia with a chamber milliner. She behaved well, and became the wife of a respectable linen-draper in London. On his return to his native country, he entrusted Sabrina to the care of Mr. Bicknel's mother, with whom she resided some months in a country village, while he settled his af-

fairs at his own mansion-house, from which he promised not to remove his mother.

"It has been said before, that the fame of Dr. Darwin's talents allured Mr. Day to Lichfield. Thither he led, in the spring of the year 1770, the beautiful Sabrina, then thirteen years old; and taking a twelvemonth's possession of the pleasant mansion in Stowe Valley, resumed his preparations for implanting in her young mind the characteristic virtues of Arria, Portia, and Cornelia. His experiments had not the success he wished and expected. Her spirit could not be armed against the dread of pain, and the appearance of danger.—When he dropped melted sealing-wax upon her arms she did not endure it heroically; nor when he fired pistols at her petticoats, which she believed to be charged with balls, could she help starting aside, or suppress her screams.

"When he tried her fidelity in secret-keeping, by telling her of well-invented dangers to himself, in which greater danger would result from it's being discovered that he was aware of them, he once or twice detected her having imparted them to the servants, and to her play-fellows.

"She betrayed an averseness to the study of books, and of the rudiments of science, which gave little promise of ability, that should, one day, be responsible for the education of youths, who were to emulate the Gracchi.

"Mr. Day persisted in these experiments, and sustained their continual disappointment during a year's residence in the vicinity of Lichfield. The difficulty seemed to lie in giving her *motive* to exertion, self-denial and heroism. It was against his plan to draw it from



from the usual sources, pecuniary reward, luxury, ambition, or vanity. His watchful cares had precluded all knowledge of the value of money, the reputation of beauty, and its concomitant desire of ornamented dress. The only inducement, therefore, which this lovely artless girl could have to combat and subdue the natural preference, in youth so blossoming, of ease to pain, of vacant sport to the labour of thinking, was the desire of pleasing her protector, though she knew not how, or why he became such. In that desire, fear had greatly the ascendant of affection, and fear is a cold and indolent feeling.

“ Thus, after a series of fruitless trials, Mr. Day renounced all hope of moulding Sabrina into the being his imagination had formed; and ceasing to behold her as his future wife, he placed her at a boarding-school in Sutton-Coldfield, Warwickshire. His trust in the power of education faltered; his aversion to modern elegance subsided.— From the time he first lived in the vale of Stowe, he had daily conversed with the beautiful miss Honora Sneyd of Lichfield. Without having received a Spartan education, she united a disinterested desire to please, fortitude of spirit, native strength of intellect, literary and scientific taste, to unswerving truth, and to all the graces. She was the very Honora Sneyd, for whom the gallant and unfortunate major Andre’s inextinguishable passion is on poetic, as his military fame and hapless destiny are on patriot, record. Parental authority having dissolved the juvenile engagements of this distinguished youth and maid, Mr. Day offered to Honora his philosophic hand.— She admired his talents; she revered his virtues; she tried to

school her heart into softer sentiments in his favour. She did not succeed in that attempt, and ingenuously told him so. Her sister, miss Elizabeth Sneyd, one year younger than herself, was very pretty, very sprightly, very artless, and very engaging, though countless degrees inferior to the endowed and adorned Honora. To her the yet love-luckless sage transferred the heart, which Honora had with sighs resigned. Elizabeth told Mr. Day she could have loved him, if he had acquired the manners of the world, instead of those austere singularities of air, habit, and address.

“ He began to impute to them the fickleness of his first love; the involuntary iciness of the charming Honora, as well as that for which her sister accounted. He told Elizabeth, that for her sake, he would renounce his prejudices to external refinements, and try to acquire them. He would go to Paris for a year, and commit himself to dancing and fencing masters. He did so; stood daily an hour or two in frames, to screw back his shoulders, and point his feet; he practised the military gait, the fashionable bow, minuets, and co-tillions: but it was too late; habits so long fixed, could no more than partially be overcome. The endeavour, made at intervals, and by visible effort, was more really ungraceful than the natural stoop, and unfashionable air. The studied bow on entrance, the suddenly recollected assumption of attitude, prompted the risible instead of the admiring sensation; neither was the showy dress, in which he came back to his fair one, a jot more becoming.

“ Poor Elizabeth reproached her reluctant but insuppressive ingratitude,



tude, upon which all this labour, these sacrifices had been wasted. She confessed, that Thomas Day, *blackguard*, as he used jestingly to style himself, less displeased her eye than Thomas Day, *fine gentleman*.

“ Thus again disappointed, he resumed his accustomed plainness of garb, and neglect of his person, and went again upon the continent for another year, with pursuits of higher aim, more congenial to his talents and former principles. Returning to England in the year 1773, he saw, that spring, miss Honora Sneyd united to his friend Mr. Edgeworth, who was become a widower ; and, in the year 1780, he learned that his second love of that name, miss Elizabeth Sneyd, was also, after the death of Honora, married to Mr. Edgeworth.

“ It was singular that Mr. Day should thus, in the course of seven years, find himself doubly rivalled by his most intimate friend ; but his own previously renounced pursuit of those beautiful young women, left him without either cause or sensations of resentment on their account.

“ From the year 1773 this hitherto love-renounced philosopher resided chiefly in London, and amid the small and select circle which he frequented there, often met the pretty and elegant miss Esther Mills, of Derbyshire, who, with modern acquirements, and amongst modern luxuries, suited to her large fortune, had cultivated her understanding by books, and her virtues by benevolence. The again unpolished stoic had every charm in her eyes,

‘ She saw Othello’s visage in his mind.’

But, from indignant recollection of hopes so repeatedly baffled, Mr. Day looked with distrust on female attention of however flatter-

1804,

ing semblance ; nor was it till after years of her modest, yet tender devotion to his talents and merit, that he deigned to ask miss Mills, if she could, for his sake, resign all that the world calls pleasures ; all it’s luxuries, all it’s ostentation : if, with him, she could resolve to employ, after the ordinary comforts of life were supplied, the surplus of her affluent fortune in clothing the naked, and feeding the hungry ; retire with him into the country, and shun, through remaining existence, the infectious taint of human society.

“ Mr. Day’s constitutional fault, like poor Cowper’s, seemed that of looking with severe and disgusted eyes upon those venial errors in his species, which are mutually tolerated by mankind. This stain of misanthropy was extremely deepened by his commerce with the world, restrained as that commerce had ever been. Satiric, jealous, and discerning, it was not easy to deceive him ; yet, in a few instances, he was deceived by the appearance of virtues congenial to his own :

‘ For neither man nor angel can discern

‘ Hypocrisy, the only evil that walks

‘ Invisible, except to God alone.’

“ To proposals so formidable, so sure to be rejected by a heart less than infinitely attached, miss Mills gladly assented ; but something more remained. Mr. Day insisted, that her whole fortune should be settled upon herself, totally out of his present or future control ; that if she grew tired of a system of life so likely to weary a woman of the world, she might return to that world any hour she chose, fully empowered to resume it’s habits, and it’s pleasures.

“ They married, and retired into the country about the year 1780, accord-

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accord.



according to the best recollection of the author of these memoirs.—No carriage; no appointed servant about Mrs. Day's own person; no luxury of any sort. Music, in which she was a distinguished proficient, was deemed trivial. She banished her harpsichord and music-books. Frequent experiments upon her temper, and her attachment, were made by him, whom she lived but to obey and love. Over these she often wept, but never repined. No wife, bound in the strictest fetters, as to the incapacity of claiming separate maintenance, ever made more absolute sacrifices to the most imperious husband, than did this lady, whose independence had been secured, and of whom nothing was demanded as a duty.

“Thus Mr. Day found, at last, amid the very class he dreaded, that of fashionable women, a heart whose passion for him supplied all the requisites of his high-toned expectations.

“Some eight or ten years after his marriage, the life of this singular being became, in its meri-

dian, a victim to one of his uncommon systems. He thought highly of the gratitude, generosity, and sensibility of horses; and that whenever they were disobedient, unruly, or vicious, it was owing to previous ill usage from men. He had reared, fed, and tamed a favourite foal. When it was time it should become serviceable, disdaining to employ a horsebreaker, he would use it to the bit and the burthen himself. He was not a good horseman. The animal, disliking his new situation, heeded not the soothing voice to which he had been accustomed. He plunged, threw his master, and then, with his heels, struck him on the head an instantly fatal blow. It was said that Mrs. Day never afterwards saw the sun; that she lay in bed, into the curtains of which no light was admitted during the day, and only rose to stray alone through her garden, when night gave her sorrows congenial gloom. She survived this adored husband two years, and then died, broken-hearted, for his loss.”

## CHARACTER OF GILBERT WAKEFIELD, B. A.

[FROM MEMOIRS OF HIS LIFE.]

“THE forwardness of his capacity in the season of infancy appeared to design him for a scholar. The conscientious occupation of his hours during the period of youth, when to trifle is regarded as almost venial, prepared him for the attainment of literary eminence. His manly years, he incessantly employed in arranging and imparting the intellectual stores which his youth had ac-

quired, and which, under his skillful management, were daily increasing.

“His merit as a scholar, it would ill become us to attempt to appreciate. His enemies have never ventured to dispute it. Nor, we believe, have the best friends to his memory and his reputation any apprehensions as to the permanence of his classical fame. In his own estimation, literature was not  
to



to be regarded as a selfish gratification, but to be chiefly valued for the grand excitements and important aids which it afforded to the attainment of religious knowledge, and the formation of just principles. When a young man, he expresses, in one of his private letters, his resolution to be chiefly occupied in 'that noblest science to be good;' and after the experience of many years, when he was giving affectionate advice to one of his daughters, he thus strongly inculcates the unimportance of all literary attainments which terminate short of moral improvement. 'You know my sentiments on these points so well as to free me from the necessity of adding, how trivial and insignificant are the noblest intellectual endowments, in competition with benevolence of feeling and purity of heart;—with that sensibility, and complacency, and accommodation of manners, which reaps it's sincerest and highest pleasures from relieving the wants, attending to the wishes, and consulting the gratification, of a single human being.'

"As a member of civil society, a mind such as his could never for a moment either entertain or inculcate

'Th' enormous faith of many made for one.'

"Respecting forms of government, indeed, he was little attached to any particular theory, but rather anxious to behold civil institutions practically applied to the public good. He could scarcely be called a politician, in the usual meaning of the term, till, in the latter years of his life, those events began to agitate the world, which were calculated to rouse the attention

and interest the feelings of every man of thought and reflection.

"He was now led to investigate the character and conduct of the public men of his time. In one who, unhappily for his country and the world, has been too long 'a statesman without power,' he discovered a liberality of sentiment and an openness of profession congenial to his own. Contemplating the perilous situation of his country, an incessant prey to the ravages of war and the accumulation of public burdens, he described Mr. Fox as her 'Angel of Redemption.' Of his rival, it is well known that he formed, in earlier life, a far less favourable opinion, which the experience of his riper years tended only to confirm.

"Yet his habits and inclination generally led him to the enjoyments of domestic society and the occupations of private life. As a cheerful and most engaging companion—an able and persevering instructor of the youths committed to his care—a zealous promoter of the interests of learning, with an especial regard to the eventual predominance of religion—in these characters he is peculiarly worthy of being proposed as an example, and in these, indeed, it was his first ambition to excel.

"As a companion he has, we believe, been seldom equalled by any professed student; for, among his various excellencies, his colloquial powers were eminently conspicuous. No one was ever more fond of social intercourse, or took a more active part in promoting its enjoyment, by keeping conversation alive, whatever turn it might take.

"Indeed, it could not be at a stand where he was present. The accommodating disposition with



which he applied his varied talents, enabled him to instruct by his learning, or to amuse by a rich fund of anecdote, and lively sallies of humour. Perhaps upon these occasions he was carried too far into the practice of punning; at least, it might be thought so by those who have no talent for that species of pleasantry, from which, however, he carefully abstained when its indulgence might give uneasiness to others.

“In conversation, he was not desirous of engrossing too large a share, but rather solicitous to bring forward those around him, especially the young and the diffident. It might be truly said of him, that ‘in speech, neither the pleasantness excluded gravity, nor was the sobriety of it inconsistent with delight. No man parted willingly from his discourse: for he so ordered it, that every man was satisfied that he had his share.’

“Though thus unassuming in his manners, he was sure to attract attention to his sentiments on all subjects. Whenever these excited opposition, he would listen to the contrary opinion with the most patient and impartial attention; for he was not less observable for a candid and conciliating mode of argument, than for the readiness and command of language with which he could sustain his own opinion. What he says of himself on this point was strictly correct. ‘Though some people regard me as violent and self-willed, I know very well, that I owe the extraordinary affection of my many friends to no one property so much as a kind attention to their sentiments, and a civil manner of disputing them.’

“That he was subject, especially in his early years, to that irritabi-

lity of temper which is too frequently an attendant on genius, cannot be denied. During the latter period of his life, however, he had so far acquired the mastery over his feelings, which were naturally strong, as to have been but very rarely betrayed, in his conversation, into asperity of language, by the harshness or ill manners of an opponent. When such painful circumstances occurred, they were dismissed as soon as possible from his memory, and never suffered to prejudice his mind in estimating the general merit even of those by whom his sentiments were rudely controverted.

“Such were the talents and dispositions which he brought into his social intercourse; a pensive, yet pleasing recollection of which enables us to speak upon this subject with peculiar confidence. His early love of society has been described by himself, where he mentions that ‘during a five years’ continuance at college he never breakfasted, drank tea, or supped alone, half-a-dozen times.’ He considered it, under due restrictions, as the most useful school of wisdom, and virtue, to beings endued with social faculties. His sentiments are not less accurately than beautifully described by the poet:

‘Man in society is like a flower.  
‘Blown in its native bed; ’tis there alone  
‘His faculties, expanded in full bloom,  
‘Shine out; there only reach their proper use.’

“It was doubtless chiefly owing to his early and continued indulgence of this disposition, that he avoided those awkward, and frequently unaccommodating peculiarities, so observable in men of retired habits. Of himself he remarks, ‘I have always endeavour-



ed to guard against those indecorous absences, and alienating singularities, too incident to studious men.'

"To this freedom from every thing like repulsive manners must, in a great measure, be attributed that eagerness with which his society was sought after by many persons of tastes and habits of life very different both from himself and from each other; a proof of something singularly amiable and engaging in his conversation and deportment. Few had an opportu-

nity of coming once into his company without desiring a greater intimacy. Some especially, from whom in his latter years he received peculiar marks of friendship, were in this manner introduced to his acquaintance.

"In the important character of a tutor, the rationality of his method of instruction may be inferred from his eminent success, while his conduct towards the youths committed to his charge secured at once their respect and affection."

#### CHARACTER OF SIR WILLIAM JONES.

[FROM LORD TEIGNMOUTH'S MEMOIRS OF HIS LIFE.]

"IN the short space of forty-seven years, by the exertion of rare intellectual talents, he acquired a knowledge of arts, sciences, and languages, which has seldom been equalled, and perhaps never surpassed. If he did not attain the critical proficiency of a Porson or Parr in Grecian literature, yet his knowledge of it was most extensive and profound, and entitled him to a high rank in the first class of scholars, while as a philologist, he could boast an universality in which he had no rival. His skill in the idioms of India, Persia, and Arabia, has perhaps never been equalled by any European; and his compositions on Oriental subjects display a taste which we seldom find in the writings of those who had preceded him in these tracts of literature. The language of Constantinople was also familiar to him; and of the Chinese characters and tongue, he had learned enough to enable him to translate an ode of Confucius. In the modern dia-

lects of Europe, French, Italian, Spanish, Portuguese, and German, he was thoroughly conversant, and had perused the most admired writers in those languages. I might extend the list by specifying other dialects which he understood, but which he had less perfectly studied.

"But mere philology was never considered by sir William Jones as the end of his studies, nor as any thing more than the medium through which knowledge was to be acquired; he knew that 'words were the daughters of earth, and things the sons of heaven,' and would have disdained the character of a mere linguist. In the little sketch of a treatise on education, which has been inserted in these Memoirs, he describes the use of language, and the necessity of acquiring the languages of those people who in any period of the world have been distinguished by their superior knowledge, in order to add to our own researches the



accumulated wisdom of all ages and nations. Accordingly, with the keys of learning in his possession, he was qualified to unlock the literary hoards of antient and modern times, and to display the treasures deposited in them, for the use, entertainment, or instruction of mankind. In the course of his labours we find him elucidating the laws of Athens, India, and Arabia, comparing the philosophy of the Porch, the Lyceum, and Academy, with the doctrines of the Sufis and Bramins; and, by a rare combination of taste and erudition, exhibiting the mythological fictions of the Hindus in strains not unworthy the sublimest Grecian bards. In the eleven discourses which he addressed to the Asiatic society, on the history, civil and natural, the antiquities, arts, sciences, philosophy, and literature of Asia, and on the origin and families of nations, he has discussed the subjects which he professed to explain, with a perspicuity which delights and instructs, and in a style which never ceases to please, where his arguments may not always convince. In these disquisitions he has more particularly displayed his profound Oriental learning in illustrating topics of great importance in the history of mankind; and it is much to be lamented that he did not live to revise and improve them in England, with the advantages of accumulated knowledge and undisturbed leisure.

“A mere catalogue of the writings of sir Wm. Jones would show the extent and variety of his erudition; a perusal of them will prove, that it was no less deep than miscellaneous. Whatever topic he discusses, his ideas flow with ease and perspicuity; his style is always clear and polished; animated and

forcible when his subject requires it. His philological, botanical, philosophical, and chronological disquisitions, his historical researches, and even his Persian grammar, whilst they fix the curiosity and attention of the reader, by the novelty, depth, or importance of the knowledge displayed in them, always delight by elegance of diction. His compositions are never dry, tedious, nor disgusting; and literature and science come from his hands, adorned with all their grace and beauty.

“No writer perhaps ever displayed so much learning, with so little affectation of it. Instead of overwhelming his readers with perpetual quotations from ancient and modern authors, whose ideas or information he adopts, he transmutes their sense into his own language; and whilst his compositions on this account have a pleasing uniformity, his less learned readers are enabled to reap the fruits of his laborious studies.

“His legal publications have been noticed in these Memoirs: of their merit I am not qualified to speak. I have been informed, that his Essay on the Law of Bailments was stamped with the approbation of lord Mansfield, and that his writings show, that he had thoroughly studied the principles of law as a science. Indeed it is impossible to suppose, that sir William Jones applied his talents to any subject in vain.

“From the study of law, which he cultivated with enthusiasm, he was led to an admiration of the laws of his own country; in them he had explored the principles of the British constitution, which he considered as the noblest and most perfect that ever was formed: and in defence of it he would cheerfully have



have risked his property and life. In his tenth discourse to the society, in 1793, little more than a year before his death, we trace the same sentiments on this subject, which he adopted in youth.

“ ‘ The practical use of history, in affording particular examples of civil and military wisdom, has been greatly exaggerated; but principles of action may certainly be collected from it; and even the narrative of wars and revolutions may serve as a lesson to nations, and an admonition to sovereigns. A desire, indeed, of knowing past events, while the future cannot be known (and a view of the present gives often more pain than delight), seems natural to the human mind; and a happy propensity would it be, if every reader of history would open his eyes to some very important corollaries, which flow from the whole extent of it. He could not but remark the constant effect of despotism in benumbing and debasing all those faculties which distinguish men from the herd that grazes; and to that cause he would impute the decided inferiority of most Asiatic nations, antient and modern, to those in Europe, who are blest with happier governments: he would see the Arabs rising to glory, while they adhered to the free maxims of their bold ancestors, and sinking to misery from the moment when those maxims were abandoned. On the other hand, he would observe with regret, that such republican governments as tend to promote virtue and happiness, cannot in their nature be permanent, but are generally succeeded by oligarchies, which no good man would wish to be durable. He would then, like the king of Lydia, remember Solon, the wisest, bravest, and most accomplished of men, who asserts

in four nervous lines, that “ as hail  
“ and snow, which mar the labours  
“ of husbandmen, proceed from  
“ elevated clouds, and, as the de-  
“ structive thunderbolt follows the  
“ brilliant flash, thus is a free state  
“ ruined by men exalted in power,  
“ and splendid in wealth, while the  
“ people, from gross ignorance,  
“ chuse rather to become the slaves  
“ of one tyrant, that they may es-  
“ cape from the domination of  
“ many, than to preserve them-  
“ selves from tyranny of any kind  
“ by their union and their vir-  
“ tues.”

“ Since, therefore, no unmixed form of government could both preserve permanence and enjoy it; and since changes even from the worst to the best, are always attended with much temporary mischief, he would fix on our British constitution (I mean our public law, not the actual state of things in any given period), as the best form ever established, though we can only make distant approaches to its theoretical perfection. In these Indian territories, which Providence has thrown into the arms of Britain for their protection and welfare, the religion, manners, and laws of the natives preclude even the idea of political freedom; but their histories may possibly suggest hints for their prosperity, while our country derives essential benefit from the diligence of a placid and submissive people, who multiply with such increase, even after the ravages of famine, that, in one collectorship out of twenty-four, and that by no means the largest or best cultivated (I mean Crishna-nagur), there have lately been found by an actual enumeration, a million and three hundred thousand native inhabitants: whence it should seem, that in all India there cannot now be fewer than



thirty millions of black British subjects.'

" This quotation will prove, that he was not tainted with the wild theories of licentiousness, mis-called liberty, which have been propagated with unusual industry since the revolution in France; and that whilst he was exerting himself to compile a code of laws, which should secure the rights and property of the natives of India (a labour to which he in fact sacrificed his life), he knew the absurdity and impracticability of attempting to introduce amongst them that political freedom, which is the birth-right of Britons, but the growth of ages. Of the French revolution in its commencement he entertained a favourable opinion, and, in common with many wise and good men, who had not as yet discovered the foul principle from which it sprung, wished success to the struggles of that nation for the establishment of a free constitution; but he saw with unspeakable disgust the enormities which sprang out of the attempt, and betrayed the impurity of its origin. Things ill-begun strengthen themselves with ill. We may easily conceive, and it is unnecessary to state, what the sentiments of sir William Jones would have been, if he had lived to this time.

" If the political opinions of sir William Jones, at any period, have been censured for extravagance, let it be remembered, that he adopted none but such as he firmly believed to arise out of the principles of the constitution of England; and as such he was ever ready to avow and defend them. His attachment to liberty was certainly enthusiastic, and he never speaks of tyranny or oppression but in the language of detestation: this sentiment, the offspring of generous feelings, was

invigorated by his early acquaintance with the republican writers of Greece and Rome, and with the works of the most celebrated political writers of his own country; but the whole tenor of his life, conversation, and writings, proves to my conviction, that he would have abandoned any opinion, which could be demonstrated irreconcilable to the spirit of the constitution.

" With these principles he ever refused to enlist under the banners of any party, which he denominated faction, and resisted the influence of private friendships and attachments, whenever they involved a competition with his regard to the constitution of his country. These sentiments may be traced in his correspondence and publications, and they are sometimes accompanied with expressions of regret arising from the impossibility of reconciling his political principles to the bias of his inclinations towards individuals.

" The latest political publication of sir William Jones, is prior to the year 1783. The temper of the nation, soured by a long and unsuccessful war, was displayed during the three preceding years, in the bitterest invectives and censures, both in and out of parliament; and those who thought that the principles of the constitution had been invaded by the conduct of the minister, supported by a majority in the house of commons, looked to a reformation in the representation of the country, as the only means of restoring the balance of the constitution. The revolution which has since deformed the political state of Europe was not then foreseen, and the experience founded on the consequences of the speculations which led to it, or have emerged from it, was to be acquired.



quired. In judging of the political opinions of sir William Jones, and of the freedom with which they were published to the world, we should revert to the language and spirit of the times when they were delivered. It may be further remarked, that some political theories, which were held to be incontrovertible, have of late years been questioned, and that the doctrines of Locke on Government, which it would once have been heresy to deny, no longer command that implicit acquiescence which they once almost universally received.

“ In the first charge which sir William Jones delivered to the grand jury at Calcutta, he told them, that he aspired to no popularity, and sought no praise but that which might be given to a strict and conscientious discharge of duty, without predilection, or prejudice of any kind, and with a fixed resolution to pronounce on all occasions what he conceived to be the law, than which no individual must suppose himself wiser. His conduct as a judge was most strictly conformable to his professions: on the bench he was laborious, patient, and discriminating: his charges to the grand jury, which do not exceed six, exhibit a veneration for the laws of his country, a just and spirited encomium on the trial by jury, as the greatest and most invaluable right derived from them to the subject, a detestation of crimes, combined with mercy towards the offender, occasional elucidations of the law, and the strongest feelings of humanity and benevolence. By his knowledge of the Sanscrit and Arabic, he was eminently qualified to promote the administration of justice in the supreme court, by detecting misrepresentations of the

Hindu or Mahommedan laws, and by correcting impositions in the form of administering oaths to the followers of Brahma and Mahomed. If no other benefit had resulted from his study of these languages than the compilation of the digest, and the translation of Menu and of two Mahommedan law tracts, this application of his talents to promote objects of the first importance to India and Europe, would have entitled him to the acknowledgments of both countries. Of his studies in general it may be observed, that the end which he always had in view, was practical utility; that knowledge was not accumulated by him, as a source of mere intellectual recreation, or to gratify an idle curiosity, or for the idler purpose of ostentatiously displaying his acquisitions; to render himself useful to his country and mankind, and to promote the prosperity of both, were the primary and permanent motives of his indefatigable exertions in acquiring knowledge.

“ The inflexible integrity with which he discharged the solemn duty of this station will long be remembered in Calcutta, both by Europeans and natives. So cautious was he to guard the independence of his character from any possibility of violation or imputation, that no solicitation could prevail upon him to use his personal influence with the members of administration in India, to advance the private interests of friends whom he esteemed, and which he would have been happy to promote. He knew the dignity, and felt the importance of his office, and, convinced that none could afford him more ample scope for exerting his talents to the benefit of mankind, his ambition never extended



tended beyond it. No circumstance occasioned his death to be more lamented by the public, than the loss of his abilities as judge, of which they had had the experience of eleven years.

“ When we consider the time required for the study of the law as a profession, and that portion of it which was devoted by sir William Jones to the discharge of his duties as judge and magistrate in India, it must appear astonishing that he should have found leisure for the acquisition of his numerous attainments in science and literature, and for completing the voluminous works which have been given to the public. On this subject I shall, I trust, be excused for using, as I may find convenient, my own language in a discourse which I addressed to the Asiatic society a few days after his decease.

“ There were in truth few sciences in which he had not acquired considerable proficiency; in most his knowledge was profound. The theory of music was familiar to him, nor had he neglected to render himself acquainted with the interesting discoveries lately made in chemistry; and I have heard him assert that his admiration of the structure of the human frame, induced him to attend for a season to a course of anatomical lectures delivered by his friend, the celebrated Hunter. Of his skill in mathematics I am so far qualified to speak, that he frequently perused and solved the problems in the *Principia*.

“ His last and favourite pursuit was the study of botany. It constituted the principal amusement of his leisure hours. In the arrangement of Linnæus he discovered system, truth, and science, which never failed to captivate and en-

gage his attention; and from the proofs which he has exhibited of his progress in botany, we may conclude, if he had lived, that he would have extended the discoveries in that science. From two of the essays mentioned in the note, I shall transcribe two short extracts which mark his judgment and delicacy of sentiment: ‘ If botany ‘ could be described by metaphors ‘ drawn from the science itself, we ‘ may justly pronounce a minute ‘ acquaintance with *plants*, their ‘ *classes, orders, kinds, and species*, to ‘ be its *flowers*, which can only ‘ produce *fruit* by an application ‘ of that knowledge to the pur- ‘ poses of life, particularly to *diet* ‘ by which diseases may be avoid- ‘ ed, and to *medicine* by which they ‘ may be remedied.’ On the indelicacy of the Linnæan definitions, he observes, ‘ Hence it is that no ‘ well-born and well-educated wo- ‘ man can be advised to amuse ‘ herself with botany, as it is now ‘ explained, though a more elegant ‘ and delightful study, or one ‘ more likely to assist and embellish other female accomplishments, could not possibly be recommended.’

“ It cannot be deemed useless or superfluous to enquire by what arts or method he was enabled to attain this extraordinary degree of knowledge. The faculties of his mind, by nature vigorous, were improved by constant exercise: and his memory, by habitual practice, had acquired a capacity of retaining whatever had once been impressed upon it. In his early years, he seems to have entered upon his career of study with this maxim strongly impressed upon his mind, that whatever had been attained, was attainable by him; and it has been remarked, that he never



never neglected nor overlooked any opportunity of improving his intellectual faculties, or of acquiring esteemed accomplishments.

“ To an unextinguished ardour for universal knowledge he joined a perseverance in the pursuit of it, which subdued all obstacles. His studies in India began with the dawn, and, during the intermissions of professional duties, were continued throughout the day : reflection and meditation strengthened and confirmed what industry and investigation had accumulated. It was also a fixed principle with him, from which he never voluntarily deviated, not to be deterred by any difficulties that were surmountable, from prosecuting to a successful termination what he had once deliberately undertaken.

“ But what appears to me more particularly to have enabled him to employ his talents so much to his own and the public advantage, was the regular allotment of his time to particular occupations, and a scrupulous adherence to the distribution which he had fixed ; hence all his studies were pursued without interruption or confusion. Nor can I omit remarking the candour and complacency with which he gave his attention to all persons of whatever quality, talents, or education ; he justly concluded, that curious or important information might be gained even from the illiterate ; and, wherever it was to be obtained, he sought and seized it.

“ The literary designs which he still meditated, seem to have been as ample as those which he executed ; and if it had pleased Providence to extend the years of his existence, he would in a great measure have exhausted whatever was curious, important, and attainable, in the arts, sciences, and histories

of India, Arabia, Persia, China, and Tartary. His collections on these subjects were extensive, and his ardour and industry we know were unlimited. It is to be hoped that the progressive labour of the society will in part supply what he had so extensively planned.

“ Of his private and social virtues it still remains to speak : and I could with pleasure expatiate on the independence of his integrity, his humanity and probity, as well as his benevolence, which every living creature participated.

“ Could the figure (I quote with pleasure his own words), instincts, and qualities of birds, beasts, insects, reptiles, and fish, be ascertained, either on the plan of Buffon, or on that of Linnæus, without giving pain to the objects of our examination, few studies would afford us more solid instruction, or more exquisite delight ; but I never could learn by what right, nor conceive with what feelings, a naturalist can occasion the misery of an innocent bird, and leave its young, perhaps, to perish in a cold nest, because it has gay plumage, and has never been accurately delineated, or deprive even a butterfly of its natural enjoyments, because it has the misfortune to be rare or beautiful : nor shall I ever forget the couplet of Ferdausi, for which Sadi, who cites it with applause, pours blessings on his departed spirit.

‘ Ah ! spare yon emmet, rich in hoarded grain ;

‘ He lives with pleasure, and he dies with pain.’

“ This may be only a confession of weakness, and it certainly is not meant as a boast of peculiar sensibility ; but whatever name may be given to my opinion, it has such an effect on my conduct, that I never would



would suffer the *cocila*, whose wild native woodnotes announce the approach of spring, to be caught in my garden, for the sake of comparing it with Buffon's description; though I have often examined the domestic and engaging *Mayana*, which 'bids us good morrow' at our windows, and expects, as its reward, little more than security: even when a fine young *manis* or *pangolin* was brought to me, against my wish, from the mountains, I solicited his restoration to his beloved rocks, because I found it impossible to preserve him in comfort at a distance from them.

"I have noticed his cheerful and assiduous performance of his filial and fraternal duty: 'to the other virtues of Mr. Jones (I quote the testimony and words of professor Bjornshal, who visited Oxford whilst sir William Jones resided there, obligingly communicated to me by Dr. Ford of Mag. Hall) 'I ought to add that of filial duty, which he displays at all times in the most exemplary manner. I am not singular in the observation here made. Every one acquainted with Mr. Jones makes it likewise. I feel a pleasure in dwelling upon a character that does such high honour to human nature.' The unceasing regret of lady Jones is a proof of his claim upon her conjugal affections; and I could dwell with rapture on the affability of his conversation and manners, on his modest unassuming deportment, nor can I refrain from remarking, that he was totally free from pedantry, as well as from that arrogance and self-sufficiency which sometimes accompany and disgrace the greatest abilities; his presence was the delight of every society,

which his conversation exhilarated and improved.

"His intercourse with the Indian natives of character and abilities was extensive: he liberally rewarded those by whom he was served and assisted; and his dependants were treated by him as friends. Under this denomination he has frequently mentioned in his works the name of Bahman, a native of Yezd, and follower of the doctrines of Zoroaster, whom he retained in his pay, and whose death he often adverted to with regret. Nor can I resist the impulse which I feel to repeat an anecdote of what occurred after his demise; the pundits who were in the habit of attending him, when I saw them at a public *darbar*, a few days after that melancholy event, could neither restrain their tears for his loss, nor find terms to express their admiration at the wonderful progress which he had made in the sciences which they professed.

"If this character of sir William Jones be not exaggerated by the partiality of friendship, we shall all apply to him his own words, 'it is happy for us that this man was born.' I have borrowed the application of them from Dr. Parr, and who more competent can be found to estimate the merit of the great scholar whom he deems worthy of this eulogium?

"In the pleasing office of delineating his virtues, my regret for his loss has been suspended, but will never be obliterated; and whilst I cherish with pride the recollection that he honoured me with his esteem, I cannot cease to feel and lament, that the voice to which I listened with rapture and improvement, is heard no more.

"As far as happiness may be considered



considered dependent upon the attainment of our wishes, he possessed it. At the period of his death, by a prudent attention to economy, which never encroached upon his liberality, he had acquired a competency, and was in a situation to enjoy dignity with independence. For this acquisition he was indebted to the exertion of his talents and abilities, of energies well directed, and usefully applied to the benefit of his country and mankind. He had obtained a reputation which might gratify the highest ambition : and as far as human happiness is also connected with expectation, he had in prospect a variety of employments, the execution of

which depended only on the continuance of his health and intellectual powers. I shall not here enlarge upon the common topic of the vanity of human wishes, prospects, and enjoyments, which my subject naturally suggests ; but if my reader should not participate that admiration which the memory of sir William Jones excites in my mind, I must submit to the mortification of having depreciated a character, which I had fondly hoped would be effectually emblazoned by its own excellence, if I did but simply recite the talents and virtues which conspired to dignify and adorn it."



# MANNERS OF NATIONS.

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## STATE OF SOCIETY IN CHINA.

[From MR. BARROW'S TRAVELS.]

“THE first of the new year in China, and a few succeeding days, are the only holidays, properly speaking, that are observed by the working part of the community. On these days the poorest peasant makes a point of procuring new clothing for himself and his family; they pay their visits to friends and relations, interchange civilities and compliments, make and receive presents; and the officers of government and the higher ranks give feasts and entertainments. But even in those feasts there is nothing that bears the resemblance of conviviality. The guests never partake together of the same service of dishes, but each has frequently his separate table; sometimes two, but never more than four, sit at the same table; and their eyes must constantly be kept upon the master of the feast, to watch all his motions, and to observe every morsel he puts into his mouth, and every time he lifts the cup to his lips; for a Chinese of good-breeding can neither eat nor drink without a particular ceremony, to which the guests must pay attention. If a person invited should, from sickness or any accident, be prevented from fulfilling

his engagement, the portion of the dinner that was intended to be placed on his table is sent in procession to his own house; a custom that strongly points out the very little notion they entertain of the *social* pleasures of the table. It is customary to send after each guest the remains even of his dinner. Whenever in the course of our journey we visited a governor or viceroy of a province, we generally found him at the head of a range of tables, covered with a multitude of dishes, which invariably were marched after us to the yachts. Martial, if I mistake not, has some allusion to a similar custom among the Romans. Each carried his own napkin to a feast, which, being filled with the remains of the entertainment, was sent home by a slave; but this appears to have been done more out of compliment to the host, to show the great esteem in which they held his cheer, than for the sake of the viands; for the Romans loved conviviality.

“The Chinese also, like the ancient Egyptians, as exemplified in the enormous mess which Joseph gave to little Benjamin above the rest of his brothers, testify, on all occasions, that they consider the measure of a man's



man's stomach to depend more upon the rank of its owner than either his bulk or appetite. The ambassador's allowance was at least five times as great as that of any person in his suite. In this particular, however, these nations are not singular, neither in antient nor in modern times. The kings of Sparta, and indeed every Grecian hero, were always supposed to eat twice the quantity of a common soldier; and the only difference with regard to our heroes of the present day consists in their being enabled to convert quantity into quality, an advantage for which they are not a little indebted to the invention of money, into which all other articles can be commuted.

“ Whatever may be the occasion of bringing together a few idlers, they seldom part without trying their luck at some game of chance, for which a Chinese is never unprepared. He rarely goes abroad without a pack of cards in his pocket, or a pair of dice. Both of these, like almost every thing else in the country, are different from similar articles elsewhere. Their cards are much more numerous than ours, and their games much more complicated. Nor are they at any loss, even if none of the party should happen to be furnished with cards or dice; on such an emergency their fingers are employed to answer the purpose, which are all that is required to play the game of *Tsoi-moi*, a game of which the lower class of people is particularly fond. Two persons, sitting directly opposite to each other, raise their hands at the same moment; when each calls out the number he guesses to be the sum of the fingers expanded by himself and his adversary. The closed fist is none, the thumb one, the thumb

and forefinger two, &c. so that the chances lie between 0 and 5, as each must know the number held out by himself. The middling class of people likewise play at this game when they give entertainments where wine is served, and the loser is always obliged to drink off a cup of wine. At this childish game two persons will sometimes play to a very late hour, till he who has had the worst of the game has been obliged to drink so much wine that he can no longer see either to count his own or his adversary's fingers. I have thus particularly noticed the Chinese *Tsoi-moi*, on account of the extraordinary coincidence between it and a game in use among the Romans, to which frequent allusion is made by Cicero. In a note by Melanchthon on Cicero's Offices it is thus described: ‘ *Micare digitis*, ludi genus est. Sic ludentes, simul digitos alterius manus quot volunt citissime erigunt, et simul ambo divinant quot simul erecti sint; quod qui definivit, lucratus est: unde acri visu opus, et multa fide, ut cum aliquo in tenebris mices.’ ‘ *Micare digitis*, is a kind of game. Those who play at it stretch out, with great quickness, as many fingers of one hand each, as they please, and at the same instant both guess how many are held up by the two together; and he who guesses right wins the game: hence a sharp sight is necessary, and also great confidence when it is played in the dark.’

“ The Chinese have certainly the *acer visus*, but I doubt much whether they have faith enough in each other's integrity to play at the game of fingers in the dark, which, in the opinion of Cicero, was a strong test of a truly honest man. The same game is said to be still played



played in Italy under the name of *Morra*\*.

"The officers about Yuen-min-yuen used to play a kind of chess, which appeared to me to be essentially different from that game as played by the Persians, the Indians, and other Oriental nations, both with regard to the lines drawn on the board, the form of the chessmen, and the moves, from which I should rather conclude it to be a game of their own invention, than an introduction either from India or by the army of Gengis-khan, as some authors have conjectured.

"The spirit of gaming is so universal in most of the towns and cities, that in almost every bye-corner, groupes are to be found playing at cards or throwing dice. They are accused even of frequently staking their wives and children on the hazard of a die. It may easily be conceived that where a man can sell his children into slavery, there can be little remorse, in the breast of a gamester reduced to his last stake, to risk the loss of what the law has sanctioned him to dispose of. Yet we are very gravely assured by some of the reverend missionaries, that 'the Chinese are entirely ignorant of all games of chance;' that 'they can enjoy no amusements but such as are authorized by the laws.' These gentlemen surely could not be ignorant that one of their most favourite sports is cock-fighting, and that this cruel and unmanly amusement, as they are pleased to consider it, is full as eagerly pursued by the upper classes in China as, to their shame and disgrace be it spoken, it continues to be by those in a similar situation in some parts of Europe. The training of quails for the same cruel

purpose of butchering each other furnishes abundance of employment for the idle and dissipated. They have even extended their enquiries after fighting animals into the insect tribe, in which they have discovered a species of *gryllus*, or locust, that will attack each other with such ferocity as seldom to quit their hold without bringing away at the same time a limb of their antagonist. These little creatures are fed and kept apart in bamboo cages; and the custom of making them devour each other is so common that, during the summer months, scarcely a boy is seen without his cage and his grasshoppers.

"I have already had occasion to observe, that the natural disposition of the Chinese should seem to have suffered almost a total change by the influence of the laws and maxims of government, an influence which, in this country more than elsewhere, has given a bias to the manners, sentiments, and moral character of the people; for here every antient proverb carries with it the force of a law. While they are by nature quiet, passive, and timid, the state of society and the abuse of the laws by which they are governed, have rendered them indifferent, unfeeling, and even cruel, as a few examples, which among many others occurred, will but too clearly bear evidence; and as the particular instances, from which I have sometimes drawn an inference, accorded with the common actions and occurrences of life, I have not hesitated to consider them as so many general features in their moral character; at the same time I am aware that allowances ought to be made for particular



ways of thinking, and for customs entirely dissimilar from our own, which are, therefore, not exactly to be appreciated by the same rule as if they had occurred in our own country. The public feasts of Sparta, in which the girls danced naked in the presence of young men, had not the same effect on the Lacedæmonian youth, as they might be supposed to produce in Europe; nor the delicacy of the Hindoo women offended by looking on the *lingam*. Thus the Chinese are entitled to our indulgence by the peculiar circumstances under which they are placed; but I leave it in the breast of the reader to make what allowance he may think they deserve.

“The common practice of flogging with the bamboo has generally been considered by the missionaries in the light of a gentle correction, exercised by men in power over their inferiors, just as a father would chastise his son, but not as a punishment to which disgrace is attached. However lightly these gentlemen may choose to treat this humiliating chastisement, to which all are liable from the prime minister to the peasant, it is but too often inflicted in the anger and by the caprice of a man in office, and frequently with circumstances of unwarrantable cruelty and injustice. Of the truth of this remark we had several instances. In our return down the *Wei-ho*, the water being considerably shallower than when we first sailed up this river, one of our accommodation barges got aground in the middle of the night. The air was piercing cold, and the poor creatures belonging to the vessel were busy until sunrise in the midst of the river, using their endeavours to get her off. The rest of the fleet had proceeded, and the patience of the superintending officer at length

being exhausted, he ordered his soldiers to flog the captain and the whole crew; which was accordingly done in a most unmerciful manner; and this was their only reward for the use of the yacht, their time and labour for two days. The instance of degrading an officer and flogging all his people, because the meat brought for our use was a little tainted when the temperature was at 88° in the shade, I have already had occasion to notice.

“Whenever the wind was contrary, or it was found necessary to track the vessels against the stream, a number of men were employed for this purpose. The poor creatures were always pressed into this disagreeable and laborious service, for which they were to receive about sixpence a day so long as they tracked, without any allowance being made to them for returning to the place from whence they were forced. These people knowing the difficulty there was of getting others to supply their places, and that their services would be required until such should be procured, generally deserted by night, disregarding their pay. In order to procure others, the officers dispatched their soldiers to the nearest village, taking the inhabitants by surprise, and forcing them out of their beds to join the yachts. Scarcely a night occurred in which some poor wretches did not suffer the lashes of the soldiers for attempting to escape, or for pleading the excuse of old age or infirmity. It was painful to behold the deplorable condition of some of these creatures. Several were half naked, and appeared to be wasting and languishing for want of food. Yet the task of dragging along the vessels was far from being light. Sometimes they were under the necessity of wading to the middle in



mud; sometimes to swim across creeks, and immediately afterwards to expose their naked bodies to a scorching sun; and they were always driven by a soldier or the lictor of some petty police officer carrying in his hand an enormous whip, with which he lashed them with as little reluctance as if they had been a team of horses.

“The Dutch embassy proceeded by land to the capital, in the middle of winter, when the rivers and canals were frozen. The thermometer was frequently from 8 to 16 degrees below the freezing point, and the face of the country was mostly covered with ice and snow; yet they were often under the necessity of travelling all night; and the peasantry, who were pressed to carry the presents and their baggage, notwithstanding their heavy loads, were obliged to keep up with them as long as they could. In the course of two nights, Mr. Van Braam observes, not less than eight of these poor wretches actually expired under their burdens, through cold, hunger, fatigue, and the cruel treatment of their drivers.

“It had been the practice of some of the gentlemen of the British embassy, in their return through the country, to walk during a part of the day, and to join the barges towards the hour of dinner. One day an officer of high rank took it into his head to interrupt them in their usual walk, and for this purpose dispatched after them nine or ten of his soldiers, who forced them in a rude manner to return to the vessels. Our two conductors Van and Chou, coming up at the time, and being made acquainted with the circumstance, gave to each of the soldiers a most severe flogging. One of these, who had been particularly insolent, had his ears bored through with iron wire, and his

hands bound to them for several days. The viceroy of Canton was at this time with the embassy, and being in rank superior to the offending officer, he ordered the latter to appear before him, gave him a severe reprimand, and sentenced him to receive forty strokes of the bamboo as a gentle correction. Our two Chinese friends were particularly pressing that the gentlemen insulted should be present at the punishment of the officer, and it was not without difficulty they could be persuaded that such a scene would not afford them any gratification. It happened also, in the Dutch embassy, that an inferior officer was flogged and disgraced by their conductors for not having in readiness a sufficient number of coolies or porters to proceed with the baggage, and to carry the sedan chairs in which they travelled.

“The tyranny that men in office exercise over the multitude, and each other, is perfectly agreeable to the systematic subordination which the law has sanctioned. But as authority is a dangerous deposit in the hands of the wisest, and leads sometimes the most wary to

‘Play such fantastic tricks before high heaven

‘As make the angels weep,’

what must the effects of it be when vested in an illiterate Chinese or rude Tartar, who has no other talent or recommendation for his authority than the power alone which his office allows him to exercise?

“Several instances however occurred in the course of our journey through the country, which seemed to mark the same unfeeling and hard-hearted disposition to exist between persons of equal condition in life, as in men in office over their inferiors. One of these afforded an extraordinary trait of inhumanity. A poor fellow at Macao, in the employ

ploy



ploy of the British factory there, fell by accident from a wall and pitched upon his skull. His companions took him up with very little appearance of life, and, in this state, were carrying him away towards the skirts of the town, where they were met by one of the medical gentlemen belonging to the embassy. He interrogated them what they meant to do with the unfortunate man, and was very coolly answered, they were going to bury him. Having expressed his astonishment that they should think of putting a man into the grave before the breath was out of his body, they replied, that they were of opinion he never could recover, and that if they carried him home he would only be a trouble and expense to his friends so long as he remained in a situation which rendered him unable to assist himself. The man, however, by the humanity and attention of doctor Scott, was restored again to his family, and to those friends who knew so well to appreciate the value of his life.

"The doctor, however, was not aware of the risk he ran in thus exercising his humanity, as by a law of the country, which appears to us extraordinary, if a wounded man be taken into the protection and charge of any person with a view to effect his recovery, and he should happen to die under his hands, the person into whose care he was last taken is liable to be punished with death, unless he can produce undeniable evidence to prove how the wound was made, or that he survived it forty days. The consequence of such a law is, that if a person should happen to be mortally wounded in an affray, he is suffered to die in the streets, from the fear (should any one take charge of him) of being made responsible for his life.

"A striking instance of the fatal effects of such a law happened at Canton lately. A fire broke out in the suburbs, and three Chinese, in assisting to extinguish it, had their limbs fractured, and were otherwise dreadfully wounded by the falling of a wall. The surgeon of the English factory, with all the alacrity to administer relief to suffering humanity, which characterizes the profession in Britain, directed them to be carried to the factory, and was preparing to perform amputation, as the only possible means of saving their lives, when one of the Hong merchants, having heard what was going on, ran with great haste to the place, and entreated the surgeon by no means to think of performing any operation upon them, but rather to suffer them to be taken away from the factory as speedily as possible; adding that, however good his intentions might be, if any one of the patients should die under his hands, he would inevitably be tried for murder; and the most mitigated punishment would be that of banishment for life into the wilds of Tartary. The wounded Chinese were accordingly removed privately, and, no doubt, abandoned to their fate.

"The operation of such a barbarous law (for so it appears to us) will serve to explain the conduct of the Chinese in the following instance. In the course of our journey down the grand canal we had occasion to witness a scene, which was considered as a remarkable example of a want of fellow-feeling. Of the number of persons who had crowded down to the banks of the canal, several had posted themselves upon the high projecting stern of an old vessel; which, unfortunately, breaking down with the weight, the whole group tumbled with the



wreck into the canal, just at the moment when the yachts of the embassy were passing. Although numbers of boats were sailing about the place, none were perceived to go to the assistance of those that were struggling in the water. They even seemed not to know that such an accident had happened; nor could the shrieks of the boys, floating on pieces of the wreck, attract their attention. One fellow was observed very busily employed in picking up, with his boat-hook, the hat of a drowning man. It was in vain we endeavoured to prevail on the people of our vessel to heave-to and send the boat to their assistance. It is true, we were then going at the rate of seven miles an hour, which was the plea they made for not stopping. I have no doubt that several of these unfortunate people must inevitably have perished.

“Being thus insensible to the sufferings of their companions and countrymen, little compassion is to be expected from them towards strangers. From a manuscript journal, kept by a gentleman in the suite of the Dutch ambassador, it appears that, on their route to the capital, the writer felt an inclination to try his skaits on a sheet of ice that they passed by the roadside; he was also urged to it by the conducting officers. Having proceeded to some distance from the shore, the ice gave way and he fell in up to the neck. The Chinese, instead of rendering him any assistance in the absence of his own countrymen, who had gone forwards, ran away laughing at this accident, and left him to scramble out as well as he could; which was not effected without very great difficulty.

“But, if further proofs were wanting to establish the insensible

and incompassionate character of the Chinese, the horrid practice of infanticide, tolerated by custom and encouraged by the government, can leave no doubt on this subject. —I venture to say encouraged, because, where the legislature does not interfere to prevent crimes, it certainly may be said to lend them its countenance. No law, however, allows, as I observe it noticed in a modern author of reputation, a father to expose all the daughters and the third son. I believe the laws of China do not suppose such an unnatural crime to exist, and have therefore provided no punishment for it. It is true, they have left a child to the entire disposal of the father, concluding, perhaps, that if his feelings will not prevent him from doing it an injury, no other consideration will. Thus, though the commission of infanticide be frequent in China, it is considered as more prudent to wink at it as an inevitable evil, which natural affection will better correct than penal statutes; an evil that, on the other hand, if publicly tolerated, would directly contradict the grand principle of filial piety, upon which their system of obedience rests, and their patriarchal form of government is founded.

“It is, however, tacitly considered as a part of the duty of the police of Pekin to employ certain persons to go their rounds, at an early hour in the morning, with carts, in order to pick up such bodies of infants as may have been thrown out into the streets in the course of the night. No inquiries are made, but the bodies are carried to a common pit without the city walls, into which all those that may be living, as well as those that are dead, are said to be thrown promiscuously. At this horrible pit of destruction, the Roman catholic



tholic missionaries established in Pekin attend by turns, as a part of the duties of their office, in order, as one of them expressed himself to me on this subject, to chuse among them those that are the most lively, to make future proselytes, and by the administration of baptism to such of the rest as might be still alive, *pour leur sauver l'ame*. The Mahomedans who, at the time that their services were useful in assisting to prepare the national calendar, had a powerful influence at court, did much better: these zealous bigots to a religion, whose least distinguishing feature is that of humanity, were, however, on these occasions, the means of saving the lives of all the little innocents they possibly could save from this maw of death, which was an humane act, although it might be for the purpose of bringing them up in the principles of their own faith. I was assured by one of the christian missionaries, with whom I had daily conversation during a residence of five weeks within the walls of the emperor's palace at Yuen-min-yuen, and who took his turn in attending, *pour leur sauver l'ame*, that such scenes were sometimes exhibited on these occasions as to make the feeling mind shudder with horror. When I mention that dogs and swine are let loose in all the narrow streets of the capital, the reader may conceive what will sometimes necessarily happen to the exposed infants, before the police-carts can pick them up."——

"The natural colour both of the Chinese and Tartars seems to be that tint between a fair and dark complexion, which we distinguish by the word *brunet* or *brunette*; and the shades of this complexion are deeper, or lighter, according as they have been more or less exposed to the influence of the climate.

The women of the lower class, who labour in the fields or who dwell in vessels, are almost invariably coarse, ill-featured, and of a deep brown complexion, like that of the Hot-tentot. But this we find to be the case among the poor of almost every nation. Hard labour, scanty fare, and early and frequent parturition, soon wither the delicate buds of beauty. The sprightliness and expression of the features, as well as the colour of the skin, which distinguish the higher ranks from the vulgar, are the effects of ease and education. We saw women in China, though very few, that might pass for beauties even in Europe. The Malay features however prevail in most; a small black or dark brown eye, a short rounded nose, generally a little flattened, lips considerably thicker than in Europeans, and black hair, are universal.

"The Man-tchoo Tartars would appear to be composed of a mixed race: among these we observed several, both men and women, that were extremely fair and of florid complexions: some had light blue eyes, straight or aquiline noses, brown hair, immense bushy beards, and had much more the appearance of Greeks than of Tartars. It is certainly not improbable that the Greeks of Sogdiana, whose descendants must have blended with the western Tartars and with whom the Man-tchoos were connected, may have communicated this cast of countenance. Tchien-Lung, whose nose was somewhat aquiline and complexion florid, used to boast of his descent from Gengis-khan: these, however, are exceptions to the general character, which is evidently the same as that of the Chinese.

"But although their appearance and manners are externally the same,



same, a closer acquaintance soon discovers that in disposition they are widely different. Those who are better pleased with a blunt sincerity bordering on rudeness, than a studied complaisance approaching to servility; who may think it better to be robbed openly than cheated civilly, will be apt to give the preference to the Tartar character. Yet those Tartars of distinction, who fill some of the higher situations in the state, soon lose their native roughness, and are scarcely distinguishable in their manners and demeanour from the Chinese.

“The ease, politeness, and dignified carriage of the old viceroy of Pe-tche-lee, who was a Man-tchoo, could not be exceeded by the most practised courtier in modern Europe: the attention he showed to every thing that concerned the embassy, the unaffected manner in which he received and entertained us at Tien-sing; the kindness and condescension with which he gave his orders to the inferior officers and to his domestics, placed him in a very amiable point of view. He

was a very fine old man of seventy-eight years of age, of low stature, with small sparkling eyes, a benign aspect, a long silver beard, and the whole of his appearance calm, venerable, and dignified. The manners of Sun-ta-gin, a relation of the emperor and one of the six ministers of state, were no less dignified, easy, and engaging; and Chung-ta-gin, the new viceroy of Canton, was a plain, unassuming, and good-natured man. The prime minister Ho-chang-tong, the little Tartar legate, and the ex-viceroy of Canton, were the only persons of rank among the many we had occasion to converse with that discovered the least ill-humour, distant hauteur, and want of complaisance. All the rest with whom we had any concern, whether Tartars or Chinese, when in our private society, were easy, affable, and familiar, extremely good-humoured, loquacious, communicative. It was in public only, and towards each other, that they assumed their ceremonious gravity, and practised all the tricks of demeanour which custom requires of them.”

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### CUSTOMS and AMUSEMENTS of the CHINESE COURT.

[From the same.]

“AFTER the sketch I have exhibited of the state of society among the different ranks in China, a tolerable notion may be formed of the general character and complexion of the court. It is, as lord Macartney has justly observed, ‘a singular mixture of ostentatious hospitality and inbred suspicion, ceremonious civility and real rudeness, shadowy complaisance and substantial perverseness; and this prevails through

‘all the departments connected with the court, although somewhat modified by the personal disposition of those at their head; but as to that genuine politeness which distinguishes our manners, it cannot be expected in Orientals, considering among other things the light in which they are accustomed to regard the female part of society.’ Whether the great ministers of state, who have daily intercourse in the different tribunals,



tribunals, sometimes relax from the stiff and formal deportment observed towards each other in public, I am not able to say; but when at court they invariably observe certain stated forms and expressions, as studied and ceremonious as if they had never met before. It appeared to us highly ridiculous to see our friends, the two colleagues Van-ta-gin, and Chou-ta-gin, on meeting in the precincts of the palace, performing to each other all the genuflexions and motions of the body which the ceremonial institutes of the empire require.

"I rather suspect, however, that where any degree of confidence prevails among these people they sometimes enjoy their moments of conviviality. Our two worthy conductors met at Canton an old acquaintance who was governor of a city in Fokien. He gave them an evening entertainment on the river in a splendid yacht to which I was privately invited. On entering the great cabin I found the three gentlemen, with each a young girl by his side very richly dressed, the cheeks, lips, and chin highly rouged, the rest of the face and neck whitened with a preparation of cerate. I was welcomed by a cup of hot wine from each of the ladies, who first sipped by way of pledging me. During supper, which for number and variety of dishes exceeded anything I had hitherto met with in the country, the girls played on the flute and sung several airs; but there was nothing very captivating either in the vocal or instrumental part of the music. We passed a most convivial evening, free from any reserve or restraint; but on going away I was particularly desired by Van not to take any notice of what I had seen, apprehensive, I suppose, that their brother officers might condemn their want of prudence in

admitting a barbarian to witness their relaxation from good morals. The yacht and the ladies it seemed were hired for the occasion.

"The incalculable numbers of the great officers of state and their attendants, all robed in the richest silks, embroidered with the most brilliant colours, and tissue with gold and silver, the order, silence, and solemnity with which they arrange and conduct themselves on public court-days, are the most commanding features on such occasions.

"This sober pomp of Asiatic grandeur is exhibited only at certain fixed festivals; of which the principal is the anniversary of the emperor's birth-day, the commencement of a new year, the ceremonial of holding the plough, and the reception of foreign ambassadors, most of whom they contrive to be present at one or other of these festivals. The birth-day is considered to be the most splendid; when all the Tartar princes and tributaries, and all the principal officers of government both civil and military, are expected to be present.

"For reasons of state, which will be noticed hereafter, the emperor rarely shows himself in public among the Chinese part of his subjects, except on such occasions; and even then the exhibition is confined within the precincts of the palace, from which the populace are entirely excluded. Consistent with their system of sumptuary laws, there is little external appearance of pomp or magnificence in the establishment of the emperor. The buildings that compose the palace and the furniture within them, if we except the paint, the gilding, and the varnish, that appear on the houses even of plebeians, are equally void of unnecessary and expensive



sive ornaments. Those who should rely on the florid relations, in which the missionaries and some travellers have indulged in their descriptions of the palaces of Peking and those of Yuen-min-yuen, would experience on visiting them a woeful disappointment. These buildings, like the common habitations of the country, are all modelled after the form of a tent, and are magnificent only by a comparison with the others and by their number, which is sufficient, indeed, to form a town of themselves. Their walls are higher than those of ordinary houses, their wooden columns of greater diameter, their roofs are immense, and a greater variety of painting and gilding may be bestowed on the different parts; but none of them exceeds one story in height, and they are jumbled and surrounded with mean and insignificant hovels. Some writer has observed that the king of England is worse lodged at St. James's palace than any sovereign in Europe. Were I to compare some of the imperial palaces in China to any royal residence in Europe it would certainly be to St. James's; but the apartments, the furniture, and conveniences of the latter, bad as they are, infinitely transcend any of those in China. The stone or clay floors are indeed sometimes covered with a carpet of English broad-cloth, and the walls papered; but they have no glass in the windows, no stoves, fire-places, or fire-grates in the rooms; no sofas, bureaux, chandeliers, nor looking-glasses; no book-cases, prints, nor paintings. They have neither curtains nor sheets to their beds; a bench of wood, or a platform of brick-work, is raised in an alcove, on which are mats or stuffed mattresses, hard pillows, or cushions, according to the season of the year;

instead of doors they have usually skreens, made of the fibres of bamboo. In short, the wretched lodgings of the state-officers at the court of Versailles, in the time of the French monarchy, were princely palaces in comparison of those allotted to the first ministers of the emperor of China, in the capital as well as at Yuen-min-yuen.

"When attending the court, on public occasions, each courtier takes his meal alone in his solitary cell on a small square table crowded with bowls of rice and various stews; without table-linen or napkins, without knife, fork, or spoon; a pair of small sticks, or the quills of a porcupine, are the only substitutes for these convenient articles: placing the bowl under his chin, with these he throws the rice into his mouth and takes up the pieces of meat in his soup or stews. Having finished his lonely meal, he generally lies down to sleep. In a government so suspicious as that of China, if parties were known to meet together, the object of them might be supposed something beyond that of conviviality, which however mutual jealousy and distrust have prevented from growing into common use."——

"It would be impossible to compliment the court of Peking on the elegance and refinement of its entertainments, but at the expense of truth and reason. Those of Tartar origin will no more bear a comparison with the noble contests of strength and agility displayed by the old hardy Romans in the Circensian games, than the regular drama of the Chinese will admit of being measured by the softer, but more refined and rational amusements of a similar kind in Europe. It is true the scenic representations in the decline of the Roman empire, as they are described to us, appear



pear to have been as rude and barbarous as those of the Chinese. They began by exhibiting in their vast amphitheatre the rare and wonderful productions of nature. Forests enlivened with innumerable birds; caverns pouring forth lions, and tygers, and panthers, and other beasts of prey; plains covered with the elephant, the rhinoceros, the zebra, the ostrich, and other curious animals, which the wilds of Africa furnished, were all brought together within the circuit of the arena. Not satisfied with the rich productions of the earth, the sea must also become tributary to their amusements. The arena was convertible into a sheet of water; and, at length, the two elements concluding a marriage, as on the Chinese theatre, produced a race of monsters which, according to the Latin poet's description, might vie with those of China.

“ Non solum nobis sylvestria cernere  
 ‘monstra  
 ‘Contigit, æquoreos ego cum certanti-  
 ‘bus ursis  
 ‘Spectavi vitulos, et equorum nomine  
 ‘dignum  
 ‘Sed difforme genus:—

“ Where sylvan monsters not alone ap-  
 pear,  
 But sea-cows struggle with the shaggy  
 bear,  
 And horses of the deep, a shapeless  
 race.—

“ In short, the greater part of the amusements of the Chinese are, at the present day, of a nature so very puerile, or so gross and vulgar, that the tricks and the puppet-shows which are occasionally exhibited in a common fair of one of the country towns of England, may be considered as comparatively polished, interesting, and rational. In slight-of-hand, in posture-making, rope-dancing, riding, and athletic exercises, they are much inferior to

Europeans; but in the variety of their fire-works they, perhaps, may carry the palm against the whole world. In every other respect the amusements of the capital of China appear to be of a low and trifling nature, neither suited to the affected gravity of the government nor to the generally supposed state of civilization among the people.

“ The old emperor, as he observed to lord Macartney, seldom partook of such amusements. Considering, indeed, all the circumstances connected with the reign of the present dynasty on the throne, the government of an empire of such vast magnitude, stored with an almost incalculable population, must necessarily be a task of inconceivable vigilance and toil; a task that must have required all the time, the talents, and the attention of the four sovereigns to ensure the brilliant and unparalleled successes that have distinguished their long reign. Tchien-Lung, at the age of eighty-three, was so little afflicted with the infirmities of age, that he had all the appearance and activity of a hale man of sixty. His eye was dark, quick, and penetrating, his nose rather aquiline, and his complexion, even at this advanced age, was florid. His height I should suppose to be about five feet ten inches, and he was perfectly upright. Though neither corpulent nor muscular at eighty-three, it was not difficult to perceive that he once had possessed great bodily strength. He always enjoyed a vigorous constitution, which the regularity of his life did not impair. Like all the Man-tchoo Tartars he was fond of hunting, an exercise that during the summer months he never neglected. He had the reputation of being an expert bowman, and inferior only in drawing this weapon to his grandfather



father Caung-shee, who boasts, in his last will, that he drew a bow of the weight or strength of one hundred and fifty pounds.

“Nor were the faculties of his mind less active, or less powerful, than those of his body. As prompt in conceiving as resolute in executing his plans of conquest, he seemed to command success. Kind and charitable, as on all occasions he showed himself to his subjects, by remitting the taxes, and administering relief in seasons of distress, he was no less vindictive and relentless to his enemies. Impatient of restraint or reverses, he has sometimes been led to act with injustice, and to punish with too great severity. His irascible temper was once the cause of a severe and lasting affliction to himself, and the circumstances connected with it are said to have produced a gloom and melancholy on his mind which never entirely forsook him. About the middle part of his reign, he made a circuit through the heart of his empire. At Sau-tchoo-foo, a city that is celebrated for its beautiful ladies, which being purchased when infants are educated there for sale to the opulent, he was captivated with a girl of extraordinary beauty and talents, whom he intended to carry back with him to his capital.

“The empress, by means of an eunuch, was made acquainted with his new amour, and dreading his future neglect, her spirits were depressed to such a degree, that a few days after receiving the intelligence she put an end to her existence with a cord. The emperor, on hearing this melancholy news, was greatly distressed, and repaired without delay to Pekin. One of his sons, a very amiable youth, fearful of incurring his father's displeasure, had entertained some doubts whether it

would be most proper to appear before him in deep mourning for his mother, which might be construed as an insult to the father, who had been the cause of her death, or in his robes of ceremony, which would be disrespectful to the memory of his deceased mother.

“In this dilemma he consulted his schoolmaster, who, like a true Chinese, advised him to put on both. He did so; and, unfortunately for him, covered the mourning with the ceremonial habit. Tchien-Lung, whose affection had now returned for his deceased empress, and whose melancholy fate he was deeply lamenting, on perceiving his son at his feet without mourning, was so shocked and exasperated at the supposed want of filial duty, that, in the moment of rage, he gave him a violent kick in an unfortunate place, which, after his languishing a few days, proved fatal.

“None of his four surviving sons ever possessed any share of his confidence or authority, which of late years were wholly bestowed on his first minister Ho-chung-tong. He had a due sense of religious duties, which he regularly performed every morning. Having made a vow at the early part of his reign, that, should it please Heaven to grant him to govern his dominions for a complete cycle, or sixty years, he would then retire, and resign the throne to his successor, he religiously observed it on the accomplishment of the event. The sincerity of his faith may partly be inferred from the numerous and splendid temples he built and endowed in different parts of Oriental Tartary, of which the Poo-ta-la, or convent of Budha at Gehol, is the most magnificent. It is said, indeed, from the circumstance of his



long and fortunate reign, he had, in his later years, entertained an idea, that the Lama, or Budha, or Fo, for they are all the same personage, had condescended to become incarnate in his person. 'However wild and extravagant,' observes lord Macartney, 'such a conceit may be regarded, we know from history how much even the best understandings may be perverted by prosperity; and that human nature, not satisfied with the good things of this world, sometimes wishes to anticipate the condition and felicity of the next. If Alexander scorned to own less than Jupiter Ammon for his father, if many Roman emperors extorted altars and sacrifices in their lifetime, if, even in the reign of queen Elizabeth, an English nobleman\* encouraged the belief of his descent from a swan, and was complimented in a dedication upon his feathered pedigree, a similar infatuation may be the less excusable in Kien-Long, a monarch, the length and happiness of whose reign, the unlimited obedience of whose incalculable number of subjects, and the health and vigour of whose body, have hitherto kept out of his view most of those circumstances that are apt to remind other men of their misery and mortality.'

"Till his last illness he continued to rise at three o'clock in the morning, both in winter and summer. He usually took some cordial to fortify his stomach, and then repaired to his private devotions at one of his temples. After this he read the dispatches of his great officers, both civil and military, who from their different stations

were ordered to write to him directly, and not to the tribunals as had usually been the case. About seven he took his breakfast of tea, wines, and confectionary, when he transacted business with the first minister, consulting with, or directing, him in the weighty matters of state, previous to their appearing in regular form before the respective departments to which they belonged. He had then a kind of levee, which was usually attended by the collaos, or ministers, and the presidents of the departments or public boards. At eleven refreshments were again served up, and, after business was over, he either amused himself in the women's apartments, or walked round his palace or gardens. Between three and four he usually dined, after which he retired to his private rooms and employed himself in reading or writing till bedtime, which was always regulated by, and seldom later than, the setting of the sun.

"He was fully persuaded that his uninterrupted health was chiefly owing to his early retiring to rest, and early rising; an observation, indeed, that in our country has grown into a maxim; and maxims are generally grounded on truth. The late lord Mansfield made a point for many years of enquiring from all the aged persons, that at any time appeared before him to give evidence, into their particular mode of living, in order that he might be able to form some general conclusion with regard to the causes of their longevity. The result of his observations was, that he could draw no inference from their intemperance or abstemiousness with

\* Duke of Buckingham. See the notes on this character in Shakespear's Henry VIII. act i. scene 2.



regard to diet or drinking, but that they all agreed in one point, that of being early risers.

“Tchien-Lung resigned the throne of China to his fifteenth son, the

present Kia-king, in February 1796, having completed a reign of sixty years; and he died in the month of February 1799, at the advanced age of eighty-nine years.”

### DESCRIPTION of a MORAI at OPARE.

[From the TRANSACTIONS of the MISSIONARY SOCIETY.]

“MY chief intention in this journey was to see a morai in the district of Opore, where the inhabitants of the land shed the blood of captives taken in war, both men and women, and offer it up in sacrifice to their gods. For my guide I was accompanied by an Otaheitean priest. Morai, in the language of the country, signifies a place appropriated to the worship of Eatooa, or deity. As the Otaheiteans have a plurality of deities, so they have many morais. They are temporary or permanent. Temporary morais are erected before the corpse of the dead agreeable to the fancy of the erector, and (from what I have hitherto seen) are commonly small altars, variously decorated, with leaves and the fruit of palm tree, that grows in abundance, and upon which are placed divers offerings of food. Permanent morais are numerous and diverse: they are usually enclosed spots of ground surrounded with trees of different kinds, and having in them sundry small pavements of stone: at the head of each stands a stone of larger size, and at the back of the stone is generally fixed a board five or six feet long, with a little rude carving on it; the top divided into five parts, or slits, to represent the fingers of a hand: sometimes the board has the figure of a man or

bird carved on its top. At the foot of this pavement the priest worships, with his face towards the head stone and plank, and throws his offering, consisting of a young plantain-tree root, green leaves, or the leaf of a cocoa-nut twisted in a peculiar form, upon the pavement. Besides these kinds of oratories within the enclosure, there are altars, on which meat offerings are placed, and before which prayers are made. Altars for the like purpose are scattered up and down the country where there is no morai. At one permanent place of worship, there are frequently a plurality of morais, dedicated to different deities: thus the one I now visited, had in it two others dedicated to as many false gods. This morai stands on a sandy point of land, that shoots a little out towards the sea, forming a small bay on each side: the easternmost exposed to the sea breeze, and indifferent landing for the canoes: the westernmost sheltered from the east wind, and pretty good landing. The whole point is covered with fragments of sharp coral rock. Distant from point Venus by land between three and four miles, and by sea about three miles. Close to the morai grow bread-fruit, cocoa-nut, purrow, and its trees: the fruit of the two former are sacred, being only used by particular persons: the two latter bear no fruit



fruit for food. The name of the morai is taboo-tabboo-waataa, and which is the general name of all the morais where human sacrifices are offered, and of which there is one in the district of Attahooroo, and another in Papara, besides what are in Tiarafoo. We arrived at the morai between eleven and twelve o'clock: before we entered it, my guide gathered a bunch of green leaves that grew upon the beach; and as soon as we came to the accustomed place for making offerings, he threw the leaves upon the pavement, and repeated, in a seemingly indifferent manner, a few words as a prayer to the supposed deity for his good-will towards us. The place where the priest performed this ceremony, is dedicated to their principal Eatooa, called Ooro. It is a rough stone pavement, about eighteen feet square: at the north end, which faced the sea, is a large hedge of stones five feet or more high, three or four feet wide, and eighteen feet long. Upon the top of this pile are several pieces of board, some of them six feet long, and a foot broad, the tops slit into five parts, to represent a hand with the fingers a little open. At the south end are set up five stones, three of them larger in size than the other two. These stones are for those who officiate as priests: the three largest for superior, and the two smallest for inferior ones. They sit cross-legged upon the pavement, and support their backs against the stones: and in this mode of adoration, with their faces towards the pile of stones and boards, they make their prayers. The middle space is where the human victims are slaughtered by being knocked on the head with a club and stones: after which a principal priest takes

out the eyes of the murdered person, and holding them in his hands, he presents them to the mouth of the king, who opens his mouth as if to receive and eat them: when this ceremony is performed, the carcass is thrown into a pit, and covered with stones. By the number of pits surrounding the place, and by the expressions of my conductor, I apprehend there have been many hundreds of men and women thus sacrificed by the abominable superstition of these idolaters. Besides the captives taken in war, the bodies of those slain in war, or cut off by the commandment of the great chief, or that are purposely killed for human sacrifices in any other part, under the jurisdiction of the great chief or king, are brought to the taboo-tabboo-waataa, and there prayers are made over them, and then they are buried as before observed. A little to the right of this pavement of blood, and nearer towards the point, is an altar to Ooro, raised upon three rows of wooden pillars thirteen in a row, nearly seven feet high, and four or five feet broad: the top covered with cocoa-nut leaves, and the front and ends decorated with the leaf of the sugar-cane, so fixed as that they may hang down like long fringes. Upon this altar offerings of fish, hogs, bread-fruit, and mountain-plantains, are laid. A large hog was upon the altar, which seemed to have been placed there no long time. Fish and mountain-plantains are offered raw; hogs and bread-fruit are baked: frequently the hog is smeared with its blood before offered up. A little more to the right was the frame of an altar going to decay, dedicated to a supposed deity named Ora-madooda: upon this lay some pieces of wood that had once formed something belonging



belonging to their idolatrous rites, but I could not plainly comprehend what. Proceeding towards the point a few yards, at the extremity of the land, a large pile of stones appeared in view: from our house on point Venus, where it may be seen, it appears like a rock: it may be ten or twelve feet high, and twice as much in length: it consists of a number of stones piled one upon another without much art, and sacred to an imagined sea god whose name is Teepah. The priest informed me, that before this pile of stones are also offered human sacrifices. Tired and disgusted with this awful proof of man's apostacy, and the devil's power over him, I desired my guide to withdraw. Considerations of the importance, arduousness, and danger of the work in which myself and brethren are engaged, gradually arose in my mind: the flesh quaked for fear, and the god of this world was not wanting with his suggestions; but I committed our cause to Christ. Having quitted this scene of human infamy, I proceeded with my conductor to the westward, purposing to see the chief of Hapyano, who was but a few miles distant. We passed the residences of Pomere, Owo, Otoo, and the late Orepiah, which all stand within the compass of a mile: at present destitute of their owners. Otoo's house is situated upon the bank of a tolerable good river, about a hundred yards from the sea; no otherwise to be known as the habitation of the great chief of Otaheite, than by two posts, with the head of a man carved on them, placed in the main road opposite his house, at between seventy and eighty yards distant on each side. Every islander, whether chief or common person, when they come

to either of these posts in passing the king's dwelling, make bare their shoulders; nor must they cover them again till they have passed the opposite post. In whatever part of the island the king has an habitation, it is dignified with such pillars, and the like ceremony of baring the shoulders observed, though the chief is elsewhere. These pillars are called Tee, which is the name of a sort of household gods, worshipped under the form of a man carved in wood. I do not understand that this action of theirs is any religious ceremony paid to the image, or supposed deity, but a mark of respect to their king: which is shown him wherever he goes, and by all who appear in his presence, his father and mother not excepted; the queen being the only person exempt. And so strictly is this custom adhered to, that a wilful breach of it would certainly be attended with death; and if it should so happen that the king passed a person unobserved, who had his shoulders covered, his cloth would be deemed sacred, and must no more be worn by that person, but given to the king, or torn. I saw Edea the king's mother (who is exceedingly rigid for the honours and prerogatives of majesty) so caught once. She was in her dwelling, and happened not to notice the approach of the chief, who went by her house on his man-horse. He was no sooner gone by, than Edea's attendants (who were present, and saw not the king) perceived their error, and gave her notice of it: she immediately took off her teeapoota, and rent it to pieces. To prevent such mistakes, it is usual for the first discoverer of the king's appearance, to give the alarm by calling out aloud: by which means people



ple are prepared. This ceremony of uncovering the shoulders has never been attempted to be imposed upon us. We have made them understand what mark of respect is paid to the king of England by all who enter into his presence, and we pay the like to Otoo. About three in the afternoon reached Vitua's: the chief received me kindly, and lodged me courteously. Being at no great distance from the large house called Nanu, I purposed to see it: accordingly the next morning I took leave of Vitua and his wife, and with the priest pursued our journey. After an hour's walk we arrived at a point that forms the north-east extremity of a small but pleasant bay, called Towpo. In the middle of the bay stands a little sand island named Motuta; and in the bottom is built the Nanu, but a few feet from the edge of the sea. On this point are a few houses belonging to Pomere and Edea, and a plantation of fine pumpkins. Under a shed is a pair of large canoes, of a very different and superior construction to any I had seen before: they seem to have been put together with much labour and pains, and appear capable of carrying upon their platform forty or fifty men. Each canoe had upon its stem and stern the figure of a man; half as large as life, rudely cut, and one extremely obscene. These kind of vessels bear the name of Pahee, (the same as is given to ships) whereas a canoe is called Vaa. Between this point and the Nanu, we met with three sacred canoes belonging to Eimeo; one of which carried what the Otaheiteans call the house of god. The canoes were hauled upon the beach under the shade of a large purow tree; upon the top branches of which, wrapped up in a basket made of cocoa-nut leaves, with a long pole run through it, hung a man that had been destroyed for a sacrifice, and which these canoes were going to convey to a great morai on Eimeo. On asking the persons belonging to the canoes who the man was, and why he was killed, they very quickly answered, he was one of those who assisted in stripping me and my three brethren on the 26th of March, and for which Pomere had killed him. I know not whether it was really so or not, but my guide assured me it was. The double canoe, that contained the house of the supposed god, was quite new, as was the house, and all its appurtenances. The house was upon the left hand canoe, on a kind of forecastle that projects beyond the stem. First there was a thing called the legs of God, not unlike a cradle that is sometimes used by surgeons to rest a broken limb on: the cradle was between three and four feet long: on the top of this was fixed a box four or five feet long, and one foot square: the end towards the stem of the canoe open, and by which the divinity was said to enter: over this was a thatch of palm leaves. The cradle, box, and roof, were about four feet high. On the right-hand canoe, upon the fore part of it, was also a kind of cradle, but somewhat different from the former. On this likewise lay a box about five feet long, and one foot square, open at the top and ends. Against this box, on each side, were placed five pieces of board, about a foot and a half high, and eight inches broad, the tops slit to represent a hand and fingers; and these were called the hands of God: a little scratching on some of the boards for ornament: between each hand was an offering of a bunch of green leaves;



leaves; and in the box lay a stinking hedgehog fish. The other two canoes had each a piece of plank lashed athwart their forecastles, with a few hands of God stuck against them, and one of them a reed about five feet long, with a sprig of very small red feathers at the top, two small pieces of a stick tied across the reed in different places, and round which a piece of cord was twisted. Nothing could be more rude and barbarous than the whole work of this singular exhibition of South-sea superstition and idolatry. I asked, as I was able, a few questions concerning the god to whom this house belonged, and received for answer, that it was Ooro's; and that when Pomere or mannemanne prayed, Ooro came and entered into his house, and was there seen by them. I dropped a word or two signifying they were wrong; but ignorance of the language prevented me from saying much upon so important a subject. Leaving the canoes, a few minutes walk brought us to the Nanu. As Mr. W. Wilson, the chief mate of the Duff, took a particular description of it while here, I need only add, that the roof of the house is going to decay, and thousands of fleas have taken possession of the floor, which is sand covered with coarse grass. It is said that the house is sufficiently large to contain all the inhabitants of the island. Whether it is so or not I cannot pretend to say; but it is the general rendezvous of the chiefs, and their attendants, who meet here upon some occasions.—The noise, disorder, and wantonness, that prevails at such times,

among an assemblage of several hundred licentious barbarians, may be better conceived than expressed. Having accomplished my desire, I returned with my conductor (who took great pains to instruct me in every thing I wished to know) to Vitua's. After taking some refreshment, we took leave of the chief and his wife, and returned to Matavai.

“Opore is one of the finest districts in the island, and is the principal residence of Pomere, &c. It is formed (like every other district) into a number of divisions and sub-divisions, of which I cannot at present speak particularly. The constant inhabitants of Opore appear to be very few in proportion to the extent and fertility of the land. The houses, as in every other part of the island, are scattered, being seldom more than five or six together. Bread-fruit trees, cocoa-nuts, plaintains, yellow apple trees, &c. are in great plenty, and yield a large superfluity of food. As these grow spontaneously, agriculture is but little practised. A few patches of ground are to be met with, cultivated with yavva, the cloth plant, and a few esculents; while the rest of the country is covered with coarse grass, cotton-trees, shrubs of various kinds, &c. and which are sometimes set on fire to clear the ground. The roads are the sea beach, and narrow foot-paths inland, seldom wide enough to admit two persons to walk abreast. The whole land is well watered, and with a little industry, capable of being rendered sufficiently fruitful to subsist, I think, many times the number of its present occupiers.”



## DIVERSIONS OF HINDUSTAN.

[From Dr. TENNANT'S INDIAN RECREATIONS.]

“THE amusements and diversions, both of the Hindoos and Mussulmans in this country, are strongly characteristic of that lifeless inactivity which so generally prevails in all hot climates. The game of paucheess, (twenty-five,) which bears some resemblance to chess or drafts, and is played by two natives reclining on their sides, with a small chequered carpet placed between them, is the general entertainment of the idle, when not overpowered with sleep or intoxication.

“Whole days are spent in watching the movements of the adversary's tesserae, or in planning evolutions of their own; and their habits are completely gratified, if by slightly agitating the mind, and awakening their attention, a consciousness of existence is preserved, and made compatible with corporeal inaction.

“The usual languor and apathy of the nursery and zenana, are sometimes animated by the song and the dance; the entertainment is purchased from hired performers, who are frequently Persian strollers, and use the poems and music of their own country. A variety of instruments on the principle of the drum and guitar, make a part of the accompaniment; but it is only on seasons of mirth and festivity, that a Hindoo entertainment assumes a spirit of vivacity so far above their usual tone of animation. Story-telling is a more frequent amusement; and one in which they are said to excel; but strangers seldom

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attain such proficiency in the language as can entitle them to judge: they are equally incapable to appreciate the merits of the Hindoo song, which is simple, melodious, and tender: but as the subject generally turns on the adventures of some favourite prince or warrior, the interest is lost, from not being acquainted with the history to which it alludes.

“Hunting is a favourite occupation among all nations; at first it is pursued from necessity of subduing the ferocious animals, and of procuring food, and is afterwards followed as an amusement. In Hindostan, which abounds in all kinds of game, and where many of the fiercest animals are still unextirpated, the labours of the chase are pursued with the same earnestness and avidity, as in those antient days when they signalled heroes, and deified Hercules. In no occupation are the different races seen more cordially to co-operate, than in such exercises of the field; Europeans, Moguls, and Hindoos are there equally divested of their habitual indolence and natural aversions, and concur with one heart and one mind, in the pursuit and destruction of the common enemy.

“When the nawab of Oude sets out on a hunting party, he is accompanied not only with his court, consisting of Europeans and natives, but escorted with a large detachment of his army. The officers are mounted on elephants or horses, the riders are armed with spears and muskets, and proceed in

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regular



regular order to the field where the tygers are known to frequent; there, by thinning their ranks and deploying to the right and left, they surround the whole district: the tyger and all the animals enclosed within the circle retreat towards the centre, where they are gradually followed up by the converging ranks till they arrive within musket shot of the prey; then a general attack commences, and the poor animals, willing to save their lives at any risk, push through the surrounding multitude, or perish in the attempt. In this perilous amusement it sometimes happens that individuals lose their lives; for the tyger, in the paroxysm of rage and despair, tears to pieces whosoever comes in his way: nor are even the elephants and their riders secure from their resentment; for he has been known to leap into a howdah and tear away the rider. In this act, a very large one was killed by Sujah Dowlah, a prince who was remarkably fond of hunting, and was esteemed the best marksman of the age. Private hunting parties of Europeans and natives, from their inferior number and strength, generally deem it prudent not to surround the tyger completely, but allow him on one side free egress, that he may not by despair be compelled to attack any individual.

“The deer, which are here in vast number and variety, are pursued and taken in nearly the same manner; only they are set upon by the chittar, a species of panther, which is carried by four men in a covered palanquin, and placed near them.

“In tyger-hunting the poor ryuts feel, perhaps, greater gratification than their superiors; for, in some sequestered spots, the tygers

are a severe annoyance both to the natives and their cattle, who fall annually a sacrifice to their depredations. The natives are, therefore, well pleased to conduct a party of Europeans to the haunts of the tyger, and seem grateful for their aid in destroying these formidable animals. ‘In 1795, as a party of gentlemen were in pursuit of snipes in the vicinity of Dum Dum, they unexpectedly roused a royal tyger, which had been destructive to the neighbourhood. The animal immediately seized on the first person near him, which happened to be a native servant who carried a gun, and killed him upon the spot.

“The gentlemen, though alarmed, did not retire from the place when the accident happened without attempting to rescue the poor man from the jaws of the monster. They discharged their pieces; but as they were all loaded with small shot, they made no sensible impression upon him.

“Intelligence of this unfortunate affair was immediately dispatched to Calcutta, for the information of some keen sportsmen, who delight in the manly exercise and dangerous amusement of tyger-hunting. They were without delay armed and mounted on elephants, and not long after coming to the ground, they found the tyger weltering in gore. An immediate attack began; but instead of retreating, the tyger made a spring and fastened upon one of the elephants. The driver was not dismayed, and by a severe blow struck with his hook on a tender part of the animal, he forced him to quit his hold. Several shots were even then fired at him; and though most of them took place, yet none had touched a vital part. The animal became furious beyond description, ran



an at and charged every thing that came near him, till one of the party, well known for his prowess, intrepidly advanced, and with a log-spear pinned the monster to the ground\*.

“Hawking is a frequent diversion among the natives of distinction, as was formerly in Europe. Hares and foxes are killed by the larger hawks, and partridges, quails and other game by the smaller kinds. Besides falconers, fowlers, fishermen, and gangs of gamekeepers for the chase, men of fortune in Hindostan entertain also persons versed in the practice of catching wild animals by allurements, disguise, ensnaring, ambush, fascination, and other stratagems, in which they are extremely successful. Selling wild hares, jackalls, and other animals for sport to Europeans is a common practice of some of the poorer classes. Almost every kind of game is to be purchased from this class of men, who earn a subsistence by killing them; they are called Sigurce Wallachs, in the native dialect.

“Europeans are certainly far outdone by the natives in the stratagems employed for ensnaring wild animals. When they are desirous of taking jackalls alive, two men approach their holes, and begin to imitate the cries of the young ones, while they gambol and play about; this yelping noise soon inveigles the male, who advancing first, is entangled in a snare laid for the purpose; on continuing the same kind of noise the female soon follows the male, and is also entrapped by the same apparatus.

“A great variety of fish is supplied by the rivers, lakes, and tanks of

Hindostan, and there is, perhaps, no art or device practised in catching them in Europe that is not in use upon the Ganges: in the east, however, the art of fishing is oftener practised as a mean of subsistence by the poor, than a diversion among the idle.—Wild duck and other water fowl are caught in India, by people wading or swimming the lakes, either with an earthen pot over their heads, or the artificial representation of a duck, fashioned so as to put on like a cap: by this contrivance, they get close enough to the geese, widgeon, or teal, to pull them under water by the feet, till they have filled a girdle made of netting, or tied or twisted one of their wings, so as to let them float on the water without hazarding their escape. All this is effected without disturbing the rest of the flocks upon the lake, and with so much ease and success, that they can afford to sell ducks so taken at a penny or three half-pence a piece.

“Hindostan is probably the native country of the peacock and barndoor fowl; for they are here found in great abundance in their wild state, and not only afford excellent sport, but are the most beautiful of the feathered race. Domestication, it would seem, however much it may increase varieties of the different tribes, but seldom adds to their beauty. Accordingly, all the varieties of the pheasant tribe, which are numerous in the upper parts of India, display the most rich and splendid plumage; the spotted, the speckled, the golden, and Gorackpore pheasants are perhaps the most brilliant of the feathered race; the catching of

\* Calcutta Journal.



these, and the vast varieties of game in India, has given rise to numerous gangs of professional hunters, whose constant experience, and great dexterity, have enriched their art with many contrivances unknown in the western world.

“In feats of agility and legerdemain, the Indians seem also to enjoy an incontestable superiority over us, which probably arises from the same cause of pursuing these arts as a distinct and constant profession. The jugglers seldom erect a stage in any part of the east that is not soon crowded with numerous spectators; and the feats they perform, it were much more easy to relate, than to command the reader’s assent to their reality and truth. Their feats in the management of some snakes exceed all credibility: and the cruel amusement of fighting some of the poisonous kinds with the mongoose is attended with a circumstance which I have heard denied by one of the greatest naturalists in your country. The mongoose, when bit, utters piercing cries, occasioned by the pain of his wound, till he reach a kind of grass, which he no sooner tastes than he is relieved; when he instantly returns to the combat. The conflict continues sometimes for an hour, in the lapse of which he may have been bitten twenty times and cured as often; till, taught by experience, he seizes the snake by the back of the neck, and from the impossibility of its then biting him he is enabled to squeeze it to death. The field of battle, after the closest

examination, did not exhibit on its surface any peculiar grass—the most prevalent was the doob, or common grass of the plain.

“In balancing, the most surprising feats are performed; because they are the effect of mere skill without any possibility of deception: a frequent exhibition is that of placing five of the common earthen water pots upon a man’s head; a girl mounts upon the uppermost, and thus, balancing the pots and the girl, the man dances round the field. The same person balances a pole of sixteen feet long, the bottom of which is fixed into a thick cotton sash or girdle: another man gets upon his back, and from thence runs up the pole, his hands aiding his feet, with the nimbleness of a squirrel. He then proceeds, first, to extend himself on the pole upon his belly, and then upon his back, his legs and arms both times spread out. He next throws himself horizontally from the pole, which is all the while balanced on the girdle, holding only by his arms. This attitude among the tumblers is called the flag. Thirdly, he stands upon his head on the top of the pole, holding below the summit with his hands. Finally, he throws himself from this last position backwards down the pole, holding by his hands, then turns over again holding by his feet; and this is repeated over and over, till he reaches the ground. These and a thousand other feats constitute the amusement of the idle, and the subsistence of a numerous class of strollers.”



## ORIGIN of the MARHATTA EMPIRE.

[FROM MARQUIS OF WELLESLEY'S HISTORY of the MARHATTA WAR.]

**T**HE Marhatta empire was founded by Sevajee towards the middle of the seventeenth century. Sevajee was the great grandson of Bhaugha Bhooslah, an illegitimate son (by an obscure woman of a tribe called Bhooslah) of Rana Bheem, a rana of the Rajpoot state of Oudipoor, who was descended from the rajahs of Chittore, the most antient of the Hindoo princes; Bhaugha Bhooslah assumed the name of his mother's tribe, which has since that period continued to be the family name of his descendants, the rajahs of Satarah and of Berar.

"Bhaugha Bhooslah, being neglected and despised by his family on account of his low origin on the female side, retired in disgust from Oudipoor to the province of Candeish in the Dekan, where he entered into the service of a zemindar named rajah Ali Mohun, and became guardian to the rajah's son until he had attained the age of manhood; Bhaugha Bhooslah subsequently quitted Candeish, and purchased a tract of land near the city of Poonah, of which he became the zemindar: in this situation he died, leaving issue Mauloo Jee, who entered into the service of a Marhatta chief named Jaddoo Roy, under whom he acquired great rank and influence.

"Soon after this period Mauloo Jee's son, Shah Jee, was married to Jee Jaee, the only daughter of Jaddoo Roy, without the consent of the latter: from this marriage was born, in 1628, Sevajee, the founder

of the Marhatta empire. A dispute ensued, in consequence of this marriage, between Jaddoo Roy and his son-in-law; and Shah Jee, being compelled by Jaddoo Roy to quit Ahmednuggur, (forming at that time the territory of Nizam Shah,) entered into the service of Ibrahim Adil Shah, king of Beejapoor, who gave him a jagheer in the Carnatic, with the command of 10,000 horse.

"In consequence of some dispute with his first wife (the daughter of Jaddoo Roy), Shah Jee separated from her, and married Toka Baee, by whom he had one son, Ekojee, afterwards king of Tanjore. Shah Jee was killed in 1667 by a fall from his horse in hunting at Badnore, where a splendid mausoleum was erected to his memory by his friend Rindowla Khan, minister to the king of Beejapoor, whose intercession, on a former occasion, saved Shah Jee from being buried alive, which punishment he had been condemned to suffer by the king of Beejapoor.

"Shah Jee was succeeded by his son Sevajee, who, disdaining the condition of a subject, revolted, and, availing himself of the convulsions which at that time disturbed the kingdom of Bejapoor, became independent. He died on the 5th of April 1680, leaving the inheritance of his domains to his son Sambajee. At the period of Sevajee's death, his territory extended from near Surat, along the sea coast, to the vicinity of the Portuguese districts of Goa, and as far inland



as the range of hills which terminate the Table Land, and form the eastern boundary of the Kokan.

“Sambajee, the second rajah of Sattarah, being at Parnala when his father died, a faction endeavoured to secure the succession to rajah Ram, a son of Sevajee by another wife. But Sambajee, supported by the greatest part of the troops, who had been the companions of his contests with the forces of the emperor of Hindostan, established his sovereignty, and reigned until the end of June 1689, when he was barbarously murdered by order of the emperor Aurungzebe.

“To Sambajee succeeded his son Sahojee, whose minister (the peishwah) Ballajee Bishwanaut, gained such an ascendancy over the mind of his master, as to persuade Sahojee to delegate to him the exercise of all authority and power in the state; all orders and every detail of government issued immediately from the peishwah, who received from the rajah the title of Mookh Perdhaun, or chief civil minister. This form of government has subsisted to the present period, and on the death of a peishwah, his successor is invested by the rajah of Sattarah with the ensigns of office. During the latter part of Sahojee's reign, Sahojee shut himself up in Sattarah, and his person and government were almost forgotten. Sahojee married a person named Tara Bae; but having no children by her, he adopted his brother Pursojee's great grandson, Moodajee Bhooslah, whose disposition, however, was considered to be so tyrannical, that Sahojee was compelled to dismiss him; and he therefore sent for Janojee, the elder brother of Moodajee, who was on his way to Sattarah, when Sahojee

died in 1740, after a reign of fifty years. During this period, the Marhattas, after having overrun and plundered almost every part of Hindostan, excepting Bengal, extended their territories from the Western Sea to Orissa, and from Agra to the Carnatic, forming a tract of near one thousand miles long, by seven hundred wide, and including some of the richest and most fertile provinces of the peninsula of India. The capital of the empire was established at Sattarah, a fortress situated about fifty miles south-east of Poonah, and near the 18th degree of north latitude. The descendants of Sevajee have since been distinguished by the title of the Rajahs of Sattarah.

“Sahojee was succeeded by his cousin, Ram Rajah, the fourth rajah of Sattarah, and son of Rajah Ram, who has already been noticed as a competitor for power with Sambajee, the son of Sevajee. Ram Rajah was also the adopted son of Sahojee's widow Tara Bae. Ram Rajah being a very weak prince, the peishwah Bajee Rao, the son of Ballajee Bishwanaut, already mentioned, usurped the whole power of his master. At that time Ragojee Bhooslah, the ancestor of the present rajah of Berar, was the bukshi, or commander in chief of the forces, and as such held the province of Berar in jagheer.—When Bajee Rao usurped the authority of the rajah of Sattarah, Ragojee Bhooslah proceeded to Berar, and there established an independant government. It appears, however, that he continued to acknowledge the supremacy of the rajah of Sattarah, and the authority of the office of peishwah, as the civil executive authority of the state.

“This violent partition of the empire



empire by its principal ministers encouraged the usurpation of others, so that in a few years the state, from an absolute monarchy (as established by Sevajee), became a mere confederacy of chiefs, the principal of whom are the peishwah, the rajah of Berar, and the families of Scindiah, Holkar, and the Guikwar. There are some jagheerdars and chieftains of inferior note, to the southward of Poonah. The family of Scindiah established themselves in Malwa and Candeish, and afterwards extended their conquests over a great part of the Rajpoot principalities, and of the northern parts of Hindostan. The largest part of Guzerat was seized by the Guikwar family, while the Holkar family established themselves in those parts of the province of Malwa which did not belong to the families of the peishwah and of Scindiah.

“Although the chieftains enumerated in the preceding paragraph are independant of each other, they all acknowledge the office of peishwah to be the legitimate executive authority of the Marhatta empire, and admit the supremacy of the rajah of Sattarah. Since the ascension of Bajee Rao (the first peishwah), however, the rajah of Sattarah has never been a party to any public acts or alliances; and foreign states, finding the peishwah in possession of the executive power and authority of the state, have, in all the transactions of the Marhatta state, treated him as the legitimate head of the empire.

“The descendants of Sevajee, however, are still treated with attention and respect. No peishwah can enter upon the execution of his office without receiving a dress of honour from the rajah of Sattarah. When the peishwah takes the field

in person, he must previously receive an audience of leave from the rajah of Sattarah. The country in the vicinity of Sattarah enjoys an exemption from military depredations of all kinds; and whenever any chief enters this district, all the ensigns of power and command are laid aside, and the nagara, or great drum of the empire, ceases to beat. These marks of respect alone distinguish the condition of the nominal sovereign of the Marhatta empire from that of a prisoner of state. The rajah of Sattarah has long been confined in the fortress of that name, upon a contracted allowance.

“By the constitution thus established, the exclusive right of concluding treaties and engagements with foreign powers in the name of the Marhatta empire, must be considered to be inherent in the supreme executive authority of the state; and the peishwah, acting in the name and under the ostensible sanction of the nominal head of the empire, has undoubtedly a right to conclude treaties which shall be obligatory upon the subordinate chieftains and feudatories, without their concurrence. But these chieftains have acquired power by the weakness of the peishwah's government, and are in fact become independant, although they continue to acknowledge the peishwah as the executive minister of state.

“They possess no acknowledged right however to conclude separate engagements with foreign states, unless the tacit permission to make conquests should be thought to confer that right; but even in this case it must also be inferred, that they have not the right to conclude engagements affecting the peishwah's supremacy. They are bound to pay allegiance to the peishwah, and



are, to every intent, officers and subjects of the Marhatta state, of which the peishwah is the supreme executive authority.

“ Under these circumstances, the least which can be inferred is, that the peishwah has a right to conclude engagements with a foreign state without consulting the feudatory chieftains, provided those engagements do not affect the separate rights and interests of those chieftains. If the constitution of the Marhatta empire, as established by Bajee Rao, the first peishwah, be referred to as the standard for deciding the question, the peishwah's rights may be considered even more extensive. On the other hand, in proportion as the feudatory chieftains disclaim the supremacy of the peishwah, they have less right to interfere in any degree in the peishwah's concerns; and the peishwah must be considered as an independant state, at liberty to contract with a foreign power any engagements which he may deem beneficial to his own interests. In both cases, the feudatory chieftains can have no pretence to interfere in his arrangements, or to control his intercourse with foreign states.

“ The situation of Berar however, with relation to the peishwah, certainly differs from that of the other provinces comprehended in the Marhatta state. The province of Berar formed a part of the dominion of Sattarah under Ram Rajah. That province was then assigned to the bukshi, or commander in chief of the forces, for the payment of the army. At that period of time Ragojee Bhooslah, the first rajah of Berar, held the office of bukshi; and it does not appear that he ever chose to consider himself as totally independant of the state of Sattarah. This was dictated partly by

policy, and partly by a dread of the superior power of the peishwah. Ragojee had pretensions (founded on his descent) to the state of Sattarah, after the death of Ram Rajah, who had no issue. The preservation of his nominal subordination to the state of Sattarah favoured the eventual accomplishment of those pretensions, but the dread of the superior power of the peishwah prevented their ultimate success.

“ Under these circumstances, it cannot be supposed that the rajah of Berar considered himself to be subordinate to the peishwah, although it was his interest to act with him on important occasions as a member of that empire, of which the peishwah was the executive civil authority. On occasions of meeting between them, the rajah of Berar was treated, in consequence of his descent, as a superior in rank; and, in the capacity of the first constituent member of the empire, claimed the right of sending to the peishwah a dress of honour on his accession to office.

“ The same system has continued until the present period. The rajah of Berar still maintains his pretensions to be rajah of Sattarah, and, *à fortiori*, to the office of peishwah, on the same grounds as the first rajah of Berar. On these grounds, the rajah of Berar also founds his pretensions to be consulted in the conclusion of an alliance between the peishwah and any foreign state.

“ The justice of these pretensions however has never been admitted. The rajah of Berar must be considered either as the commander in chief of the forces of the empire, or as an independant power.

“ As commander of the forces, Ragojee Bhooslah, the first rajah, could not claim the right to be consulted



sulted by his sovereign, the rajah of Sattarah, on the conclusion of foreign alliances: and the rajah of Sattarah had the power undoubtedly to conclude such alliances without the consent of the commander in chief of his forces. If the question be not tried by the original constitution of the Marhatta empire (namely, that, constitution under which the rajah of Sattarah was the head of the empire, and

Ragojee Bhooslah the commander in chief of the forces), it must be decided by the rights of long acknowledged and actual power; and under that view of the case, the peishwah's independance must be admitted equally with that of the rajah of Berar. In either case, therefore, the right of the peishwah to contract foreign alliances without the consent of the rajah of Berar cannot be disputed."

### CHARACTER and MANNERS of the HOTTENTOTS.

[From Mr. BARROW'S TRAVELS in SOUTHERN AFRICA.]

"H AVING finished our observations on Zwart-kop's bay and the adjoining country, the next step was to make the best of our way to the eastward along the sea-coast where the Kaffers were said to have stationed themselves in the greatest numbers. An old Hottentot, who on former occasions had served as interpreter between the landrosts of Graaff Reynet and the Kaffer chiefs, had, according to appointment, joined us with his suite, consisting of about half a dozen of his countrymen. The landrost, on his joining us, invested him with his staff of office, a long stick with a brass head, on which was engraven the king's arms. By such a staff, in the time of the Dutch government, a Hottentot was constituted a captain; and, by the number they created of these captains, the ruin of their hordes was much facilitated. But they are now no more; they and their hordes have entirely disappeared, and our old captain *Haasbeck* commands in Graaff Reynet without a rival.

"Twenty years ago, if we may credit the travellers of that day, the country beyond Camtoos river, which was then the eastern limit of the colony, abounded with kraals or villages of Hottentots, out of which the inhabitants came to meet them by hundreds in a groupe. Some of these villages might still have been expected to remain in this remote and not very populous part of the colony. Not one, however, was to be found. There is not in the whole extensive district of Graaff Reynet a single horde of independent Hottentots; and perhaps not a score of individuals who are not actually in the service of the Dutch. These weak people, the most helpless, and in their present condition perhaps the most wretched, of the human race, duped out of their possessions, their country, and finally out of their liberty, have entailed upon their miserable offspring a state of existence to which that of slavery might bear the comparison of happiness. It is a condition, however, not likely to continue to a very remote posterity. The



The name of Hottentot will be forgotten, or remembered only as that of a deceased person of little note. Their numbers of late years have rapidly declined. It has generally been observed, that wherever Europeans have colonized, the less civilized natives have always dwindled away, and at length totally disappeared. Various causes have contributed to the depopulation of the Hottentots. The impolitic custom of hording together in families, and of not marrying out of their own kraals, has no doubt tended to enervate this race of men, and reduced them to their present degenerated condition, which is that of a languid, listless, phlegmatic people, in whom the prolific powers of nature seem to be almost exhausted. To this may be added their extreme poverty, scantiness of food, and continual dejection of mind, arising from the cruel treatment they receive from an inhuman and unfeeling peasantry, who having discovered themselves to be removed to too great a distance from the seat of their former government to be awed by its authority, have exercised, in the most wanton and barbarous manner, an absolute power over these poor wretches reduced to the necessity of depending upon them for a morsel of bread. There is scarcely an instance of cruelty said to have been committed against the slaves in the West-India islands, that could not find a parallel from the Dutch farmers of the remote parts of the colony towards the Hottentots in their service. Beating and cutting them with thongs of the hide of the sea-cow or rhinoceros, is a gentle punishment, though these sort of whips which they call *shambos* are most horrid instruments, tough, pliant, and

heavy almost as lead. Firing small shot into the legs and thighs of a Hottentot is a punishment not unknown to some of the monsters who inhabit the neighbourhood of Camtoos river. Instant death is not unfrequently the consequence of punishing these poor wretches in a moment of rage. This is of little consequence to the farmer; for though they are to all intents and purposes his slaves, yet they are not transferable property. It is this circumstance which, in his mind, makes their lives less valuable, and their treatment more inhuman.

“In offences of too small moment to stir up the phlegm of a Dutch peasant, the coolness and tranquillity displayed at the punishment of his slave or Hottentot is highly ridiculous, and at the same time indicative of a savage disposition to unfeeling cruelty lurking in his heart. He flogs them, not by any given number of lashes, but by time; and as they have no clocks nor substitutes for them capable of marking the smaller divisions of time, he has invented an excuse for the indulgence of one of his most favourite sensualites, by flogging them till he has smoked as many pipes of tobacco as he may judge the magnitude of the crime to deserve. The government of Malacca, according to the manuscript journal of an intelligent officer in the expedition against that settlement, has adopted the same custom of *flogging by pipes*; and the fiscal or chief magistrate, or some of his deputies, are the smokers on such occasions.

“By a resolution of the old government, as unjust as it was inhuman, a peasant was allowed to claim as his property, till the age of five-and-twenty, all the children of



of the Hottentots in his service to whom he had given in their infancy a morsel of meat. At the expiration of this period the odds are ten to one that the slave is not emancipated. A Hottentot knows nothing of his age; 'he takes no note of time.' And though the spirit that dictated this humane law expanded its beneficence in favour of the Hottentot by directing the farmer to register the birth of such children as he may intend to make his slaves, yet it seldom happens, removed as many of them are to the distance of ten or twelve days' journey from the Drosdy, that the Hottentot has an opportunity of inquiring when his servitude will expire; and indeed it is a chance if he thinks upon or even knows the existence of such a resource. Should he be fortunate enough to escape at the end of the period, the best part of his life has been spent in a profitless servitude, and he is turned adrift in the decline of life (for a Hottentot begins to grow old at thirty), without any earthly thing he can call his own, except the sheep's skin upon his back.

"The condition of those who engage themselves from year to year is little better than that of the other. If they have already families, they erect for them little straw-huts near the farm-house. Their children are encouraged to run about the house of the peasant, where they receive their morsel of food. This is deemed sufficient to establish their claim to the young Hottentots; and should the parents, at the end of the term for which they engaged, express a desire to quit the service, the farmer will suffer them to go, perhaps turn them away, and detain their children.

"Those who are unmarried and free are somewhat better in their situation than the others, though not much. The pitiful wages they agree for are stopped upon every frivolous occasion. If an ox or a sheep be missing, the Hottentot must replace them; nor would he be suffered to quit his service till he has earned the value of them. An ox, or a couple of cows, or a dozen sheep, worth forty or fifty shillings, are the usual wages of a whole year; and it frequently happens that a bill for tobacco or brandy is brought against them to the full amount.

"In such a situation, and under such circumstances, it may easily be supposed that the Hottentot has little inducement to engage in marriage. Those who do so have seldom more than two or three children; and many of the women are barren. This, however, is not the case when a Hottentot woman is connected with a white man. The fruit of such an alliance is not only in general numerous, but are beings of a very different nature from the Hottentot, men of six feet high and stout in proportion, and women well made, not ill-featured, smart, and active. These people, called *bastaards*, generally marry with each other, or with persons of colour, but seldom with Hottentots; so that it is probable this mixed breed in a short time will supplant that from which they are descended in the female line. The Hottentot girls in the service of the colonists are in situations too dependant to dare to reject the proffered embraces of the young peasantry.

"It has frequently been observed that a savage who dances and sings must be happy. With him these operations are the effects of pleasurable



asurable sensations floating in his mind: in a civilized state, they are arts acquired by study, and practised at appointed times, without having any reference to the passions. If dancing and singing were the tests by which the happiness of a Hottentot was to be tried, he would be found among the most miserable of all human beings; I mean those Hottentots living with the farmers of Graaff Reynet in a state of bondage. It is rare to observe the muscles of his face relaxed into a smile. A depressed melancholy and deep gloom constantly overspread his countenance. A Ghonaqua man and a young Hottentot girl from Sneuwberg, both of them in the service of one of the farmers who crossed the desert with us, were the only two I had hitherto met with who seemed to have any taste for music. They had different instruments; one was a kind of guitar with three strings stretched over a piece of hollow wood with a long handle; it was called in their language *gabowie*. The other instrument was extremely simple: it consisted of a piece of sinew or intestine twisted into a small cord, and fastened to a hollow stick about three feet in length, at one end to a small peg, which, by turning, brings the string to the proper degree of tension, and at the other to a piece of quill fixed into the stick. The tones of this instrument are produced by applying the mouth to the quill, and are varied according as the vibratory motion is given to the quill and string by inspiration or expiration. It sounds like the faint murmurs of distant music that ‘comes o’er the ear,’ without any distinct note being made out by that organ. This instrument was called the *gowra*.

“Of the very few Hottentots in

the district of Graaff Reynet, who, besides our interpreter, had preserved a sort of independance, and supported themselves, partly by the chase, and partly from the labours of their children who were in servitude, was a small party of four or five old men who paid us a visit near the woods of *Bruyntjes Hongtê*. These men carried the ancient weapons of their nation, bows, and quivers charged with poisoned arrows. The bow was a plain piece of wood from the *guerrie bosch*, apparently a species of rhus; and sometimes the hassagai wood is used for the same purpose. The string, three feet long, was composed of the fibres of the dorsal muscles of the springbok twisted into a cord. The stem of an aloe furnished the quiver. The arrow consisted of a reed, in one extremity of which was inserted a piece of highly-polished solid bone from the leg of an ostrich, round, and about five inches in length; the intent of it seemed to be that of giving weight, strength, and easy entrance to this part of the arrow. To the end of the bone was affixed a small sharp piece of iron of the form of an equilateral triangle; and the same string of sinews that bound this tight to the bone, served also to contain the poison between the threads and over the surface, which was applied in the consistence of wax or varnish. The string tied in also at the same time a piece of sharp quill pointed towards the opposite end of the arrow, which was not only meant to increase the difficulty of drawing it out, but also to rankle and tear the flesh, and to bring the poison more in contact with the blood. The whole length of the arrow was barely two feet. There are several plants in South Africa from



from which the Hottentots extract their poisons by macerating the leaves or branches, and inspissating the juices, either by boiling or by exposure to the heat of the sun; but the poison taken from the heads of snakes, mixed with the juices of certain bulbous-rooted plants, is what they mostly depend upon. This party of old men had killed a hartebeest with a poisoned arrow by wounding it in the thigh. The animal had run about half an hour after receiving the wound before it fell. They immediately cut away the flesh round the wound, when it has been made with a poisoned arrow, and squeeze out the blood from the carcass; in which state they know from experience that the flesh taken into the stomach will do them no injury.

“The ancient manners and primitive character of this extraordinary race of men are, no doubt, much changed since their connexion with the colonists; and the nearer they are found to the capital and the parts most inhabited by Europeans, the less they retain of them. If at any time they composed societies governed by laws, swayed by customs, and observant of religious ceremonies, many of which, as related among the fables of ancient voyagers, and revived by some modern travellers, were so absurd and extremely ridiculous as to create strong doubts of their existence, they have now so completely lost them that no one trace remains behind. The name even that has been given to this people is a fabrication. *Hottentot* is a word that has no place nor meaning in their language; and they take to themselves the name under the idea of its being a Dutch word. When they were spread over the southern angle of Africa, each horde had

its particular name; but that by which the whole nation was distinguished, and which at this moment they bear among themselves in every part of the country, is *Quaiqua*. From living together in particular clans, and, in later times, from mixing with different people, the Hottentots of one district differ very considerably from those of another. The part of the country we now were in, being the last that was colonized, was inhabited most probably by such as had retained more of their original character than the others: and it is those to whom the following remarks are meant to apply.

“Low as they are sunk in the scale of humanity, their character seems to have been very much traduced and misrepresented. It is true there is nothing prepossessing in the appearance of a Hottentot, but infinitely less so in the many ridiculous and false relations by which the public have been abused. They are a mild, quiet, and timid people; perfectly harmless, honest, faithful; and, though extremely phlegmatic, they are kind and affectionate to each other, and not incapable of strong attachments. A Hottentot would share his last morsel with his companions. They have little of that kind of art or cunning that savages generally possess. If accused of crimes of which they have been guilty, they generally divulge the truth. They seldom quarrel among themselves, or make use of provoking language. Though naturally of a fearful and cowardly disposition, they will run into the face of danger if led on by their superiors; and they suffer pain with great patience. They are by no means deficient in talent, but they possess little exertion to call it into action: the want of



of this was the principal cause of their ruin. The indolence of a Hottentot is a real disease, whose only remedy seems to be that of terror. Hunger is insufficient to effect the cure. Rather than to have the trouble of procuring food by the chase, or of digging the ground for roots, they will willingly fast the whole day, provided they may be allowed to sleep. Instances frequently occurred in the course of our journeys, when our Hottentots have passed the day without a morsel of food, in preference of having the trouble to walk half a mile for a sheep. Yet, though they are so exceedingly patient of hunger, they are at the same time the greatest gluttons upon the face of the earth. Ten of our Hottentots ate a middling-sized ox, all but the two hind legs, in three days; but they had very little sleep during the time, and had fasted the two preceding days. With them the word is to eat or to sleep. When they cannot indulge in the gratification of the one, they generally find immediate relief in flying to the other.

“ Their manner of eating marks the voracity of their appetite. Having cut from the animal a large steak, they enter one edge with the knife, and passing it round in a spiral manner till they come to the middle, they produce a string of meat two or three yards in length. The whole animal is presently cut into such strings; and while some are employed in this business, and in suspending them on the branches of the shrubbery, others are broiling the strings coiled round and laid upon the ashes. When the meat is just warmed through they grasp it in both hands, and, applying one end of the string to the mouth, soon

get through a yard of flesh. The ashes of the green wood that adhere to the meat serve as a substitute for salt. As soon as a string of meat has passed through their hands, they are cleaned by rubbing over different parts of their body. Grease thus applied from time to time and accumulating perhaps for a whole year, sometimes melting by the side of a large fire and catching up dust and dirt, covers at length the surface of the body with a thick black coating that entirely conceals the real natural colour of the skin. This is discoverable only on the face and hands, which they keep somewhat cleaner than the other parts of the body by rubbing them with the dung of cattle. This takes up the grease, upon which water would have no effect.

“ The dress of a Hottentot is very simple. It consists of a belt made of a thong cut from the skin of some animal. From this belt is suspended before a kind of case made out of the skin of the jackal. The shape is that of half a nine-pin cut longitudinally, and the convex and hairy side is outermost. The intention of this case is to receive those parts of the body for which most nations have adopted some sort of covering; but few, who are not entirely naked, have hit upon a less effectual one for such a purpose than that of the Hottentot. If the real intent of it was the promotion of decency, it should seem that he has widely missed his aim, as it is certainly one of the most immodest objects, in such a situation as he places it, that could have been contrived. From the back part of the belt or girdle hangs a piece of stiff dried skin, reaching scarcely to the middle of the thigh, cut into the shape of



of an acute isosceles triangle with the point uppermost. Some wear a couple of such pieces. This contrivance is no better covering than the other; for when he walks quickly or musters up a running pace, it flies from one side to the other, and flaps backwards and forwards in such a manner as to conceal no particular part. This indeed does not seem to have been the purpose exactly for which it has been contrived. Nature having given to most animals a tail to fan themselves in hot weather and to lash away troublesome insects, and having left the Hottentot without one, he has adopted an artificial one to answer the same end. These constitute the whole of their summer dress. A great beau will probably fasten a bracelet of beads or a ring of copper round his wrist: but such are more properly ornaments belonging to the other sex.

“The Hottentot women, fond of finery like those of most nations, by their immoderate rage for dress accelerated the ruin of their husbands, which they themselves had brought on by as strong a rage for ardent spirits and tobacco. These two articles and glass beads were exchanged for their cattle—things useless, worthless, and even pernicious, for what was their only support, the soul of their existence. The thongs of dried skins that had encircled their legs from the ankle to the knee, as a protection against the bite of poisonous animals, were now despised and thrown away, and beads were substituted in their place. Thus, what had been adopted as a matter of necessity and prudence passed into an affair of fashion. Their necks, arms, and legs were loaded with glass beads: but the largest and most splendid of these ornaments were bestowed

upon the little apron, about seven or eight inches wide, that hangs from the waist and reaches barely to the middle of the thigh. Great pains seem to be taken by the women to attract notice towards this part of their persons. Large metal buttons, shells of the *cyprea* genus with the apertures outwards, or any thing that makes a great show, are fastened to the borders of this apron. Those who either cannot afford to wear glass beads, or have no taste for the fashion, wear an apron of a different sort, which has a very odd appearance: it is the skin of an animal cut into threads that hang in a bunch between the thighs, reaching about half-way to the knee; the exterior and anterior parts of the thigh are entirely bare. The threads of such an apron are frequently too thin and few to answer the purpose of concealment. Instead of the tail worn by the men, the women have a sheep's skin that entirely covers the posterior part of the body from the waist to the calf of the leg, and just wide enough to strike the exterior part of the thigh. The rattling of this hard and dry skin announces the approach of a Hottentot lady long before she makes her appearance. The rest of the body is naked. Some, however, wear skin-caps on their heads made up into different shapes, and ornamented as caprice may direct. In the winter months both sexes cover themselves with cloaks made of skins.

“The custom of greasing the body and wrapping it in skins has been the constant theme of abuse against this race of people by those who have written on the subject. There are always two ways of representing things; and, unfortunately for the poor Hottentot, his

character



character has been painted in the worst light. To cover the body with some unctuous matter in a hot climate where water was extremely scarce, was a very natural resource to prevent the skin from being shrivelled and parched by the scorching rays of the sun, and has been adopted by most nations situated in or near the torrid zone. The oil that ran so profusely down 'Aarón's beard even to the skirts of his garment,' was in all probability animal fat; for during the forty years that he and Moses occupied the children of Israel in the desert with a promised land, it is not very likely they had a supply of vegetable oil; and though some late celebrated historical painters have clothed these leaders of the children of Israel in high-coloured garments trimmed with fringe and lace, it may be doubted if they had any other clothing than such as the skins of their sheep, and calves, and goats, supplied them with. If the practice of smearing the body with fat were adopted in South America, there would not probably be such numbers of objects in the streets of Rio de Janeiro labouring under that most disgusting and dreadful disorder the elephantiasis. The Hottentots know nothing of such a complaint; nor did I perceive that any kind of cutaneous disease was prevalent among them.

"The person of a Hottentot while young is by no means void of symmetry. They are clean-limbed, well-proportioned, and erect. Their joints, hands, and feet are remarkably small. No protuberance of muscle to indicate strength; but a body delicately formed as that of a woman, marks the inactive and effeminate mind of a Hottentot. The face is in general ex-

tremely ugly; but this differs very materially in different families, particularly in the nose, some of which are remarkably flat and others considerably raised. The colour of the eye is a deep chesnut: they are very long and narrow, removed to a great distance from each other; and the eye-lids at the extremity next the nose, instead of forming an angle, as in Europeans, are rounded into each other exactly like those of the Chinese, to whom indeed in many other points they bear a physical resemblance that is sufficiently striking. The cheek-bones are high and prominent, and with the narrow-pointed chin form nearly a triangle. Their teeth are beautifully white. The colour of the skin is that of a yellowish brown or a faded leaf, but very different from the sickly hue of a person in the jaundice, which it has been described to resemble. The hair is of a very singular nature: it does not cover the whole surface of the scalp, but grows in small tufts at certain distances from each other, and, when kept short, has the appearance and feel of a hard shoe-brush, with this difference, that it is curled and twisted into small round lumps about the size of a marrow-fat pea. When suffered to grow, it hangs in the neck in hard twisted tassels like fringe.

"Some of the women when young, and previous to child-bearing, might serve as models of perfection in the human figure. Every joint and limb is rounded and well turned, and their whole body is without an angle or disproportionate protuberance. Their breasts are round, firm, and distant; but the nipple is unusually large, and surrounded by an areola that is much elevated above the general surface of the breast. Their hands and feet are re-

markably



markably small and delicately turned; and in their gait they are not altogether devoid of grace. Their charms, however, are very fleeting. At an early period of life, and immediately after the first child, their breasts begin to grow loose and flaccid, and, as old age approaches, become distended to an enormous size; the belly protrudes; and the posteriors, swelling out to incredible dimensions, give to the spine a degree of curvature inwards that makes it appear as if the *os coccygis*, or bone at the lower extremity of the spine, was elongated and bent outwards; which is not the case. The mass that covers the posteriors has been found to be pure fat. Some other striking peculiarities in the conformation of Hottentot women will be noticed when speaking of the Bosjesmans, who seem to be the true aborigines of the country, unmixed with any other tribes of people.

“It does not appear that the Hottentots are subject to any particular diseases. Life, if not taken away by accident or violence, is generally terminated by a gradual decay and exhausted nature, which generally happens at an earlier period of existence here than in most countries of an equal temperature of climate. It is rare to see a Hottentot with sixty years upon his head; but it is also equally rare to see a cripple or deformed person among them. There are none who professedly practise the healing art; every one is his own physician. The colonists, in this respect, are no better served than the Hottentots. In the whole district of Graaff Reynet there is but one apothecary, and his residence is at the Drosdy.

“Medicine and astronomy are  
1804.

two sciences that may be supposed to have dated their origin from the first dawn of civilization: by one, men were taught to restore the vital functions that had lost their tone, and to repair the injured frame; by the other they informed themselves of the different periods of seed-time and harvest. Little as the Hottentots are acquainted with the one, they are still less so with the other. They have a name for the sun, another for the moon, and a third for the stars: but this is the extent of their astronomical knowledge. The division of time, by the motion of the heavenly bodies, was too subtle an operation, and required too much observation and profound thinking, for the careless and inattentive mind of a Hottentot. The period of a day may almost be said to be the extent of his reckoning. When he has occasion to refer to the time of the day, like all other nations who are without machines for marking the divisions of time, he will point out the place in the heavens where the sun then was. The periods that have past he can express only by saying they were before or after some memorable event. The season of the year is indicated by being so many moons before or after *aynjies tyd*, or the time that the roots of the *iris edulis* are in season; a time particularly noticed by him, as these bulbs once constituted a considerable part of his vegetable food. I know not how far the numerals in his language proceed, but none of these of our party could tell beyond *five*, nor could any of them put two numbers together but by the assistance of their fingers. Yet they are very far from being a stupid people. They learn the Dutch language with great facility. They are ex-  
H cellent



cellent marksmen with the gun: and they are uncommonly clever in finding out a passage over a desert uninhabited country. By the quickness of their eye they will discover deer and other sorts of game when very far distant; and they are equally expert in watching a bee to its nest. They no sooner hear the humming of the insect than they squat themselves on the ground, and, having caught it with the eye, follow it to an incredible distance. The organ of sight, no doubt, is strengthened and improved by exercise. Seamen on board ships will discover objects at sea the moment they appear above the horizon, and long before they become visible to a passenger's eye.

“Except in the preparation of poisons, making bows and arrows, musical instruments, coarse earthen ware, and sewing together the skins of sheep for their winter garments with sinews or the intestines of animals, the Hottentots may be said to be entirely ignorant of arts and manufactures. The great point in which their invention appears to have been exercised is in the construction of their language. Of all the methods that have been adopted in language by different nations for the purpose of expressing objects, and conveying ideas in a clear and unequivocal manner, that which has been hit upon by the Hottentots is certainly the most extraordinary. Almost all their monosyllables, and the leading syllable of compound words, are thrown out of the mouth with a sudden retraction of the tongue from the teeth or the palate, against one of which it had been pressed, according to the signification of the word about to be uttered; for the same sound, with the dental, will have a very different meaning with

the palatial retraction of the tongue. The noise made by the dental is exactly that which is sometimes used to express impatience, and the palatial is much more full and sonorous, and not unlike the clacking of a hen that has young chickens. This sound is never made to precede or to follow a syllable, but is thrown out at the same time, and incorporated with it. All languages in their infancy consisted probably of simple or monosyllabic sounds; but as these could convey only a very limited number of ideas, recourse was had to inflexion of voice and composition of the simple sounds to make the vocabulary more copious. The division of such simple sounds into their elements, and by the various combinations of these elements to form an almost unlimited number of new sounds, was one of the most wonderful inventions in the history of man, and much beyond the genius of a Hottentot. He has done, however, all that he found to be necessary by a very few compound words, and by the clacking with the tongue. In the first formation of his language, nature seems to have been his guide. The croaking of a frog is readily recognized in *kraak* or *kraakie*; the lowing of an ox in *minoo*; the mewling of a cat in *meau*; the neighing of a horse in *babe*; the breaking of the sea upon the shore in *hurroo*; all of which are correspondent words in the language of this people. Many instances, besides these, sufficiently prove that the vocables were adopted in imitation of the sounds proceeding from the different objects they were meant to express. In the origin they might probably be much closer imitations. The enunciation of sounds is liable to undergo



dergo many alterations in passing from one generation to another, even among nations that have the means of catching the nice inflexions of voice, and of handing them down, in a visible form, to posterity.

“The genius of a language is generally discoverable in the application of new words to new ideas. The Hottentots, who had never seen nor heard the report of a gun before their unfortunate connexion with Europeans, had a new word to invent in order to express it. They called it *kaboo*, and pronounced the word in so emphatic a manner that it was scarcely possible to mistake their meaning. The *ka* is thrown out with a strong palatial stroke of the tongue, in imitation of the sound given by the stroke of the flint against the cover of the pan; and with outstretched lips, a full mouth, and prolonged sound, the *boo* sends forth the report. This language at first appears to be of such a nature as to make it impossible for an European ever to acquire; the difficulty, however, which is chiefly occasioned by the action of the tongue, is soon got over. Most of the Dutch peasantry in the distant districts speak it; and many of them are so very much accustomed to the use of it, that they introduce into their own language a motion of the organ of speech sufficiently distinct to shew from whence they procured it.

“Notwithstanding the inhuman treatment that the Hottentots ex-

perience from the Dutch farmers, the latter could very ill want the assistance of the former; and, were they sensible of their own interest, and the interest of their posterity, instead of oppressing, they would offer them every encouragement. To guard their numerous herds; to drive them from place to place in search of food and water, sometimes on plains which produce not a shrub to screen them from the scorching rays of an almost vertical sun at one part of the year, or to afford them a shelter from the cold winds, frost, and snow that happen in the other, would ill agree with the temper or with the constitution of the colonists; yet, should the present system of oppression continue, the time is not far distant when their own children must take upon them the charge now committed to Hottentots. Slaves are too expensive. In the whole district of Graaff Reynet there are not more than six or seven hundred blacks, which is about one to each family; and the said district contains about 10,000 Hottentots great and small. The total number of this people in the whole colony may be about fifteen thousand. Broken up and dispersed as the tribes of this nation now are, few of their antient usages are retained among them. If they ever had a religion of any sort, all traces of it are now lost: they marry without any of kind ceremony, and inter their dead in the same manner.”



## DESCRIPTION of SWITZERLAND.

[From M. KOTZEBUE's Travels.]

“ I AM now in Switzerland, you see ; but do not expect any picturesque description of its great natural beauties. Travels in Switzerland are to be had by the dozen, good, bad, and indifferent ; and it is not only an exhausted subject to speak of the wonders of nature in this country, but it had been better from the beginning, if nothing at all had been said of them : for, to be candid, has the description of a beautiful district, even from the hand of a master, ever conveyed a striking image to your mind ? To mine it never has.

“ A person may paint a lake on the right, with its shores interspersed with delightful villas, point out the chain of the Jura on the left, place Montblanc in the background, &c. He may use, on this occasion, the picturesque language of poetry : yet, in my mind, it will produce only a confused image of all these objects—confused, I say, and not even resembling the original : it hovers before me, and in vain I try to seize it.

“ I have, therefore, always been an enemy to such descriptions. A person ought to see Switzerland with his own eyes, just as he ought to hear a concert with his own ears. He who paints countries with words, does still less than the person who hums a symphony : therefore I neither can nor will say any thing of Switzerland, but that I have here and there seen spots, where the Almighty may perhaps have stood, when he surveyed the world after the creation, and said : ‘ It is good.’

“ The fall of the Rhine did not exceed my expectation, though I was highly gratified by it. Many travellers have endeavoured to represent to me the effect of this view as inferior to what I found it in reality. It is a grand sight, of which no pen ought to attempt the description. I was much charmed with the environs of Zurich, and perhaps more so than with any other place, as my stay was rendered additionally interesting by the worth of the people.

“ The perspective from Bugeli across the lake, of the ice-clad mountains, is extremely captivating ; but the prospect from the apartments of the inn, bearing the sign of the Sword, at which I put up, is more attractive, or at least more variegated. This perspective has often been mentioned *en passant*. I will more circumstantially—not describe, but only mention all that is to be seen.

“ The room is a corner room. If you open a window to the left, you see the river Limmat below you, with a very broad bridge over it, lined on both sides with women selling fruit and vegetables, with groups of French chasseurs walking among them. The main-guard of these soldiers is on the opposite side of the bridge.

“ You cannot conceive what stir and bustle prevail here. Downwards, to the left, you see, along the river, two long streets, and a part of the town. If you open the window on the right, you behold at your feet an open country, and straight before you the lake of Zurich,



Zurich, surrounded by charming villas, and skirted by the Alps, on whose summits the snowy cliffs rear their hoary heads.

“ This amphitheatre, forming a contrast of polished and rude nature, together with the bustle of men immediately below, is incomparable. The beautiful walks about Zurich would even tempt the gouty to exercise.

“ Gesner’s monument is a performance of such simplicity and neatness, that you can scarcely withhold the tribute of a tear. It is a pity that the French chasseurs, who have now no other opportunity to perpetuate their name, endeavour to do it upon this marble. In many parts I found scrawled the 13th regiment of chasseurs, which is really as opposite to the world of Idyls, as a musket to a rose-tree.

“ In the library there are a great many books: an ordinary traveller can seldom say more of such an establishment. A couple of letters, in the hand-writing of the celebrated lady Jane Grey, interested me. They are on religious subjects, in very good Latin, and as finely written as if by the hand of a writing-master.

“ I had but a hasty glance of Lavater’s cabinet of physiognomy. What is most remarkable in it does not so much consist in the multiplicity of faces he has collected, as in the superscriptions with which he honoured every significant or insignificant countenance. Sometimes it seems to have cost him a great deal of trouble to compress much of what is rare, in obscure or new-fangled words.

“ The temper of the Swiss still resembles the ruffled surface of the deep, out of which a subterraneous fire has suddenly projected some rocks, against which the confined

surges dash their impotent spray. The walls of the public-houses are often covered with bitter sallies, which are sometimes not without point.

“ The Swiss cherish the most inveterate hatred against general Andermatt, the bombardier of Zurich. He lives retired at his country house, where he is skreened from the general contempt.

“ The Swiss do not speak favourably of the Russians. They praise general Korsakow for his love of literature and the sciences, but they will not allow him to be a good general. Being once informed that the French had occupied a mountain which commands Zurich, he answered: *Tant mieux ! C’est là que je les attendois.* “ So much the better ! ” It is there I expected them.” He was soon afterwards compelled to retreat, and that without knowing through which gate he was to effect his flight. The people of Zurich were obliged to show him the way. On this occasion he lost his baggage; the French hussars took a great deal of booty, and had so many cumbersome French crowns in their caps, that they gladly gave from ten to fifteen of them for one *louis d’or*, finding it more convenient to carry off the gold. If you wish to hear many remarkable anecdotes which have not yet been made public, but which throw great light upon the events of that period, you ought to go to Zurich.

“ Baden in Switzerland.—Here I found posted up an ordinance of the tribunal of manners, which pays no compliment to the spirit of our times. It enjoins a proper celebration of the Lord’s-day; prohibits gambling, dancing, shooting, fishing, swimming, &c. on Sundays; and orders all married citizens to



go to church in cloaks, and the unmarried in coats, not in jackets. The women, it further says, will observe in their dress that decorum which is due to the sanctity of the place, to the purity of their sentiments, and to modesty.

“ I should indeed like for once to see our great great grandmothers attend divine service, along with their half-naked great great granddaughters; how quickly would they return to their graves, and lie down on their faces, that they might not be obliged to cry shame on our youthful females, who have bidden adieu to modesty !

“ It does credit to Switzerland to have tribunals of manners; it shows at least an attempt to preserve them. I know of no other country in Europe that boasts of such institutions. Decayed buildings are usually propped up, that they may not overwhelm the unwary passenger. But degeneracy of manners, which only poisons the mind, is suffered to extend its ravages, like the fir caterpillar a few years ago, till men become as sapless as the trees in a rifled wood.

“ Berne, Lausanne, Geneva.— What more can I tell you of all these cities, than that I have visited them, and seen what hundreds have seen before me? The towns are not to be reckoned among the beauties of Switzerland; they are, particularly the greater ones, old, winding, and intersected by narrow, dirty streets, which the high houses completely deprive of the benefits of a free circulation of air. Wholesome as the air of Switzerland may be without the gates, it is certainly no less unwholesome in the towns, excepting in the smaller ones, on the lake of Geneva, called Morges and Rolle.

“ I was particularly pleased with

the idea of seeing the bone-house, near Murten, celebrated for three centuries and a half, where, after the great victory gained over Charles of Burgundy in 1476, the bones of the slain were collected. Alas! the spot hardly remains perceptible. The French demolished it last year, dispersed the bones, or threw them into the lake. Why? they themselves probably cannot tell. They seem frequently to be seized with a childish love of destroying. Meanwhile there still remain ribs, skulls, and bones enough on the place, with which no one meddles; so that it will very likely be distinguishable yet for some years.

“ At Geneva I saw an excellent historical picture, by St. Ours the painter. This being the only kind of painting of which I am an enthusiastic admirer, but which I find so little cultivated, the sight of it was a real treat to me. It is very large, covers a whole wall, and represents the Olympic games, at the moment the victor has overcome his third antagonist, who having fallen down, still supports himself on his athletic arm.

“ He advances to the judge of the combat, and demands the prize. The judge takes the crown, the people around shout applause, and the conquered are carried off the field. The enraptured father of the conqueror stands among the spectators; Socrates is present, and the priestesses of Ceres, the only females permitted to attend at the games, sit by the judge's side.

“ The artist has represented these priestesses as young maidens of exquisite beauty, and their charms are heightened by the costume. One of them rises involuntarily from her seat; her posture bending with a lovely *naïveté* toward the victor,



victor, seems to imply that she feels more interest for his person than becomes her sacred profession, and one of her sisters gently draws her back. This group, charming as it is, appears however to be a fault in the picture, as it draws the eye from the principal figure, and attracts and reattracts without ceasing.—The conqueror too is, perhaps, somewhat stiff, and the colouring of his body is not the best. But I am not connoisseur enough to criticize. I have felt, and that is enough.

“From St. Ours I went to the celebrated Deluc, a very ingenious old man, who with the utmost readiness showed me his fine cabinet of fossils, lavas, and shells. I am sorry I understand so little of this science. He made violent objections to the hypothesis, that the moon-stones, as they are called, are really projected upon the earth by volcanoes in that planet. He is of opinion, that the law of gravitation will not permit even a single atom to swerve from its planet. What he says concerning volcanoes in general, and their origin, is extremely interesting. Without brine or sea-water, he is of opinion that no volcano can exist, and that they will always be found in the vicinity of the sea; that sea-water is absolutely necessary to create such a ferment; that at first every volcano is but a hole in the ground, which becomes a mountain by the eruptions continued for thousands of years.

“When I objected to him with a smile, that, in this manner, it would require an infinite time to form a mountain like Mount Etna, and that this must make one suspect the truth of the scriptural account of the age of the world, he denied what I said, telling me, that the volcanoes had perhaps already from

the beginning commenced forming under the water, which was proved by the many marine animals found on the summits of mountains. I should like to have listened to him for hours; but unskilled as I am in the science, I could not give you a faithful report of what he said.

“I found the theatre at Geneva indifferent. Among other pieces, was acted *Monsieur de Crac dans son petit Castel*, when I saw several good comedians. The mayor’s box looks like a parrot’s cage, being twisted all round with wire; a singular mark of distinction. The slovenly fashion among actors, to tear holes in the curtain to pop their noses through, is prevalent here also; but care has, at least, been taken to prevent the holes from becoming slits, they having been bordered with tin.

“In Berlin the public are indebted to Iffland (to whom they owe many things) for the correction of this indecency. I would much rather have seen Mont Blanc than all the decorations of the theatre at Geneva; but it would not favour me with throwing off its cloudy mantle. But this venerable mountain will no doubt, remain on the same spot; and I hope to find it some other time.

“I missed another curiosity of Geneva, to my great regret; the celebrated authoress of Delphine had also wrapt herself up in her veil, and was gone, I know not whither. To procure an adequate compensation for this disappointment, I went to Ferney, and entered its sanctuary with a beating heart. I had seen the model of it at Petersburg, in the palace of the Hermitage, and was disappointed in the expectations I had formed of the building; in fact, the picture



of a town generally appears handsomer than the town itself.

"It was not for the sake of what is called the castle of Ferney that I came hither; I wished only to enter the place where Voltaire had lived, walked, and composed his poems; I wished to feast on the sensations which, in such a place, a susceptible fancy so easily creates. The house now belongs to a merchant whose name I do not recollect; but he shows respect for Voltaire's memory, by leaving his bedchamber exactly as it was when inhabited by the philosopher.

"There I still found his bed with the faded curtains of yellow silk; there still hung Le Kain's portrait of Frederick the Great; a piece of embroidery of the empress Catherine, and many other articles of the same kind. In a niche was an urn, in which his heart had been inclosed, with this inscription: 'I am satisfied, since my heart remains among you.'

"In another room we found a billiard table on which he used to play, and—a living relic, too, walks about the house, an old priest, who had lived nine years with Voltaire. I cannot find words for the peculiar melancholy cast of my feelings. You, dear madam, who are so rich in tender sentiments, perfectly understand me, even without utterance.

"Here ends my descriptive tour through Switzerland; which you will surely not tax with prolixity. Should I once make a journey on foot through these romantic regions (and this is my firm resolution) then I hope to feel still more than I shall write.

"Switzerland ought to be traversed on foot; to travel in a carriage is extremely tedious and very expensive. If a Swiss coachman

has jogged on four or five German miles a day, with his well-fed horses, he thinks he has done wonders, and three crowns must be paid him for his two beasts, and as much for the following day, when he returns empty; at the same time, you are obliged to dine and to stop at night wherever he thinks proper, and must suffer yourself to be cheated at the expensive inns. This happened, contrary to my expectation, less frequently in the small towns than in the best inns of the great ones, which were often greatly inferior. Almost every where I found the accommodations bad; one instance will serve for many.

"At Lausanne, I alighted at the Golden Lion, which Reichardt, in his *Guide des Voyageurs*, calls the best inn. 'Have you any room?' I asked the waiter, who came up to the coach door.—'Yes.'—'But,' continued I, (having been imposed upon before by such answers,) 'have you good accommodations?' 'O! yes!'—'I want two apartments.' 'They are at your service.' He conducted me up three pair of filthy stairs, through a variety of dirty holes, and showed me one room. 'Where is the other?'—'Twenty yards farther.' 'I wish them to be close together.' 'They are not to be had.'

"Well, I put up with these; but found neither of them had a table in it. At last the tables were brought. I ordered tea, which was brought me at the expiration of an hour. 'At what time to-morrow morning can I have coffee?' I asked. 'As early as you please.' 'At five o'clock.'—'Very well.'

"The morning came; but no coffee. I got up to ring; but there was no bell. Some hot embers appeared still glowing under the ashes. I went to light the fire myself,



self, but—there were no bellows. At last my servant brought coffee at six o'clock. ‘Why so late?’ asked I. ‘Every body in the house is yet asleep, and the scolding cook was obliged to be drummed out of her bed.’—‘And the waiter, who promised yesterday?’ ‘He is asleep.’—‘And the porter, who is to make the fire in the stove?’ ‘He is asleep also.’

“All these neglects may be called trifles; but you must own, that they are apt to provoke, especially where, in spite of irregularity, one is obliged to pay dear beyond example. In the same house they made me pay one frank for a wax-light; a French crown per head for a supper of three dishes; and so on in proportion.

“For a man accustomed to rise as early as I do, it is very unpleasant to find people sleep so long as in Switzerland and France. In Geneva, where I put up at the sign of the Balance, the waiter plainly told me, that he could get no coffee so early, for the Russians and English drank it much later. It is best for a person to carry every thing with him, to warm the room with his own materials, to strike a light, and boil his coffee in the chimney.

“In travelling it often happens that we find things very different from what we expected. Thus, for instance, I was much afraid of the French custom-house officers, having been told that they search very strictly, throw every thing into confusion, and are extremely insolent. I found them the reverse in every respect. The custom-house officers on the frontiers were very polite, cast a glance upon my passport, merely opened my trunk, and did not detain me five minutes. The searchers took a trifle; but another officer present was almost offended,

when I was going to make him my best acknowledgments, and to put something into his hand. According to certain modern accounts, I was afraid lest I should be obliged to deposit one half of the value of my carriage; but nobody thought of asking it of me. This law applies only to carriages imported from England.

“Cerdon.—I was most agreeably surprised on my way from Geneva hither. I was ignorant that I should see such districts as leave every thing I saw in Switzerland far behind them. Every one who traverses that country has something to say concerning it; thinking he has been admiring the most splendid scenes which nature exhibits; but most travellers would, like me, be amazed, were they but to continue their route to Lyons,—winding their way through fort L’Ecluse, where, between the rushing Rhone and the towering rocks, the way seems closed even to the sliding lizard; were they to see the wild, the awfully romantic and rugged cliffs, from which, at small distances of scarcely one hundred yards, the water sometimes furiously precipitates itself, sometimes trickles down, but often only oozes through the stones, and decks whole mountains with a glistening brilliancy.

“Thus you proceed as far as the neighbourhood of Avranche, constantly beholding under your feet the thousand meanders of the hoarse Rhone, which vainly tries to dash its foam over the countless vineyards, till at length it rushes, roaring, into an unfathomable abyss of rocks, and vanishes entirely. Three hundred yards farther it breaks forth again with impetuosity, and hastens to join its bride, the Saone. The space in which it rolls its waves,



waves, deep in the bosom of the earth, is overarched with excavated rocks. In the rainy season, the tomb which swallows up the Rhone and vomits it forth again, is too small to receive the whole volume of its waters. They then flow partly over the surface, and thus two rivers run, side by side, separated only by a slight partition of rocks.

“Proceeding farther, you every moment expect to behold the end of your journey; but yonder, where the rocks seem to close, the path suddenly winds between them, and a new romantic world opens to your astonished sight. Here a small lake, there steep shelving rocks, with winding footpaths. Between huge masses of fantastically towering stones, you behold a vineyard, extorted, as it were, from nature; here again are lonely mills, supported by rugged cliffs, from which cascades seem to pour on the roofs of the houses beneath.

“Held in uninterrupted amazement, you thus move forwards to the environs of Nantua, where you enter a valley, which I feel tempted to call the Valley of Despair. Any thing so wildly awful I never beheld. The lonely scattered houses seem to have been built by some Crusoe, who was wrecked in the great world. Here, as in Nova Zembla, the sun is never seen in winter; the black and naked rocks wind into dungeons; the songs of birds are not mingled with the murmur of the streams, as they foam down the crags; but the scanty fields, which man with laborious industry has stolen from frowning nature, are surrounded by cold marshes.

“The road again winds; you are presently in the middle of Nantua, a gay little town, in spite of

the rocks which rear their crags above all the houses. No sooner have you passed this place, than you are again surrounded by scenery wildly picturesque. It is no longer composed of wavy ridges of mountains, but is formed by stones of extraordinary figures, which stand upright, and which some revolution of the earth, in the dark ages of antiquity, has placed in their present situation—figures, which you are sometimes ready to swear are gigantic statues, the workmanship of some barbarous period. Beyond Nantua to the right, for instance, you see the figure of a giant on a cliff, who, like the king of the country, has surveyed, perhaps for thousands of years, the surrounding districts.

“You then discover, here and there, ruins of old castles, cliffs, and caverns; to reach which it is necessary to be drawn up with ropes; deeply furrowed rocks, ploughed for centuries by showers of rain, interspersed with vineyards and new crosses, the evidences of industry and returning piety. You at length reach a very narrow, cold valley, shaded by gloomy pine-trees. It is closed at the extremity by rugged rocks; and behind this craggy wall, nature, enthroned in all her majesty, has reserved for you the most enchanting spectacle.

“Stepping as from behind a scene, you suddenly behold a narrow, smiling dale; you see on the left cascades, great and small, precipitating themselves from higher or lower ranges of rocks; large and small brooks, murmuring down and uniting at the bottom, meander through the verdant meadows. Behind rises a decayed castle, on a cliff, almost entirely excavated by the water; and farther on to the left are the ruins of another castle, to which



which the watch-tower, on a more distant ridge, and still in good preservation, no longer affords protection. On the right you discover steep detached rocks, resembling a wall of freestone, and at top forming a menacing vault, beneath which the traveller steals with horror; for here and there detached masses of stone which have fallen down, seem to warn him of the danger.

"Yet beneath this terrific vault the blue fruit of the vine is still seen to sparkle, and close to its brink stands a new house, raised high into the air by the projecting stones: the back ground of this divinely beautiful valley is closed by the little town of Cerdon, and its hospitable white houses.

"Pardon me, if, unfaithful to my resolution, I have almost been betrayed into a description. Alas! here it was that I again, for the first

time, experienced a sensation of returning serenity. Really the beauties of the road from Geneva to Cerdon are alone worth a journey, and particularly during the vintage, when gay groupes are every where in motion, and every one confesses, laughing, that he has not vessels enough to collect the blessings of nature. You meet every moment large waggons containing open casks full of grapes, or observe barrels standing in long rows by the road side. Both old and young are occupied in pressing the fruit. If the sight of it tempt you, and you are thirsty, you need but to ask. A fair labourer immediately appears, and presents you with a basket full of picked grapes. *Prenez tant que vous voudrez*, says the owner of the vineyard, *vous ne payerez rien*. That is, take as many as you please, they will cost you nothing."

## DESCRIPTION OF PARIS.

[From the same.]

"PEOPLE generally imagine that travellers are most strictly searched, questioned, and watched on the frontiers of France, and afterwards in all the great towns through which they pass, not excepting the city of Paris, by custom-house officers, sentinels, and spies of the police. Whether the watching takes place, I will not pretend to say; but that the other part of the story is untrue, I can warrant. From Geneva to Paris I was never asked for a passport but once, when going through the little mountain fortress Ecluse. On my arrival in Paris, I expected nothing less than a detention of several hours in the

custom-houses, police offices, &c. I passed the barriers without being noticed by any person; I took my seat in a public-house without the landlord's asking me whether I had a passport or not. It was not till the following day I took it to the ambassador, who gave me a certificate to be delivered to the police office, in order to obtain a ticket of residence (*permis de sejour*). A ticket of this kind has the well-known advantage that the holder, wherever any thing is to be seen, has free admission, though the doors are shut to the rest of the public. Exclusive of this, it secures him against every accident, upon producing



ducing this certificate. A person who does not consult his ambassador may, perhaps, come off equally well; but notwithstanding, I would not advise him to omit this precaution.

“The permission of residence can only be obtained by a personal application at the police office; a condition from which neither rank, nor sex, nor age, will exempt; for ladies and children are bound to make their personal appearance, because the ticket minutely describes them from head to foot, and the whole is done with amazing dispatch. The secretary in whose department this operation lies, a very polite man, and a native of Berlin, at one look surveys and conceives the whole form. He had scarcely cast a glance on me, but his pen rapidly set down the particulars. He fixed my height at *one metre and seventy-six centimetres*, in which he was probably mistaken, as he with equal celerity made my travelling companion, who was evidently taller than I, smaller by two centimetres. He then described, with the like exactness, our hair, eyes, shape of face, and so forth. Where a more precise definition would be too prolix, he makes shift with the word *moyen*, which means middling; my forehead, for instance, was *moyen*, my nose *moyen*, my mouth *moyen*. All this is done gratis, with the greatest politeness and dispatch, in a fine large hall, matchless in its kind in the world, being embellished all round with the busts of the most celebrated orators and poets. On taking leave, the secretary gives you notice that it will be necessary to call again at least eight days before your departure, to fetch back the passport, and apply for a travelling pass to the grand judge.

“I would advise every traveller to dispense with this formality, as it would be attended with a considerable loss of time, money, and running about, of which I have precedents, and the pass may be obtained with much greater convenience and expedition. The ambassador, for instance, will grant him one twenty-four hours previously to his departure, which he produces to the minister for foreign affairs, Talleyrand, who puts his name to it. Thus the business is settled, and the old passport may quietly remain in the police office.

“Among the curious public advertisements, I remarked one in which somebody begged, in the name of humanity, (*au nom de l'humanité*) for the restitution of a lost dog. Another announces an employment for *un homme de lettres*, fetching 1600 livres per annum, begging at the same time from him who shall obtain it, a *recompense honnête*. Such a venal offering of public offices appears revolting to my feelings. A certain madame Leon offers to dye the hair black or chesnut colour, so as to become indelible for life, in a sitting of four hours.

“Let me once more be allowed the diversion of seeing the Parisian *beaux* pass in transitory review in my imagination, I mean on horseback; for this sort of gentry now-a-days fraternize only with the *Houynhms*. They ride in the *Bois de Boulogne*, calling out to each other, *Quelle superbe tête!* He that has not such a beast is insignificant. A bad horseman, mounted on a lean hack, passes for an Englishman, particularly if he turns out his toes well. It is likewise fashionable to go spurred, and carry a whip, without riding. A fashionable youth salutes nobody; upon handsome ladies



dies he casts a look; to ladies' maids he tips a familiar wink; to husbands he says *bon soir*, to his creditors he gives a sly touch of his hat, and to his father a squeeze of the hand. In order to insure his fortune, he must be pale and lean; he must be a hisser, a lasher, a mystical dasher, judging every thing, yet understanding nothing. The indecorous fashion of keeping one's hands in the flap of the breeches has at last disappeared, and they have now receded to the pockets.

"Every thing worn by a *beau* must look rumpled, but nothing new; his stockings must hang down in bags, his waistcoat be half buttoned in a slovenly manner, he must no more wear linen, but calico shirts; the buttons on the knees of his breeches must be so buttoned as to make his knee appear crooked; he must wear but one ring and one watch: to take snuff is getting rather out of fashion, while smoking is coming into vogue in its stead; the latter has been learned in the army.

"*Supplement to the head of societies and diversions.*

"Why does yon lady sit thus agitated at her toilet table? Why does she tremble at the idea that her hair-dresser and milliner will not come? Merely to plunge into a bustling crowd, to drop curtsies and make grimaces; to hear something of a thousand persons scarcely known by name, to admire, standing on tiptoe, some dancers, (who can only answer all encomiums by slight bows to the right and left), to sit down for a moment at the gaming table, to lose money, to yawn, to curse the crowd, to sigh for tea, at last to take herself off, grievously vexed at not having

been taken more notice of, to go to bed at day-break, and to wake at noon, in order to run again the same career.

"In certain houses, which are by no means to be accounted of the least note, a large gaming table is placed in the centre of the saloon, as the most indispensable article of furniture: this table being well laid out, the lady of the house likewise joins the company, casts her eyes every where, and calls out from time to time, *Messieurs, aux chandeliers!* for under the lustre they deposit as much for card-money as will support the whole house in its luxury.

"The number of guests and not their quality now gives *éclat* to a circle; people of all ranks and conditions are invited; a small number of ladies, a great number of men, especially foreigners, formerly Englishmen, but now in preference Russians.

"All the apartments are open and illuminated. One neighbour whispers in another's ear; and general attention is only raised now and then by a smart *calembourg*, which darts through the company with the quickness of lightning. Immediately after, all is hushed in silence. Two young gentlemen converse with the lady of the house, the others saunter to and fro, look at the *sophas à l'antique*, at the Greek rooms, the Roman bed, and the Chinese *boudoir*. The mystic dashers and *plaisants*, formerly called jesters, resemble the lilies of the field, that do not work, and yet our heavenly Father supports them all. They sit down at the tables of the rich, and their arts consist in making grimaces, imitating the cries of various animals or the noise of a saw; in changing their voice, playing antics quite alone behind the screen,



screen, disguising themselves in a thousand various ways, turning an honest man into ridicule before a whole company, &c.

“It is the *bon ton*, to neglect all the other ladies, and only to crowd about the handsomest, to stare at and almost stifle her. About two o’clock in the morning comes a dancer *par excellence*, and everybody then calls out *la gavotte, la gavotte!*”

“The piano-forte is put in tune, a circle is formed, the company mount upon the chairs; they clap their hands, and the young man who dances with the lady of the house, with much self-complacency receives, as a tribute due to him, the compliments of the company. He takes the precedence of old and young people, never hands a chair to a lady, talks at random of theatres, literature, and the fine arts, turns some clever learned man into ridicule by a *calembourg*, interrupts the most interesting conversation upon solid subjects by impertinent trifles, dashes out into mystics, were it even against his own father, boasts of having hissed the most recent theatrical performance, and plays a thousand other such tricks *à-la-mode*.

“Of the *waltz* he gives a definition, having first laughed at himself, saying, ‘It is a familiar dance, which requires the amalgamation of both dancers, and which flows like oil upon smooth marble.’ If at supper he espies one of those apple-cakes which the French call *Charlotte*, he very wittily observes: ‘I should indeed like to be the *Werter* of this *Charlotte*.’ There are people that are apt to get into a passion at such a conceited young coxcomb; it has been my own case before now. I have, however, for this long time past hit upon an excellent remedy, by reflecting upon the figure such a creature is

likely to make at the expiration of ten or fifteen years. Pity then immediately takes the place of indignation. The *ton* of freedom which prevails in all places of public resort, where all classes of people are mixed, naturally attracts thither a multitude of young people, who are absolutely impatient of every kind of restraint, and here they find their school of politeness. Madame Recamier, once going to *Frascati*, where she dearly paid for the pleasure of being handsome, really excited pity, if you saw her swimming in the crowd, tossed to and fro, and vainly endeavouring to make good her retreat. People got upon the chairs to look at her; every neck was stretched out; the hindmost pushed the foremost; and in all likelihood the object of this oppressive admiration would have been suffocated at last, had not her agility and dexterity afforded her an opportunity in a few minutes to escape.

“Let nobody imagine he will find real pleasure in public places of this kind. The Parisian plunges into a crowd, because he is a stranger to the quiet joys of domestic privacy. The word *plaisir* for him is only an expression *à façon de parler*. He has the pleasure to see you, to hear you, to speak with you; but to him who has this pleasure you are nevertheless perfectly indifferent. He had the pleasure of dining with such a one, where he felt terrible *ennui*. You give him an invitation, he tells you he receives it with great pleasure, but he never comes. You ask leave to lay hold of his arm—‘With a great deal of pleasure, madame;’ and all the while he mutters a curse between his teeth, for he has a mortal aversion to such a restraint.

“The



"The taste for what is called *fêtes champêtres* is much upon the decline, for the places where these rural feasts used to be given, multiplied to infinity; and it was ridiculous to see a person that planted a small bit of ground with a couple of espalier trees, created a meandering little puddle, or raised a shabby-looking fountain, give to them the high sounding names of *Isle de Venus*, *Jardin de Paphos*, *d'Apollon*, *Elysée*, *Frascati*, *les Grands Maronniers*, *la Chaumière Indienne*, &c. &c.

"The fire-works, particularly Ruggiere's, are a very popular amusement, and the best play will never attract such a concourse of people. Of the theatricals of amateurs little more is now heard. The young men play at Ranelagh, as long as the weather permits, the *jeu de barres* (cricket); and as there is always a number of ladies who come to be spectators, it may easily be supposed that here too vanity officiates as president.

"The public balls, which are always pompously advertised, are truly insignificant. Here it is a *Casino Venetien*, a *Salle de Terpsichore*, &c.; there a grand orchestra; there again a *mise décente* (decent dress) is made a condition *sine qua non* of admittance; and if a stranger, trusting to all this bombast, come in well dressed, he is sure to find a heap of ill-bred clowns in boots, with round hats on their heads, and the grand orchestra consists of five poor creatures, one of whom is a black man, beating an oblong drum with one hand, and playing on a fife with the other; between the dances they give flourishes on the French-horn. Neither nature nor art lends charms to the fair-sex here; and as to modesty, I could nowhere meet with it. A rare refinement I found

in several dancing-rooms. A profile painter sets up his stall in one of the corners, and in an instant, at a moderate price, furnishes profiles. A lover, who has perhaps seldom an opportunity of seeing the object of his affections, may here contrive so as to make her for a moment stand in the stall, where she will at least leave him her shade.

"Formerly education was remarkable in France for its salutary rigour; but now such a method would be called pedantry. Formerly, labour was the custom, earnest application the guide of studies; and mathematics, the antient languages, the sciences, and the fine arts, the objects of the learner's pursuit. A young man just coming out of school could certainly not cut a figure upon entering into company, and it was the task of the ladies gradually to give him the polish of genteel refinement. But now the dear child is kept above all things, from over-fatiguing himself with study; the antient languages are deemed superfluous; and the fine arts, which were before mere collaterals, now form the main object. What was then called the *classis* is now abolished, and there are only courses of public lectures, where the ladies and strangers numerous attend, and occupy the seats of honour.

"The real pupils must sit behind, just like the rabble in the juridical ceremony of the marriage of Figaro. The sweet prattling, and the killing looks of the ladies, prepare the children for their lesson: at last, the gallant professor makes his appearance; but he is no longer a dull pedant as formerly; he is known in every social circle, he is a member of all the lyceums, genteel, *tonish*, in short, a delicious man.



man. He is received with a glad murmuring, and modestly snuffs in the incense with his nose, walking in a bending attitude through the hall. In order to teach the pupils to read, the professor reads, and what?—a satire of Boileau, or a song of Gresset's *Vert-vert*, or perhaps a few words on some antient author. His end is entertainment, and not instruction; he, therefore, skips over every thing serious, concluding with the reading of his *own verses*, amidst the loudest clapping of hands on the part of the audience: thus a twelvemonth passes, and the prizes are distributed. This formerly took place with pompous solemnity, but is now performed in one of the most fascinating circles. All the *belles* attend, because concerts and balls are given; they little think about the prizes: here too the pupils make a brilliant figure, and they prophesy that this or that one will soon become a capital dancer.

“This kind of solemnity is still more scrupulously and nicely observed in the boarding-schools for young ladies. There plays are acted, in which the girls stifle the fascinating coyness of innocence, in order to please by their graces, and afterwards in dancing, to rival the most expert women in coquetry.

“Formerly a young lady would have taken it very ill, had any body told her that she danced like a stage-player; but now it is the only encomium that can be worthily bestowed on a good dancer.

“The youthful fair are now likewise *amateurs of the arts*. A girl scarcely fifteen years old will stand before *David's* painting, and, attentively gazing through her opera glass at the stark-naked Sabine, will observe, that such a muscle is

full of energy, but such a one like nothing. She will talk of the tibia, of the abdomen, and heaven knows of what more. As the pretty accomplishment of holding a fan before one's eyes was not to be entirely suppressed, but was, however, found troublesome, recourse has been had to the medium of fixing the opera-glass between the fansticks; which is a complete remedy.

“Both mother and daughter now dress alike, they *thou* one another, and if they wrangle, neither will give way. Both dance *la gavotte*; they sing, play at cards, ride home, separately commit follies, intrust them to one another, they scold each other, and both domineer in the family. The only thing in which they differ is, that the mother wears diamonds, and the daughter flowers.

“A young man from the country came on a visit to a young lady betrothed to him; he found her *tête-à-tête* with a young artist, having before her an *academie* (a small statue of plaster of Paris): to learn drawing, she took lessons in anatomy. ‘We are just now,’ said her master, ‘upon the muscles of the loins, let us for the present get to the abdomen:’ thus the fancy of this girl was jumping from muscle to muscle.—Her lover asking where her mother was, ‘O,’ replies she, ‘the little rake! she was waltzing too much last night.’—After this, she requested her intended spouse to accompany her to the riding-house, where, on her arrival, she jumped upon a brisk horse, and, galloping away like lightning, left the poor country lout staring open-mouthed at the disappearance of his vision.

“From the riding-house she went to the swimming-school, (*école de natation*) where the gentle bride entered



entered a closet, and soon after appeared in a large bathing-shirt; which having dropt, she stood exposed to view in nankeen waistcoat and pantaloons closely fitting her body, and with these she jumped into the water. Her bridegroom, who never hoped to see all these charms before the wedding day, let her swim, hastened home, helped himself to put his horses before the carriage, and with the utmost precipitancy, nay, even without taking leave, returned to the country.—I must frankly confess here, that the above observations are not entirely my own, but that a very nice observer has contributed a few.

“The modern devotion of the Parisians appears to me, as every thing of theirs does, mere fashion. I was present at the chanting of a solemn high mass at the church of *Notre Dame*, which was crowded with flocks of the pious. I very closely observed them, and could discover but little devotion, for all of them had brought nothing but their play-house looks. The vocal music was excellent, but too feeble for such a large edifice. The entrance into the choir costs sixpence.

“Boards were suspended on the arches, announcing the prices to be paid for the chairs let for hire. If a *Te Deum* was chanted, I found them the dearest, probably because a *Te Deum* must first be purchased at a dear rate. I heard a bell belonging to the steeple, which has a most awful, tremendous sound, and is called *Bourdon*.

“Louis XVI. and Marat, in short, all the venerable as well as the worthless victims of the revolution, are so completely sunk in oblivion, that all my pains to discover the church-yard *de la Made-*  
1804.

*luine*, where they are buried, were fruitless; my *laquais de place* pretended to know nothing at all about it. At last I was informed, that this church-yard had been sold to a smith, who had converted it into a garden. I instantly repaired to the spot, but the smith was not at home; the people in the house would not vouch for the correctness of my information, but were of opinion, that not a single trace of graves remained in their garden; for the quicklime, thrown into the holes in which the corpses had been buried, had consumed them all. To be brief, I was obliged to withdraw, however much I had wished to stand on the spot where the bones of unfortunate men and ruffians remain mixed together. A lady afterwards assured me that the spot was not only still to be found, but that it was even planted with three lilies: the owner, however, owing to the too great crowd of visitors, had shut his garden to every body.—In this he was perfectly right.

“The *Bois de Boulogne*, where the iron-eaters are strolling about, and where the beaux are lolling in their cabriolets, is not a wood, but a collection of shrubs and bushes, which has nothing of an attractive nature; a number of paths cross each other. Having once entered it, a person may ride as far as the palace of *la Bagatelle*, formerly belonging to the count *d'Artois*, where every thing is confined within a very narrow space. The entrance to it bears this inscription, *Parva sed apta*. It is now kept by a *restaurateur*, who takes fifteen sous for admission, and fifty more for a small glass of paltry Madeira. The prospect is charming, and the park romantically wild. Some rooms still con-



tain the old furniture; but most of them have been plundered by the ruffian banditti. It is impossible so small a place should afford more beauty and convenience. Returning, you pass by a *ci-devant* royal castle called *La Muette*. Here slept Marie Antoinette on the eve of her wedding-day; and, surely, her dreams could not dive into the dark bosom of fatal futurity!

“Young folks are complained of for being ignorant, and yet positively deciding every thing. Is not this the case every where? Nobody understands, nay, nobody learns any more the great art of hearing and of being silent. ‘Look there, sir,’ quoth an old Frenchman in my presence, ‘there, in that antique chair, my father used to sit; methinks I see him now; he spoke little, but was quick of hearing. His attention conferred an additional interest upon all that was said; the vivacity of his eyes was eloquence itself: but to observe a look of his, you must have taken it for the most persuasive reply. There hangs his portrait, and we think he is listening still! O pray do not turn the leaves of the book that still lies on the chimney-piece, the same spot where my father ceased to read, what he had so often read: Plutarch’s treatise, entitled, *How to listen*. He frequently conversed with me upon its contents; for with me he would break silence, to recommend hearing. That will be learned by degrees, he used to say, and it is a thing as difficult to be learned as speaking well. The prudent chancellor l’Hôpital set a high value on this treatise. Our young folks resemble the portico with seven voices, to be seen in Olympias of yore; they continually repeat what they have said, and nobody pays any attention to them.

You are almost tempted to call out to them with Aristotle: God be thanked I have legs, not to be obliged to hear.

““And whence these errors? They would not be taught to listen. The art of hearing is the beginning of the art of pleasing.

““In talking, we only show a desire to be amiable; but in listening, we are so in reality. During the first year of the revolution, my father lived in the country, and every party in his hamlet placed him among the number of those who judge well. No faction pursued him, all revered his taciturnity. Many have, in those stormy times, profited by his example. A man may pass, without speaking, for a great orator; let him but listen in a certain manner, let him but eye folks attentively, and here and there give a nod; at last, people will fancy they have received the very answer they wished for. One day, my father having been quite dumb in this manner, one of the company assured him how extremely glad he was to find him of his opinion. If you give no answer at all, people will make themselves one according to their own liking.’

“The honourable title of *artiste* is singularly sported with in Paris. *Artiste en marbre* is what we commonly call a stone-cutter; *artiste en peinture*, a house-painter; and monsieur Joly is one of the most celebrated *artistes en cheveux*. He appears in his equipage, hops in, scarcely greets you, and seems as if he meant to take off his hat. He then proceeds before the looking-glass, adjusts his frock, pulls up his buckskin breeches and boots, kisses the lady’s hand, orders one of his hair-boxes to be brought, and displays the whole variety of the



the articles, which he calls *sentimens*, *souvenirs*, &c. He then, after a minute's pause, and in a very careless manner, fastens his comb to the lady's head, and in the same space of time finishes dressing her; and this minute gone, he vanishes like lightning. The artists shoeblacks, living *aux Trois Frères, passage du Panorama*, have the following inscription on their sign:

'O vous qui redoutez les taches et la crotte,  
Amateurs de journaux, de propreté, de  
vers,  
Entrez ici, lisez, souffrez qu'on vous de-  
crotte,  
Et livrez à nos soins la botte et le revers.'

"The artists shoemakers are most punctiliously ambitious of showing their skill, in making them wear out as fast as possible. A *non-elegant*, complaining to his shoemaker that one pair of new ones had lasted him but a fortnight; 'A fortnight!' cried the artist, 'then they surely were not of my making, for mine never exceed the age of eight or ten days.'

"The usurers of Paris lend on every pledge the fifth part of its value, deducting at the same time five per cent. per month interest, and then ask you to give pin-money for their wives, which is to consist in watches, rings, &c. &c.

"A lady of the world first wishes to please, now and then to be amiable, and at last respectable; but the latter only, if nothing better is to be done, or to appear remarkable; for, indeed, there is a coquetry in morals as there is in dress, and, as good luck will have it, virtue has sometimes the chance of being fashionable.

"'I have no time to esteem you,' said a lady once to a good-natured man, who caused her *ennui*: 'if you could please me, it would have happened much quicker.'

"The new regulation for wearing mourning makes it incumbent on a wife to wear sable weeds one year and six weeks for her husband; but the latter only wears black six months for his dear half. The spirit of this law I am at a loss to comprehend.

"To suckle children was the fashion. Now, powerful reasons are urged against the fulfilment of this grateful duty. Many infants cannot digest their mother's milk, and so the preference is given to wet-nurses. Ladies of tender nerves make bad nurses. The country air is better for children. Mothers fondle and spoil their offspring too much. Nature insists, in fact, on a mother's suckling her own infant; but as it is, we have attained a degree of civilization which forbids suckling, like many other duties powerfully commanded by nature. Who could withstand such arguments?

"Among the number of establishments worthy of imitation which have already passed under review, how many are there which I have left undescribed! There is a *séjour conservatoire de santé* (conservative abode of health), where both sexes may hire places for months, for years, or for life, to nurse their health, or for economy's sake, or from motives of sociability, or to get rid of all domestic cares. Strangers of every description, those who are required to undergo operations, or such as fall sick at the public inns, or lying-in women; in fine, all those who are remote from their families, and need attendance or care, here find an abode.

"They find likewise baths, mineral waters, convenience, and good company. The prices, however, of these various articles have no limited standard.



“ From Paris opportunities are daily to be found to travel to every part of the world, and that generally cheap, convenient, and quickly.

“ A carriage with four seats, suspended on elastic springs, goes to Lyons in four days; to Marseilles, to Ghent, Grenoble, or Chambery, in five days and a half; to Turin in nine, and to Milan in eleven days, &c. In these conveyances you are allowed to repose at proper inns every night.

“ It is very pleasant for a stranger, who has any thing to dispose of which he does not want, that, instead of being at the trouble of getting rid of it himself, he need but apply to the *Bureau des Affiches*, which saves him the trouble, for a very moderate consideration; or, if he wish to dispose of his property by auction, he sends it to the *Cabinet Arbitral*.

“ Families of respectability in the best quarters of Paris will often offer board to strangers. They are for the most part reduced ex-nobles, who are now in want of such aid to procure a decent support; but they never sneak after mean lucre. Their table is as good as that of the best *restaurants*; you find select company; you may practise the language, and learn the *bon ton* of the Parisians; for in these houses you are like an invited guest, and as such treated by the landlady and her boarders.

“ During my stay in Paris, a gentleman, formerly a major, announced an establishment by the name of *Propylée* or *Vestibule des Voyageurs*, where every one that had an intention to set out on his travels was to receive every instruction conducive to his purpose, such as directions on the road, indications

of curiosities, draughts of beautiful landscapes, or monuments, portraits of celebrated ladies and gentlemen; even letters of recommendation were promised, provided the receiver of them would give substantial security for the propriety of his subsequent conduct. Besides this, lessons were to be given in the languages, history, literature, anthropology, natural history, *oditology* (science of travelling). There you could likewise find extracts from the best travellers, and from the correspondence of the *Propylée*. It was also permitted to be present at two literary assemblies a month, and at two concerts; the latter, to get acquainted with the music of all the nations on the globe; and the former, to obtain a proper knowledge of the state of literature and the arts all over Europe.

“ On paying twelve francs per month, a person could be admitted, if he had a mind, as a pupil, or amateur; and paying one half more, he could bring ladies with him, as competitors for the annual prizes of gold metals, and so forth. The minister for the home department wrote the projector a very flattering letter.

“ Pregnant ladies that wish to lie-in privately find many opportunities with physicians and surgeons, who, in great numbers, offer their houses, every convenience, and the most respectful treatment, allowing, at the same time, their own spouses to officiate as midwives.

“ In Paris a person may learn every thing; the exercise of jurisprudence, the making of ballads, chemical experiments, and artificial flowers. The latter is promised to be taught in a few hours. Besides all this, the invaluable art to speak and write a language which every body



body may understand, and read, in all countries (*pasigraphie et pasilatie*), may be learned of a certain *Demamieux* for twelve francs in a couple of hours. This universal writing has no more than twelve letters, and twelve rules; and the language founded upon it, three rules only.

“ The *Société des Observateurs de l'Homme* sufficiently expresses the end of its labours by the title it has chosen. Fourcroy is the president; and Jauffret, so well known by his writings on education, the secretary. In the sitting at which I was present (and in which I was surprised by a diploma appointing me one of its members), Jauffret read an interesting treatise on the customs and manners of the savages; on which occasion the numerous audience was agreeably entertained by his exhibiting at the same time the dresses, arms, and utensils, of those uncultivated races.

“ The retired actor *La Rive* has announced a *cours de l'art dramatique*, and promises amply to treat, in twelve sittings, of the necessary qualifications of an actor, his voice, pronounciation, looks, hearing, feeling, expression, imagination, inspiration, seduction, truth, dignity, diction, jealousy, slavish imitation and affectation, declamation, courage, good and bad hearts, pleasures and displeasures of the dramatic art, the causes of its decline, criticism, &c. &c.

“ I think I am rendering a service to my readers, by giving them, at the close of this article, the address of a bookseller, who has conceived the idea, equally singular and useful, to sell nothing but odd volumes of books, that such as have lost a volume of any work may here have it made complete,

as otherwise the whole work becomes useless: with him are to be found the best French authors in the greatest variety of editions, and what he has not he endeavours to procure. It is natural to suppose he does not sell these productions at the usual price; but how pleasant it is for a lover of literature to make up a deficiency of this kind! This man's name is Cordier, *Rue Traversière St. Honoré*, No. 771, near *Rue du Hazard*, in the first floor in the court.

“ However much has been said abroad of the dearness of provisions in Paris, I did not find it so; but I am rather convinced that one may live, in the same manner, much cheaper here than at Berlin. As to Petersburg, it admits of no comparison. I myself, for instance, lived in one of the best streets in that city, in the *Hotel d'Angleterre*, near the *Palais Royal*, and in the vicinity of five or six theatres. My lodgings consisted of a servants' hall, with stoves, a drawing-room, a bed-room, a study, a dressing-room, a small room for my valet, an *entresol*, and a wood-house. The chimneys were of marble, the floors covered with beautiful carpets, silk and tapestry hangings, clocks, large pier glasses, and elegant papering; for all which I paid twelve louis-d'ors per month. In very good but more distant parts of the town, all this may be had for an eighth of this price. Yet I cannot forbear observing here, that a banishment of the English from Paris has brought on a considerable reduction of the terms: shortly before this happened, my lodgings were let for twenty louis-d'ors. With regard to eating and drinking, I have already been sufficiently explicit. For two shillings, or two and eight-pence, a person may



dine well, and drink his pint of wine. Equipages and theatres are dear. A suit of the best cloth may be had from five to six pounds, and the best boots from sixteen to twenty shillings.

“I have likewise seen exhibited at Paris that old and remarkable rag, yclep’d the tapestry of queen Matilda, which is said to have been embroidered by the consort of William the Conqueror. Montfaucon had it engraved on copper-plate. It contains the history of the conquest of England, near eight centuries old, measures two hundred and fourteen feet in length, but only eighteen inches in breadth. It was formerly in the cathedral church of Bayeux, where it was exhibited on certain festival occasions. Latin inscriptions, partly erased by the destructive ravages of time, are to be read at the head of the figures. It is impossible the queen alone should have completed such an undertaking; she certainly needed the assistance of all the ladies of the court. Surely it is an interesting exhibition, if a person’s mind can transport itself into the spirit of the eleventh century, and see the female part of a court thus laudably occupied with embroidery. How many a beautiful much-kissed hand, of which there is not a bone now left, may have put stitches here!

“When it was publicly announced in Paris that, for good reasons, by order of the government, this monument was suspended, and exhibited gratis in the museum Napoleon, the concourse of spectators was numerous beyond description. The halls were never empty, and the stair-cases were much crowded. But unless a person’s imagination be very lively, a spectator will discover little or no-

thing in it. The drawings are such as children four years old might make: it is well that you may always read on the top what they are to represent: for example, *Hic Harold mare navigavit*; or over a thing much resembling an harbour, you see inscribed *ecclesia* (church), &c. For lovers of the study of antient costumes, this relic is at any rate worthy of notice. There rides Harold, with a falcon on his feet, and his hounds running before him. He and his retinue are beardless, yet they wear whiskers. By this, they distinguish themselves from the Franks. Small cloaks, resembling the *chlamys* of the Greeks, are fixed on the right shoulder. At a feast you see drinking-horns. On the ships, which are all single-masted, a row of shields is ranged on both sides, exactly as they are seen on the pictures from Herculaneum. On the French shields you discover an emblem, or a certain sort of coat of arms, which was not, however, hereditary at that time. A dwarf, with the name of Turolde over his head, performs the functions of a page. The table at which William is dining with his barons forms a semi-circle, and the cup is presented to him with genuflection.

“In the combat, you see the riders brandish their lances, the infantry bending their bows, and their shields loaded as it were with arrows.

“So far the border of the tapestry is lined with birds and all sorts of grotesque figures, but further on it is strewed with corpses.

“This was a custom of the antients: for instance, on the sarcophagus representing the battle of the Amazons with the Athenians, a bishop is fighting with a glove, probably that he may not be



suspected of harbouring the intention of shedding blood. This battle, which placed William the Conqueror and his family on the throne of England, was fought in the year 1066, and with it the tapestry ends; but it is torn so, that it may be plainly perceived it has been longer. Antiquaries pretend that its continuation went as far as the coronation of William. Every story, as on the *bas-reliefs* of the antients, is parted from the subsequent ones by trees, houses, and other decorations of this kind.

“Never shall I forget the Sunday breakfasts of the dramatic authors, to which I was generally invited. Here they assembled, by turns, in their respective houses, and the breakfast was *à la fourchette*, but rather frugal. One of them afterwards reads his most recent dramatic labours, which is not, however, done with a view of flattering the author’s vanity; but every one of them frankly gives his opinion, which those present investigate, discuss, approve, or reject, and of which the author profits.

“L\*\*, an old man of 70, had been rector in the village of Gagny, in the department of Seine and Oise, twenty-five years; but, like many others, was proscribed and transported. Having wandered about for many years in a state of wretchedness, a milder government permitted him at last to revisit his native home. A short time before my arrival, he paid a visit to the mayor of Villemamble, a village in the neighbourhood of Gagny. Being so near his former mansion, he felt an irresistible desire of revisiting his old steeple. The mayor attended him. At the sight of his village the hoary sire was extremely agitated, and could walk no further without being supported by

his friend. Scarcely had he passed the first houses, scarcely had some of the inhabitants perceived him, but shouts of joy resounded all over the place, with the exclamation: ‘Our old parson is returned!’ Men, women, and children, thronged to see him: he was surrounded, almost stifled with caresses, and loaded with blessings. Every one wished to treat him; one drags him into this house, another into that; they produce the children born since his absence; they will not suffer him to depart, without pledging his promise to come and say mass on the following Sunday: he promised it, and kept his word. Though no more he found his sacerdotal habits, and the former ornaments of the church, yet the whole altar was decorated with flowers, and the whole village was contained within the precincts of the church. He performed the sacred functions of his office with heart-moving sensibility, upon which a *Te Deum* was suddenly chanted. He asked why?—‘We celebrate your return,’ was the answer. Scarcely able to sustain the weight of so much cordial attachment, he leaves the church; a solemn deputation of his flock wait on him with the earnest prayer to return to the parsonage, and end the remaining days of his venerable career in the midst of his children. Such had not been his design; he had longed for solitary repose; but what resistance can be opposed to such prayers? Scenes of this kind, I am assured, have happened in several places.

“I conclude the memorandums in my pocket-book with a just animadversion. During the latter days of my stay at Paris, there appeared a work, by Pigault le Brun, in two volumes, entitled *Le Cita-*



teur, which bears much analogy to Voltaire's *Bible enfin expliquée*, and from which it has perhaps been entirely borrowed: it consequently contains the most horrible abuse against religion and the scriptures. The author, without scruple, affixed his name to it; the bookseller, Barba, without hesitation, printed it; the censor, without the least difficulty, permitted it to be print-

ed; the police, without objection, permits it to be publicly vended in the Palais Royal. Thus, the most infamous calumnies against our Saviour are free and current in Paris: but I would not advise any one to write, though it were but a single line, against ———, unless he wishes to take his chance of a voyage to the shores of Cayenne."

### CELEBRATION OF BONAPARTE'S BIRTH-DAY.

[FROM MR. HOLCROFT'S TRAVELS TO PARIS.]

"ON the 15th of August, 1802, the birth-day of Bonaparte, all these proceedings were proclaimed with every military and municipal pomp. That the day might be rendered still more glorious to the beginning dynasty, a grand church festival was held at the church of Nôtre Dame; where, preparatory to receiving a cardinal's hat, the uncle of the hero, monsieur Fésch, was consecrated archbishop of Lyons by signor, I beg pardon, monsignor Caprara, the legate of the Pope.

"A gentleman, who had been a bishop previous to the *concordat*, indignant that he was then stripped of his office, refused to attend the ceremony, and I had the use of his ticket.

"The cunning that marked the arrangement of this festival deserves notice. As many causes for keeping it, as could be devised, were held forth; and they were three: the ratification of the *concordat*; the Assumption of the Virgin Mary; and the birth-day of Bonaparte.

"In the year 1801, he had not

ventured to propose the royal custom of keeping his birth-day: but, in that year and on that day, he took care to ally it with feasting by the ratification of the *concordat*: the Assumption of the Virgin, which had formerly been one of the grand church festivals, favoured him most opportunely.

"It is usual in France for ladies to be presented with flowers, on their saint's-day: that is, on the day of the festival of the saint whose name they bear: and, as the name of Mary is perhaps more general than any other, the trade of the florists was again revived, and they sincerely rejoiced. With this exception, and that of the customary church ceremonies, it was so far from the feast of the Virgin that her name was never mentioned. No sounds were heard but those of Bonaparte, the consecration of monsieur Fésch, the plenary indulgences granted by monsignor Caprara, and the proclamation of the *sénatus-consulte*: or, to speak more correctly, the creatures of the despot, and especially he who on this occasion was at the head of them, the



the prefect of the police, Dubois, were so active that the chief consul, the hero, and the deeds and the family of the hero, swallowed up every lesser object. The Virgin Mary was indeed become a very insignificant personage. Had this hero been true to himself and to France, honours like these never could have existed: but honours infinitely greater would have been paid.

"On the *billet d'entrée*, or ticket, it was said the ceremony of the consecration would begin at eight o'clock; and I took care to be in the church at six. Instead of order, such as might become a place in which men pretend to fall in silent adoration before omnipotence, confusion like that of building a booth for the hustings, just as an election is about to begin, or rather that of the building of Babel, was exceeded.

"About seven o'clock, there was a morning mass; and, while it was celebrating, not only were the motley crowd walking, talking, laughing, singing, praying, kneeling, crossing themselves, and exhibiting any thing or every thing, except symptoms of common sense, but the workmen were at the most active period of preparation. The bewildering compound and tumult of sounds exceeded all belief: here the deep sonorous voices of the priests; there the babbling of idlers; in one place men hanging pictures, in another raising the canopy for the cardinal Caprara; in a third tressels and heavy benches, thrown from the shoulders, thundered in the choir. The clang of twenty hammers, the beating of the drums on the outside of the open doors,

the blowing of the serpent, the sudden blast of the full organ, and, as the fundamental base to all this harmony, the stunning reverberations of the great bell of Notre Dame\*, combined in this morning hymn to the Deity.

"Soldiers, as usual, with their bayonets fixed, were the guardians of good manners. Two of them seized a man of wretched appearance by the collar; and, fearing he had been detected in pilfering, I inquired of what he had been guilty? 'Oh,' said one of the men that had seized him, 'the foolish fellow says that we soldiers ought to take off our hats in the church.'

"At this time, a sermon after morning mass was preaching; while the church swarmed with people of all ranks and conditions, numbers of whom were so dirty that the parish of St. Giles, on a Saturday night, scarcely has their equal. A porter, with his hat on, his crochet at his back, and loaded with green curtains that were still to hang, made his way by calling and pushing through the circle of hearers. Several men came, immediately under the preacher's eye, to carry away the tressels; which formed the inner boundary of his congregation. The great bell still tolled, the drums continued to beat, and the soldiers marched through the church; but neither preacher nor hearers were intent enough on their devotion to notice the least disturbance, at a succession of incidents, any one of which an English congregation would have considered as so indecent that it would have excited, if not confusion, at least the most indignant feelings.

"All this was on the outside of

\* Called *le gros Bourdon*; which tolls only on extraordinary occasions.



the choir, in the principal aisle ; beyond which none but workmen, and their superintendants, were permitted to pass.

“ All sects, of all religions, pagan, mahometan, or christian, sometimes consider anger as a very pious passion : but that which will excite anger, in one country, in another will be regarded with unconcern. In catholic churches, contestation is a common event : the people will dispute for places, and concerning the propriety or impropriety of personal behaviour, in nearly the same tone, be it the church or the playhouse.

“ I and others, who had tickets for the choir, stood waiting in the aisle, till the gentlemen with their guns and bayonets should please to admit us. At length, some eight or ten were suffered to pass.

“ A lady next presented her blue billet, but was refused : the officer informed her, the ladies were to sit in the galleries ; for which she ought to have procured a yellow billet. The lady was not so to be answered : she urged the privileges of her sex, the incivility of denial, her friends, the respectable channel through which she procured the billet, with a thousand other excellent arguments, and the contest instantly became hot. The officer began to doubt, and went to inquire more precisely ; but ordered admittance to be denied till he should return.

“ During his absence, the *buis-sier*, or Swiss as he is vulgarly called, came, and ordered the soldiers to let men enter, but not women. The soldiers replied, they must wait for their commander : on which the Swiss, with all the importance of his office, which on such a day elevates him to he does not exactly

know what height, answered—“ It is I who command here ! Enter, gentlemen !”

“ So authorised, the crowd needed not to be again told : they pressed forward, and the hesitating soldiers, taken by surprise, did not present their bayonets.

“ When we entered the choir, the men were still at work ; decoration had yet much of its task to perform : but this was not in the least an impediment to devotion ; church ceremonies were repeating in one of the aisles before the image of the Virgin. I know not of what kind they were, but I imagine, it being her festival, they were hurrying over her share in the performance, that they might attend to the grand act of consecrating the uncle of the citizen first consul.

“ The patience of the French, on occasions like these, is strangely in contrast with their general temperament and manners. After waiting four hours, the first escort of clergy made its appearance : it brought the bishop of Ajaccio, Sebastiani-Porta ; another bishop, whose name I could not learn ; and Bernier, bishop of Orleans, famous, as I have been informed, for having made the peace of La Vendée, and for having been highly instrumental in the *concordat*.

“ These were the three dignitaries of the church, appointed to aid and instruct monsieur Fésch, the new archbishop, in the pantomime part he that day had to act ; and of which, in various instances, it was evident he was ignorant.

“ The procession of these men was not, however, the signal for the show to begin. I have already said that the entrance ticket stated the hour of eight : the time at which they really began was half-past ten.

“ To



"To describe the whole of this insufferably tedious and dull ceremony would, perhaps, without the aid of the ritual in which it is detailed, be impossible for any man on earth: for I imagine it is not often enough repeated, by any individual, for him to be tolerably acquainted with it, without first studying his part with the most minute attention. This was evident from various trifling occurrences; such as when one man happened to remember something that another had forgotten; and by the mutual information they afforded each other.

"An English protestant, whether of the established church or a dissenter, would think it strange indeed that, in the midst of prayer and holy devotion, several men should several times strip themselves, that they might be clothed after a different fashion.

"The cardinal, who had the honour to consecrate the uncle of Bonaparte, was partially dressed, undressed, and dressed again: he had two tiaras, which he wore alternately; one of gold, loaded with embroidered ornaments.

"Monsieur Fésch had a man, who exactly resembled a tailor that had brought home a new suit of clothes, who helped him while he three times changed his costume: the last time, he had white silk stockings with coloured clocks, white satin shoes publicly put on, a white fillet bound round his forehead, a white band thrown across his shoulders, and a book, or rather by its appearance the cover of a book, the mere binding, laid on the back of his head.

"The assisting bishops occasionally changed their caps and other ornaments; till, had I dared, I could most willingly have exclaim-

ed aloud—'What busy, what lunatic brain was it, that first imagined all these fooleries? At the age of their invention was the world one vast bedlam? And what are the present people, among whom they exist, or by whom they are revived?' There are thousands, it is true, in Paris, who laugh or grieve when they see such things repeated: but there are tens of thousands to whom they still appear most admirable.

"What the nature and the sense of decorum are, even among the highest classes, in this country, the following facts may tend to elucidate.

"During the ceremony, the legate washed his hands; which, as I was told by a person who pretended to know, was no part of the ritual.

"He had six footmen, in liveries richly laced, who came into the choir and lolled or stood where and how they pleased.

"Several of the bishops, who were finally present, came one at this time, another at that, after the ceremony had begun.

"There were repeated disputes, concerning whether men should or should not remain where they had placed themselves; all of which were settled by some military officer. These officers walked backward and forward, and put on the hat or took it off, entirely as they pleased.

"When the ceremony was about one-third over, madame Bonaparte and her maids of honour entered, and seated themselves in the gallery.

"The archbishop of Paris and his cohort did not arrive till at least an hour later.

"During mass, the *proncur*, or person



son who collected alms, came round: as he passed, he bowed to the cross; he then bowed to the cardinal, and afterward bowed to the new archbishop. The whole nation is taught to bow: the church to the crucifix, the law to the state, the people to the bayonet, and church, law, state, people, and bayonet, to the citizen first consul.

“After the ceremony of consecration was over, monsieur Fésch gave a stage embrace, equally or even more unmeaning and unfelt, to the cardinal and to the assisting

bishops. He ought to have embraced the tailor, who so kindly dressed him and tied his shoes. I forgot myself: the latter office was performed by a menial of still inferior rank. In France, wherever there is ceremony, each man accurately knows his place and office. This is a knowledge which other republics cannot boast.

“With respect to the motley crowd without the choir, they stood wedged together behind two rows of soldiers; their bodies motionless, but their tongues in full activity.”



## CLASSICAL AND POLITE CRITICISM.

EPISTOLARY CORRESPONDENCE of W. COWPER, Esq.

[From his LIFE by HAYLEY, Esq. Vol. III.]

“ TO THE REV. WILLIAM UNWIN.

“ May 8, 1780.

“ My dear friend,

“ MY scribbling humour has of late been entirely absorbed in the passion for landscape drawing. It is a most amusing art, and, like every other art, requires much practice and attention.

‘ Nil sine multo

‘ Vita, labore, dedit mortalibus.’

“ Excellence is providentially placed beyond the reach of indolence, that success may be the reward of industry, and that idleness may be punished with obscurity and disgrace. So long as I am pleased with an employment, I am capable of unwearied application, because my feelings are all of the intense kind; I never received a *little* pleasure from any thing in my life; if I am delighted, it is in the extreme. The unhappy consequence of this temperature is, that my attachment to any occupation seldom outlives the novelty of it. That nerve of my imagination, that feels the touch of any particular amusement, twangs under the energy of the pressure with so much vehemence, that it soon becomes sensible of weariness and fatigue. Hence I draw an unfavourable

prognostic, and expect that I shall shortly be constrained to look out for something else. Then, perhaps, I may string the harp again, and be able to comply with your demand.

“ Now for the visit you propose to pay us, and propose *not* to pay us; the hope of which plays upon your paper, like a jack-o-lantern upon the ceiling. This is no mean simile, for Virgil, you remember, uses it. ‘Tis here, ‘tis there, it vanishes, it returns, it dazzles you, a cloud interposes, and it is gone. However just the comparison, I hope you will contrive to spoil it, and that your final determination will be to come. As to the masons you expect, bring them with you—bring brick, bring mortar, bring every thing, that would oppose itself to your journey—all shall be welcome. I have a green-house that is too small; come and enlarge it; build me a pinery; repair the garden-wall, that has great need of your assistance; do any thing; you cannot do too much; so far from thinking you and your train troublesome, we shall rejoice to see you, upon these, or upon any other terms you can propose. But to be serious—You will do well to consider, that a long summer is before you—that the party will not have



have such another opportunity to meet, this great while—that you may finish your masonry long enough before winter, though you should not begin this month; but that you cannot always find your brother and sister Powley at Olney. These, and some other considerations, such as the desire we have to see you, and the pleasure we expect from seeing you all together, may and I think ought to overcome your scruples.

“From a general recollection of lord Clarendon’s History of the Rebellion, I thought, and I remember I told you so, that there was a striking resemblance between that period and the present. But I am now reading, and have read three volumes of Hume’s History, one of which is engrossed entirely by that subject. There I see reason to alter my opinion, and the seeming resemblance has disappeared, upon a more particular information. Charles succeeded to a long train of arbitrary princes, whose subjects had tamely acquiesced in the despotism of their masters, till their privileges were all forgot. He did but tread in their steps, and exemplify the principles in which he had been brought up, when he oppressed his people. But just at that time, unhappily for the monarch, the subject began to see, and to see that he had a right to property, and freedom. This marks a sufficient difference between the disputes of that day, and the present. But there was another main cause of that rebellion, which, at this time, does not operate at all. The king was devoted to the hierarchy; his subjects were puritans, and would not bear it. Every circumstance of ecclesiastical order and discipline was an abomination to

them, and in his esteem an indispensable duty; and though at last, he was obliged to give up many things, he would not abolish episcopacy, and till that were done, his concessions could have no conciliating effect. These two concurring causes were indeed sufficient to set three kingdoms in a flame. But they subsist not now, nor any other, I hope, notwithstanding the bustle made by the patriots, equal to the production of such terrible events.

“Yours, my dear friend,  
“W. C.”

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“TO THE REV. JOHN NEWTON.

“May 10, 1780.

“My dear friend,

“If authors could have lived to adjust and authenticate their own text, a commentator would have been an useless creature. For instance—if Dr. Bentley had found, or opined that he had found, the word *tube*, where it seemed to present itself to you, and had judged the subject worthy of his critical acumen, he would either have justified the corrupt reading, or have substituted some invention of his own, in defence of which he would have exerted all his polemical abilities, and have quarrelled with half the literati in Europe. Then suppose the writer himself, as in the present case, to interpose, with a gentle whisper, thus—If you look again, doctor, you will perceive, that what appears to you to be *tube*, is neither more nor less than the simple monosyllable *ink*; but I wrote it in great haste, and the want of sufficient precision in the character has occasioned your mistake; you will be satisfied, especially when you see the sense elucidated by the explana-



explanation. But I question, whether the doctor would quit his ground, or allow any author to be a competent judge in his own case. The world, however, would acquiesce immediately, and vote the critic useless.

“James Andrews, who is my Michael Angelo, pays me many compliments on my success in the art of drawing; but I have not yet the vanity to think myself qualified to furnish your apartment. If I should ever attain to the degree of self-opinion requisite to such an undertaking, I shall labour at it with pleasure. I can only say, though I hope not with the affected modesty of the abovementioned doctor Bentley, who said the same thing,

‘*Me quoque dicunt  
Vatem pastores. Sed non ego credulus illis.*’

“A crow, rook, or raven, has built a nest in one of the young elm-trees, at the side of Mrs. Aspray’s orchard. In the violent storm that blew yesterday morning, I saw it agitated to a degree that seemed to threaten its immediate destruction, and versified the following thoughts upon the occasion\*.

“W. C.”

“TO THE REV. WILLIAM UNWIN.

“June 8, 1780.

“My dear friend,

“It is possible I might have indulged myself in the pleasure of writing to you, without waiting for a letter from you, but for a reason which you will not easily guess. Your mother communicated to me the satisfaction you expressed in my correspondence,

that you thought me entertaining, and clever, and so forth:—now, you must know, I love praise dearly, especially from the judicious, and those who have so much delicacy themselves, as not to offend mine in giving it. But then, I found this consequence attending, or likely to attend, the eulogium you bestowed—If my friend thought me witty before, he shall think me ten times more witty hereafter—where I joked once, I will joke five times, and, for one sensible remark, I will send him a dozen. Now this foolish vanity would have spoilt me quite, and would have made me as disgusting a letter-writer as Pope, who seems to have thought, that unless a sentence was well turned, and every period pointed with some conceit, it was not worth the carriage. Accordingly he is to me, except in very few instances, the most disagreeable maker of epistles that ever I met with. I was willing, therefore, to wait till the impression your commendation had made upon the foolish part of me was worn off, that I might scribble away as usual, and write my uppermost thoughts, and those only.

“You are better skilled in ecclesiastical law than I am—Mrs. P. desires me to inform her, whether a parson can be obliged to take an apprentice. For some of her husband’s opposers, at D——, threaten to clap one upon him. Now I think it would be rather hard, if clergymen, who are not allowed to exercise any handicraft whatever, should be subject to such an imposition. If Mr. P. was a cordwainer, or a breeches-maker, all the week, and a preacher only on Sundays, it would

\* Cowper’s fable of the Raven concluded this letter.



seem reasonable enough, in that case, that he should take an apprentice, if he chose it. But even then, in my poor judgment, he ought to be left to his option. If they mean by an apprentice, a pupil, whom they will oblige him to hew into a parson, and, after chipping away the block that hides the minister within, to qualify him to stand erect in a pulpit—that, indeed, is another consideration—But still, we live in a free country, and I cannot bring myself even to suspect, that an English divine can possibly be liable to such compulsion. Ask your uncle, however; for he is wiser in these things than either of us.

“I thank you for your two inscriptions, and like the last the best; the thought is just, and fine—but the two last lines are sadly damaged by the monkish jingle of *peperit* and *reperit*. I have not yet translated them, nor do I promise to do it, though at some idle hour perhaps I may. In return, I send you a translation of a simile in the *Paradise Lost*. Not having that poem at hand, I cannot refer you to the book, and page; but you may hunt for it, if you think it worth your while. It begins—

‘So when, from mountain tops, the dusky clouds

‘Ascending, &c.’

‘Quales aërii montis de vertice nubes

‘Cum surgunt, et jam Boreæ tumida ora  
quiêrunt,

‘Cœlum hilares abdit, spissâ caligine,  
vultus,

‘Tùm si jucundo tandem sol prodeat ore

‘Et croceo montes et pascua lumine tingat,

‘Gaudent omnia, aves mulcent concentibus agros,

‘Balatuque ovium colles vallesque resultant.’

“If you spy any fault in my Latin, tell me, for I am sometimes in doubt; but as I told you when

you was here, I have not a Latin book in the world to consult, or correct a mistake by; and some years have past since I was a school-boy.

“An English versification of a thought that popped into my head, about two months since.

‘Sweet stream! that winds through yonder glade—

‘Apt emblem of a virtuous maid!

‘Silent and chaste, she steals along,

‘Far from the world’s gay busy throng;

‘With gentle, yet prevailing force,

‘Intent upon her destin’d course:

‘Graceful and useful all she does,

‘Blessing, and blest, where’er she goes:

‘Pure-bosom’d, as that watery glass,

‘And heav’n reflected in her face!’

“Now this is not so exclusively applicable to a maiden, as to be the sole property of your sister Shuttleworth. If you look at Mrs. Unwin, you will see, that she has not lost her right to this just praise by marrying you.

“Your mother sends her love to all, and mine comes jogging along by the side of it.

“Yours,

“W. C.”

“TO THE REV. JOHN NEWTON.

“June 12, 1780.

“Dear sir,

“We accept it as an effort of your friendship, that you could prevail with yourself, in a time of such terror and distress, to send us repeated accounts of yours and Mrs. Newton’s welfare: you supposed, with reason enough, that we should be apprehensive for your safety, situated, as you were, apparently, within the reach of so much danger. We rejoice that you have escaped it all, and that, except the anxiety which you must have felt, both for yourselves and others, you have suffered nothing upon



upon this dreadful occasion. A metropolis in flames, and a nation in ruins, are subjects of contemplation, for such a mind as yours, that will leave a lasting impression behind them. It is well that the design died in the execution, and will be buried, I hope, never to rise again, in the ashes of its own combustion. There is a melancholy pleasure in looking back upon such a scene, arising from a comparison of possibilities with facts; the enormous bulk of the intended mischief, with the abortive and partial accomplishment of it: much was done, more indeed than could have been supposed practicable, in a well-regulated city, not unfurnished with a military force for its protection. But surprise and astonishment seem, at first, to have struck every nerve of the police with a palsy—and to have disarmed government of all its powers.

“I congratulate you upon the wisdom that withheld you from entering yourself a member of the protestant association. Your friends, who did so, have reason enough to regret their doing it, even though they should never be called upon. Innocent as they are, and they who know them cannot doubt of their being perfectly so, it is likely to bring an odium on the profession they make, that will not soon be forgotten. Neither is it possible, for a quiet, inoffensive man, to discover on a sudden that his zeal has carried him into such company, without being to the last degree shocked at his imprudence. Their religion was an honourable mantle, like that of Elijah; but the majority wore cloaks of Guy Fawkes’s time, and meant nothing so little, as what they pretended.

“W. C.”

1804.

“ TO THE REV. WILLIAM UNWIN.”

“ June 18, 1780.”

“ Reverend and dear William, the affairs of kingdoms, and the concerns of individuals, are variegated alike with the checker-work of joy and sorrow. The news of a great acquisition in America has succeeded to terrible tumults in London, and the beams of prosperity are now playing upon the smoke of that conflagration, which so lately terrified the whole land. These sudden changes, which are matter of every man’s observation, and may, therefore, always be reasonably expected, serve to hold up the chin of despondency above water, and preserve mankind in general, from the sin and misery of accounting existence a burden, not to be endured—an evil, we should be sure to encounter, if we were not warranted to look for a bright reverse of our most afflictive experiences. The Spaniards were sick of the war, at the very commencement of it; and I hope that, by this time, the French themselves begin to find themselves a little indisposed, if not desirous of peace, which that restless and meddling temper of theirs is incapable of desiring for its own sake. But is it true, that this detestable plot was an egg laid in France, and hatched in London, under the influence of French corruption?—*Nam te scire, deos quoniam propius contingis, oportet.* The offspring has the features of such a parent; and yet, without the clearest proof of the fact, I would not willingly charge upon a civilized nation, what perhaps the most barbarous would abhor the thought of. I no sooner saw the surmise, however, in the paper, than I immediately began to write Latin verses upon the occasion. ‘An odd effect,’

K

you



you will say, ‘of such a circumstance;’—but an effect nevertheless, that whatever has at any time moved my passions, whether pleasantly or otherwise, has always had upon me: were I to express what I feel, upon such occasions, in prose, it would be verbose, inflated, and disgusting. I therefore have recourse to verse, as a suitable vehicle for the most vehement expressions my thoughts suggest to me. What I have written, I did not write so much for the comfort of the English, as for the mortification of the French. You will immediately perceive, therefore, that I have been labouring in vain, and that this bouncing explosion is likely to spend itself in the air. For I have no means of circulating what follows, through all the French territories; and unless that, or something like it, can be done, my indignation will be entirely fruitless. Tell me how I can convey it into Sartine’s pocket, or who will lay it upon his desk for me. But read it first, and unless you think it pointed enough to sting the Gaul to the quick, burn it.

‘In seditionem horrendam, corruptelis Gallicis, ut fertur, Londini nuper exortam.

‘Perfida, crudelis, victa et lymphata furore,

Non armis, laurum Gallia fraude petit.  
Venalem pretio plebem conducit, et urit  
Undique privatas patriciasque domos.  
Nequicquam conata sua, foedissima sperat  
Posse tamen nostrâ nos superare manu.  
Gallia, vana struis! Precibus nunc utere!

Vinces,

Nam mites timidis, supplicibusque sumus.’

“I have lately exercised my ingenuity in contriving an exercise for yours, and have composed a riddle, which, if it does not make you laugh before you have solved

it, will probably do it afterwards. I would transcribe it now, but am really so fatigued with writing, that, unless I knew you had a quinsy, and that a fit of laughter might possibly save your life, I could not prevail with myself to do it.

“What could you possibly mean, slender as you are, by sallying out upon your two walking-sticks, at two in the morning, into the midst of such a tumult? We admire your prowess, but cannot commend your prudence.

“Our joint love attends you all, collectively and individually.

“Yours, W. C.”

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“TO THE REV. WILLIAM UNWIN.

“June 22, 1780.

“My dear friend, a word or two in answer to two or three questions of yours, which I have hitherto taken no notice of. I am not in a scribbling mood, and shall therefore make no excursions to amuse either myself or you. The needful will be as much as I can manage at present—the playful must wait for another opportunity.

“I thank you for your offer of Robertson, but I have more reading upon my hands at this present writing, than I shall get rid of in a twelvemonth; and this moment I recollect, that I have seen it already. He is an author that I admire much, with one exception, that I think his style is too labour-ed. Hume, as an historian, pleases me more.

“I have read just enough of the Biographia Britannica, to say that I have tasted it, and have no doubt that I shall like it. I am pretty much in the garden at this season of the year, so read but little. In summer-time I am as giddy-



giddy-headed as a boy, and can settle to nothing. Winter condenses me, and makes me lumpish, and sober; and then I can read all day long.

"For the same reasons, I have no need of the landscapes at present: when I want them I will renew my application, and repeat the description; but it will hardly be before October.

"Before I rose this morning, I composed the three following stanzas: I send them because I like them pretty well myself; and if you should not, you must accept this handsome compliment as an amends for their deficiencies. You may print the lines, if you judge them worth it\*.

"I have only time to add love, &c. and my two initials. W. C."

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"TO THE REV. JOHN NEWTON.

"June 23, 1780.

"My dear friend,

"Your reflections upon the state of London, the sins and enormities of that great city, while you had a distant view of it from Greenwich, seem to have been prophetic of the heavy stroke that fell upon it just after. Man often prophesies without knowing it—a spirit speaks by him, which is not his own, though he does not at the time suspect that he is under the influence of any other. Did he foresee what is always foreseen by him who dictates what he supposes to be his own, he would suffer by anticipation, as well as by consequence; and wish perhaps as ardently for the happy ignorance, to which he is at present so much indebted, as some have foolishly and inconsiderately done for

a knowledge that would be but another name for misery.

"And why have I said all this? especially to you, who have hitherto said it to me—Not because I had the least desire of informing a wiser man than myself, but because the observation was naturally suggested by the recollection of your letter, and that letter, though not the last, happened to be uppermost in my mind. I can compare this mind of mine to nothing that resembles it more, than to a board that is under the carpenter's plane, (I mean while I am writing to you,) the shavings are my uppermost thoughts; after a few strokes of the tool, it acquires a new surface; this again, upon a repetition of his task, he takes off, and a new surface still succeeds—whether the shavings of the present day will be worth your acceptance, I know not; I am unfortunately made neither of cedar, nor of mahogany, but *truncus ficulnus, inutile lignum*—consequently, though I should be planed till I am as thin as a wafer, it will be but rubbish to the last.

"It is not strange that you should be the subject of a false report; for the sword of slander, like that of war, devours one as well as another; and a blameless character is particularly delicious to its unsparing appetite. But that you should be the object of such a report, you, who meddle less with the designs of government than almost any man that lives under it, this is strange indeed. It is well, however, when they who account it good sport to traduce the reputation of another, invent a story that refutes itself. I wonder they do not always endeavour to accommodate their fiction to the real character

\* Verses on the burning of lord Mansfield's house.



of the person ; their tale would then at least have an air of probability, and it might cost a peaceable good man much more trouble to disprove it. But perhaps it would not be easy to discern, what part of your conduct lies more open to such an attempt, than another, or what it is that you either say or do, at any time, that presents a fair opportunity to the most ingenious slanderer, to slip in a falsehood between your words, or actions, that shall seem to be of a piece with either. You hate compliment, I know, but by your leave, this is not one—it is a truth—Worse and worse—Now I have praised you indeed—Well, you must thank yourself for it, it was absolutely done without the least intention on my part, and proceeded from a pen that, as far as I can remember, was never guilty of flattery since I knew how to hold it.—He that slanders me, paints me blacker than I am, and he that flatters me, whiter—they both daub me, and when I look in the glass of conscience, I see myself disguised by both—I had as lief my taylor should sew gingerbread-nuts on my coat instead of buttons, as that any man should call my Bristol stone a diamond. The taylor's trick would not at all embellish my suit, nor the flatterers make me at all the richer. I never make a present to my friend, of what I dislike myself. Ergo, (I have reached the conclusion at last) I did not mean to flatter you.

“ We have sent a petition to lord Dartmouth, by this post, praying him to interfere in parliament in behalf of the poor lacemakers. I say we, because I have signed it—Mr. G. drew it up. Mr.—— did not think it grammatical, therefore he would not sign it. Yet I think Priscian himself would have par-

doned the manner for the sake of the matter. I dare say, if his lordship does not comply with the prayer of it, it will not be because he thinks it of more consequence to write grammatically, than that the poor should eat, but for some better reason.

“ My love to all under your roof.

“ Yours, W. C.”

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“ TO THE REV. WILLIAM UNWIN.

“ July 2, 1780.

“ Carissime, I am glad of your confidence, and have reason to hope I shall never abuse it. If you trust me with a secret, I am hermetically sealed ; and if you call for the exercise of my judgment, such as it is, I am never freakish and wanton in the use of it, much less mischievous and malignant. Critics (I believe) do not often stand so clear of these vices as I do. I like your epitaph, except that I doubt the propriety of the word *immaturus* ; which, I think, is rather applicable to fruits than flowers, and, except the last pentameter, the assertion it contains being rather too obvious a thought to finish with ; not that I think an epitaph should be pointed, like an epigram. But still there is a closeness of thought and expression necessary in the conclusion of all these little things, that they may leave an agreeable flavour upon the palate. Whatever is short should be nervous, masculine, and compact. Little men are so ; and little poems should be so ; because, where the work is short, the author has no right to the plea of weariness, and laziness is never admitted as an available excuse in any thing. Now you know my opinion, you will very likely improve upon my improvement,



provement, and alter my alterations for the better. To touch and re-touch is, though some writers boast of negligence, and others would be ashamed to show their foul copies, the secret of almost all good writing, especially in verse. I am never weary of it myself, and if you would take as much pains as I do, you would have no need to ask for my corrections.

‘ Hic sepultus est  
Inter suorum lacrymas  
GULIELMUS NORTHCOT,  
GULIELMI et MARIE filius  
Unicus, unicè dilectus,  
Qui floris ritu succisus est semihiantis,  
Aprilis die septimo,  
1780, Æt. 10.’

‘ Care, vale! Sed non æternùm, care, vale-  
to!

Namque iterùm tecum, sim modò dig-  
nus, pro.  
Tum nihil amplexus poterit divellere nos-  
tros,  
Nec tu marcesces, nec lacrymabor ego.’

“ Having an English translation of it by me, I send it, though it may be of no use.

‘ Farewell! “ But not for ever,” Hope re-  
plies,  
Trace but his steps, and meet him in the  
skies!  
There nothing shall renew our parting  
pain,  
Thou shalt not wither, nor I weep again.’

“ The stanzas that I sent you are maiden ones, having never been seen by any eye but your mother’s and your own.

“ If you send me franks, I shall write longer letters—*Valete, sicut et nos valemus! Amate, sicut et nos amamus!* W. C.”

“ TO THE REV. WILLIAM UNWIN.

“ July 11, 1780.

“ I account myself sufficiently

commended for my Latin exercise, by the number of translations it has undergone. That, which you distinguished in the margin, by the title of “ better,” was the production of a friend, and, except that for a modest reason he omitted the third couplet, I think it a good one. To finish the group, I have translated it myself; and, though I would not wish you to give it to the world, for more reasons than one, especially lest some French hero should call me to account for it—I add it on the other side. An author ought to be the best judge of his own meaning; and, whether I have succeeded or not, I cannot but wish, that where a translator is wanted; the writer was always to be his own.

‘ False, cruel, disappointed, stung to the  
heart,  
France quits the warrior’s for th’ assassin’s  
part;

To dirty hands a dirty bribe conveys,  
Bids the low street and lofty palace blaze.  
Her sons too weak to vanquish us alone,  
She hires the worst and basest of our own.  
Kneel, France! a suppliant conquers us  
with ease,

We always spare a coward on his knees.’

“ I have often wondered, that Dryden’s illustrious epigram on Milton, in my mind the second best that ever was made, has never been translated into Latin, for the admiration of the learned in other countries. I have at last presumed to venture upon the task myself. The great closeness of the original, which is equal, in that respect, to the most compact Latin I ever saw, made it extremely difficult.

‘ Tres tria, sed longè distantia, sæcula vates  
Ostentant tribus è gentibus eximios.  
Græcia sublimem, cum majestate disertum  
Roma tulit, felix Anglia utrisque parem.  
Partubus ex binis Natura exhausta, coacta  
est,  
Tertius ut fieret, consociare duos.’



“ I have not one bright thought upon the chancellor’s recovery ; nor can I strike off so much as one sparkling atom from that brilliant subject. It is not when I will, nor upon what I will, but as a thought happens to occur to me ; and then I versify, whether I will or not. I never write but for my amusement ; and what I write is sure to answer that end, if it answers no other. If, besides this purpose, the more desirable one of entertaining you be effected, I then receive double fruit of my labour, and consider this produce of it as a second crop, the more valuable, because less expected. But when I have once remitted a composition to you, I have done with it. It is pretty certain, that I shall never read it or think of it again. From that moment I have constituted you sole judge of its accomplishments, if it has any, and of its defects, which it is sure to have.

“ For this reason I decline answering the question with which you concluded your last, and cannot persuade myself to enter into a critical examen of the two pieces upon lord Mansfield’s loss, either with respect to their intrinsic or comparative merit ; and indeed, after having rather discouraged that use of them which you had designed, there is no occasion for it.

W. C.”

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“ TO THE REV. WILLIAM UNWIN.

“ July 27, 1780.

“ My dear friend, as two men sit silent after having exhausted all their topics of conversation ; one says—‘ It is very fine weather,’—and the other says—‘ Yes ;’—one blows his nose, and the other rubs his eye-brows ; (by the way, this

is very much in Homer’s manner) such seems to be the case between you and me. After a silence of some days, I wrote you a long something, that (I suppose) was nothing to the purpose, because it has not afforded you materials for an answer. Nevertheless, as it often happens in the case above stated, one of the distressed parties, being deeply sensible of the awkwardness of a dumb duet, breaks silence again, and resolves to speak, though he has nothing to say ; so it fares with me. I am with you again, in the form of an epistle, though, considering my present emptiness, I have reason to fear, that your only joy upon the occasion will be, that it is conveyed to you in a frank.

“ When I began, I expected no interruption. But if I had expected interruptions without end, I should have been less disappointed. First came the barber ; who, after having embellished the outside of my head, has left the inside just as unfurnished as he found it. Then came Olney bridge, not into the house, but into the conversation. The cause relating to it was tried on Tuesday at Buckingham. The judge directed the jury to find a verdict favourable to Olney. The jury consisted of one knave and eleven fools. The last-mentioned followed the afore-mentioned, as sheep follow a bell-wether, and decided in direct opposition to the said judge. Then a flaw was discovered in the indictment. The indictment was quashed, and an order made for a new trial. The new trial will be in the king’s bench, where said knave and said fools will have nothing to do with it. So the men of Olney fling up their caps, and assure themselves of a complete victory. A victory will save



save me, and your mother, many shillings, perhaps some pounds; which, except that it has afforded me a subject to write upon, was the only reason why I have said so much about it. I know you take an interest in all that concerns us, and will consequently rejoice with us in the prospect of an event in which we are concerned so nearly. Yours affectionately,

“W. C.”

making it an object of still further enquiry, here it comes—

‘I am just two and two, I am warm, I am cold,

And the parent of numbers that cannot be told.

I am lawful, unlawful—a duty, a fault,  
I am often sold dear, good for nothing  
when bought,

An extraordinary boon, and a matter of coarse,

And yielded with pleasure—when taken  
by force.’

“W. C.”

“TO THE REV. JOHN NEWTON.

“July 30, 1780.

“My dear sir,

“You may think perhaps that I deal more liberally with Mr. Unwin, in the way of poetical export, than I do with you, and I believe you have reason—The truth is this—If I walked the streets with a fiddle under my arm, I should never think of performing before the window of a privy counsellor, or a chief justice, but should rather make free with ears more likely to be open to such amusement. The trifles I produce in this way, are indeed such trifles, that I cannot think them seasonable presents for you. Mr. Unwin himself would not be offended if I was to tell him that there is this difference between him and Mr. Newton; that the latter is already an apostle, while he himself is only undergoing the business of incubation, with a hope that he may be hatched in time. When my muse comes forth arrayed in sables, at least in a robe of graver cast, I make no scruple to direct her to my friend at Hoxton. This has been one reason why I have so long delayed the riddle. But lest I should seem to set a value upon it that I do not, by

“TO THE REV. WILLIAM UNWIN.

“August 6, 1780.

“My dear friend,

“You like to hear from me—This is a very good reason why I should write—But I have nothing to say—This seems equally a good reason why I should not—Yet if you had alighted from your horse at our door this morning, and at this present writing, being five o’clock in the afternoon, had found occasion to say to me—‘Mr. Cowper, you have not spoke since I came in, have you resolved never to speak again?’ it would be but a poor reply, if in answer to the summons, I should plead inability as my best and only excuse. And this, by the way, suggests to me a seasonable piece of instruction, and reminds me of what I am very apt to forget, when I have any epistolary business in hand; that a letter may be written upon anything or nothing, just as that anything or nothing happens to occur. A man that has a journey before him twenty miles in length, which he is to perform on foot, will not hesitate and doubt whether he shall set out or not, because he does not readily conceive how he shall ever reach



the end of it ; for he knows, that by the simple operation of moving one foot forward first, and then the other, he shall be sure to accomplish it. So it is in the present case, and so it is in every similar case. A letter is written as a conversation is maintained, or a journey performed, not by preconcerted or premeditated means, a new contrivance, or an invention never heard of before, but merely by maintaining a progress, and resolving, as a postillion does, having once set out, never to stop till we reach the appointed end. If a man may talk without thinking, why may he not write upon the same terms? A grave gentleman of the last century, a tie-wig, square-toe, Steinkirk figure, would say—‘My good sir, a man has no right to do either.’ But it is to be hoped, that the present century has nothing to do with the mouldy opinions of the last : and so, good sir Launcelot, or sir Paul, or whatever be your name, step into your picture frame again, and look as if you thought for another century, and leave us moderns, in the mean time, to think when we can, and to write whether we can or not, else we might as well be dead as you are.

“When we look back upon our forefathers, we seem to look back upon the people of another nation, almost upon creatures of another species. Their vast rambling mansions, spacious halls, and painted casements, the gothic porch smothered with honeysuckles, their little gardens and high walls, their box-edgings, balls of holly, and yew-tree statues, are become so entirely unfashionable now, that we can hardly believe it possible, that a people, who resembled us so little in their taste, should resemble

us in any thing else. But in every thing else, I suppose, they were our counterparts exactly ; and time, that has sewed up the slashed sleeve, and reduced the large trunk-hose to a neat pair of silk stockings, has left human nature just where it found it. The inside of the man, at least, has undergone no change. His passions, appetites, and aims, are just what they ever were. They wear perhaps a handsomer disguise than they did in days of yore ; for philosophy and literature will have their effect upon the exterior ; but in every other respect a modern is only an antient in a different dress. Yours,

“W. C.”

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“TO THE REV. JOHN NEWTON.

“August 21, 1780.

“The following occurrence ought not to be passed over in silence, in a place where so few notable ones are to be met with. Last Wednesday night, while we were at supper, between the hours of eight and nine, I heard an unusual noise in the back-parlour, as if one of the hares was entangled, and endeavouring to disengage herself. I was just going to rise from table, when it ceased. In about five minutes, a voice on the outside of the parlour door enquired if one of my hares had got away. I immediately rushed into the next room, and found that my poor favourite puss had made her escape. She had gnawed in sunder the strings of a lattice-work, with which I thought I had sufficiently secured the window, and which I preferred to any other sort of blind, because it admitted plenty of air. From thence I hastened to the kitchen, where I saw the redoubtable Thomas Freeman, who



who told me, that having seen her just after she had dropped into the street, he attempted to cover her with his hat; but she screamed out, and leaped directly over his head. I then desired him to pursue as fast as possible, and added Richard Coleman to the chase, as being nimbler, and carrying less weight than Thomas; not expecting to see her again, but being desirous to learn, if possible, what became of her. In something less than an hour, Richard returned, almost breathless, with the following account. That soon after he began to run, he left Tom behind him, and came in sight of a most numerous hunt, of men, women, children, and dogs; that he did his best to keep back the dogs, and presently outstripped the crowd, so that the race was at last disputed between himself and puss—she ran right through the town, and down the lane that leads to Dropshort—A little before she came to the house, he got the start and turned her; she pushed for the town again, and, soon after she entered it, sought shelter in Mr. Wagstaff's tan-yard, adjoining to old Mr. Drake's—Sturgess's harvest-men were at supper, and saw her from the opposite side of the way. There she encountered the tan-pits full of water; and while she was struggling out of one pit and plunging into another, and almost drowned, one of the men drew her out by the ears, and secured her. She was then well washed in a bucket, to get the lime out of her coat, and brought home in a sack at ten o'clock.

“This frolic cost us four shillings, but you may believe we did not grudge a farthing of it. The poor creature received only a little hurt in one of her claws, and in one

of her ears, and is now almost as well as ever.

“I do not call this an answer to your letter, but such as it is I send it, presuming upon that interest which I know you take in my minutest concerns, which I cannot express better than in the words of Terence, a little varied—*Nihil mei a te alienum putas.*

“Yours, my dear friend,  
“W. C.”

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“TO THE REV. WILLIAM UNWIN.

“Sept. 3, 1780.

“My dear friend,

“I am glad you are so provident, and that while you are young, you have furnished yourself with the means of comfort in old age. Your crutch and your pipe may be of use to you, (and may they be so!) should your years be extended to an antediluvian date; and for your perfect accommodation, you seem to want nothing but a clerk called Snuffle, and a sexton of the name of Skeleton, to make your ministerial equipage complete.”

“I think I have read as much of the first volume of the *Biographia*, as I shall ever read. I find it very amusing; more so perhaps than it would have been had they sifted their characters with more exactness, and admitted none but those who had, in some way or other, entitled themselves to immortality by deserving well of the public. Such a compilation would, perhaps, have been more judicious, though I confess it would have afforded less variety. The priests and the monks of earlier, and the doctors of later days, who have signalized themselves by nothing but a controversial pamphlet, long since thrown by, and never



to be perused again, might have been forgotten, without injury or loss to the national character, for learning or genius. This observation suggested to me the following lines, which may serve to illustrate my meaning, and at the same time to give my criticism a sprightlier air.

‘Oh fond attempt to give a deathless lot  
To names ignoble, born to be forgot!  
In vain recorded in historic page,  
They court the notice of a future age;  
Those twinkling, tiny lustres of the land  
Drop one by one from fame’s neglecting  
hand;  
Lethæan gulphs receive them as they fall,  
And dark oblivion soon absorbs them all.  
So when a child (as playful children use)  
Has burnt to cinder a stale last-year’s news,  
The flame extinct, he views the roving  
fire,  
There goes my lady, and there goes the  
squire.  
There goes the parson—Oh illustrious  
spark!  
And there—scarce less illustrious—goes  
the clerk!’

“Virgil admits none but worthies into the Elysian fields; I cannot recollect the lines in which he describes them all, but these in particular I well remember—

‘*Quique sui memores alios fecere merendo,  
Inventas aut qui vitam excoluere per  
artes.*’

“A chaste and scrupulous conduct like his, would well become the writer of national biography. But enough of this.

“Our respects attend miss Shuttleworth, with many thanks for her intended present. Some purses derive all their value from their contents, but these will have an intrinsic value of their own; and though mine should be often empty, which is not an improbable supposition, I shall still esteem it highly on its own account.

“If you could meet with a second-hand Virgil, ditto Homer,

both Iliad and Odyssey, together with a Clavis, for I have no Lexicon, and all tolerably cheap, I shall be obliged to you if you will make the purchase.

“Yours,

W. C.”

“TO THE REV. WILLIAM UNWIN.

“Sept. 7, 1780.

“My dear friend,

“As many gentlemen as there are in the world, who have children, and heads capable of reflecting on the important subject of their education, so many opinions there are about it; many of them just and sensible, though almost all differing from each other. With respect to the education of boys, I think they are generally made to draw in Latin and Greek trammels too soon. It is pleasing no doubt to a parent, to see his child already in some sort a proficient in those languages, at an age when most others are entirely ignorant of them; but hence it often happens, that a boy, who could construe a fable of Æsop, at six or seven years of age, having exhausted his little stock of attention and diligence in making that notable acquisition, grows weary of his task, conceives a dislike for study, and perhaps makes but a very indifferent progress afterwards. The mind and body have, in this respect, a striking resemblance of each other. In childhood they are both nimble, but not strong; they can skip, and frisk about with wonderful agility, but hard labour spoils them both. In maturer years they become less active, but more vigorous, more capable of a fixed application, and can make themselves sport with that which a little earlier would have affected them with intolerable fatigue. I should recommend it to  
you



you therefore, (but after all you must judge for yourself) to allot the two next years of little John's scholarship, to writing and arithmetic, together with which, for variety's sake, and because it is capable of being formed into an amusement, I would mingle geography, (a science which if not attended to betimes, is seldom made an object of much consideration,) essentially necessary to the accomplishment of a gentleman, yet (as I know by sad experience) imperfectly, if at all, inculcated in the schools. Lord Spencer's son, when he was four years of age, knew the situation of every kingdom, country, city, river, and remarkable mountain, in the world. For this attainment, which I suppose his father had never made, he was indebted to a plaything; having been accustomed to amuse himself with those maps which are cut into several compartments, so as to be thrown into a heap of confusion, that they may be put together again with an exact coincidence of all their angles and bearings, so as to form a perfect whole.

"If he begins Latin and Greek at eight, or even at nine years of age, it is surely soon enough. Seven years, the usual allowance for those acquisitions, are more than sufficient for the purpose, especially with his readiness in learning; for you would hardly wish to have him qualified for the university before fifteen, a period, in my mind, much too early for it, and when he could hardly be trusted there without the utmost danger to his morals. Upon the whole, you will perceive that in my judgment, the difficulty, as well as the wisdom, consists more in bridling in, and keeping back, a boy of his parts, than in pushing him forward. If, therefore, at the

end of the two next years, instead of putting a grammar into his hand, you should allow him to amuse himself with some agreeable writers upon the subject of natural philosophy, for another year, I think it would answer well. There is a book called *Cosmotheoria Puerilis*, there are Derham's *Physico* and *Astro-theology*, together with several others in the same manner, very intelligible even to a child, and full of useful instruction.

"W. C."

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"TO THE REV. WILLIAM UNWIN.

"Sept. 17, 1780.

"My dear friend,

"You desire my further thoughts on the subject of education. I send you such as had for the most part occurred to me when I wrote last, but could not be comprised in a single letter. They are indeed on a different branch of this interesting theme, but not less important than the former.

"I think it your happiness, and wish you to think it so yourself, that you are in every respect qualified for the task of instructing your son, and preparing him for the university, without committing him to the care of a stranger. In my judgment, a domestic education deserves the preference to a public one, on an hundred accounts, which I have neither time nor room to mention. I shall only touch upon two or three, that I cannot but consider as having a right to your most earnest attention.

"In a public school, or indeed in any school, his morals are sure to be but little attended to, and his religion not at all. If he can catch the love of virtue from the fine things that are spoken of it in the classics,



classics, and the love of holiness from the customary attendance upon such preaching as he is likely to hear, it will be well; but I am sure you have had too many opportunities to observe the inefficacy of such means, to expect any such advantage from them. In the mean time, the more powerful influence of bad example, and perhaps bad company, will continually counterwork these only preservatives he can meet with, and may possibly send him home to you, at the end of five or six years, such as you will be sorry to see him. You escaped indeed the contagion yourself; but a few instances of happy exemption from a general malady, are not sufficient warrant to conclude, that it is therefore not infectious, or may be encountered without danger.

“You have seen too much of the world, and are a man of too much reflection, not to have observed, that in proportion as the sons of a family approach to years of maturity, they lose a sense of obligation to their parents, and seem at last almost divested of that tender affection, which the nearest of all relations seems to demand from them. I have often observed it myself, and have always thought I could sufficiently account for it, without laying all the blame upon the children. While they continue in their parents’ house, they are every day obliged, and every day reminded, how much it is their interest, as well as duty, to be obliging and affectionate in return. But at eight or nine years of age, the boy goes to school. From that moment he becomes a stranger in his father’s house. The course of parental kindness is interrupted. The smiles of his mother, those tender admonitions, and the solicitous care of both his parents,

are no longer before his eyes—year after year he feels himself more and more detached from them, till at last he is so effectually weaned from the connection, as to find himself happier any where than in their company.

“I should have been glad of a frank for this letter; for I have said but little of what I could say upon the subject, and perhaps I may not be able to catch it by the end again. If I can, I shall add to it hereafter.

“Yours, W.C.”

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“TO THE REV. WILLIAM UNWIN.

“Oct. 5, 1780.

“My dear friend,

“Now for the sequel—You have anticipated one of my arguments in favour of a private education, therefore I need say but little about it. The folly of supposing, that the mother-tongue, in some respects the most difficult of all tongues, may be acquired without a teacher, is predominant in all the public schools that I have ever heard of. To pronounce it well, to speak and to write it with fluency and elegance, are no easy attainments; not one in fifty of those who pass through Westminster and Eton, arrive at any remarkable proficiency in these accomplishments; and they that do, are more indebted to their own study and application for it, than to any instruction received there. In general, there is nothing so pedantic as the style of a school-boy, if he aims at any style at all; and if he does not, he is of course inelegant, and perhaps ungrammatical. A defect no doubt, in great measure, owing to want of cultivation; for the same lad that is often commended for his Latin, frequently would



would deserve to be whipped for his English, if the fault were not more his master's than his own. I know not where this evil is so likely to be prevented as at home—supposing always, nevertheless, (which is the case in your instance) that the boy's parents, and their acquaintance, are persons of elegance and taste themselves. For, to converse with those who converse with propriety, and to be directed to such authors as have refined and improved the language by their productions, are advantages which he cannot elsewhere enjoy in an equal degree. And though it requires some time to regulate the taste, and fix the judgment, and these effects must be gradually wrought even upon the best understanding, yet I suppose, much less time will be necessary for the purpose, than could at first be imagined, because the opportunities of improvement are continual.

“A public education is often recommended as the most effectual remedy for that bashful and awkward restraint, so epidemical among the youth of our country. But I verily believe that, instead of being a cure, it is often the cause of it. For seven or eight years of his life, the boy has hardly seen or conversed with a man, or a woman, except the maids at his boarding-house. A gentleman, or a lady, are consequently such novelties to him, that he is perfectly at a loss to know what sort of behaviour he should preserve before them. He plays with his buttons, or the strings of his hat; he blows his nose, and hangs down his head; is conscious of his own deficiency, to a degree that makes him quite unhappy; and trembles lest any one should speak to him, because that would quite overwhelm him. Is not all this mise-

erable shyness the effect of his education? To me it appears to be so. If he saw good company every day, he would never be terrified at the sight of it; and a room full of ladies and gentlemen, would alarm him no more than the chairs they sit on. Such is the effect of custom.

“I need add nothing further on this subject, because I believe little John is as likely to be exempted from this weakness as most young gentlemen we shall meet with. He seems to have his father's spirit in this respect, in whom I could never discern the least trace of bashfulness, though I have often heard him complain of it. Under your management, and the influence of your example, I think he can hardly fail to escape it. If he does, he escapes that which has made many a man uncomfortable for life; and ruined not a few; by forcing them into mean and dishonourable company, where only they could be free and cheerful.

“Connections formed at school are said to be lasting, and often beneficial. There are two or three stories of this kind upon record, which would not be so constantly cited as they are, whenever this subject happens to be mentioned, if the chronicle that preserves their remembrance had many besides to boast of. For my own part, I found such friendships, though warm enough in their commencement, surprisingly liable to extinction: and of seven or eight, whom I had selected for intimates, out of about three hundred, in ten years time not one was left me. The truth is, that there may be, and often is, an attachment of one boy to another, that looks very like a friendship; and, while they are in circumstances that enable them mutually



mutually to oblige and to assist each other, promises well, and bids fair to be lasting. But they are no sooner separated from each other, by entering into the world at large, than other connections, and new employments, in which they no longer share together, efface the remembrance of what passed in earlier days, and they become strangers to each other for ever. Add to this, that the *man* frequently differs so much from the *boy*, his principles, manners, temper, and conduct, undergo so great an alteration, that we no longer recognise

in him our old playfellow, but find him utterly unworthy, and unfit for the place he once held in our affections.

“To close this article, as I did the last, by applying myself immediately to the present concern—Little John is happily placed above all occasion for dependence on all such precarious hopes, and need not be sent to school in quest of some great men in embryo, who may possibly make his fortune.

“Yours, my dear friend,

“W. C.”

## ON ITALIAN PAINTING.

[From the LETTERS of GESSNER and his FAMILY.]

“C. GESSNER TO HIS PARENTS.

“Milan, June 2, 1787.

“**H**ERE I am again separated from you, my dear parents! The bustle of the journey, and some pleasant days passed at Bergamo in the house of M. S—, with whom I could almost fancy myself at home, prevented my feeling so forcibly, at first, the pangs of this fresh absence from you: but now I am alone; and nothing but my ardent desire to see Rome, and the strong motives which induce me to go thither, could soften the painful sensations which oppress my heart. Nevertheless I assure you, my good and worthy father, that I am fully sensible of the necessity of my residence in Italy; and the tender parting blessing of the best of parents, by approving of the profession I have chosen, has imposed on me the sacred duty of labouring to the utmost of my power, in order that I may practise it with credit to myself and my family.

“I arrived at this place yesterday evening, and shall leave it to-morrow morning. M. O—— of Bergamo accompanied me here, and did not leave me till he had engaged a good postillion for me, who is to take me to Rome. Therefore, I travel alone; and as in conversation I do not expect to find a greater fund of resources in my post-boy than in his mules, I have purchased a very handsome shag dog to be my companion, and I hope that in a short time we shall be very good friends.

“As I stay so short a time at Milan, I shall not say much about this city, or rather, I will not say any thing.

“The route, by which I came to Bergamo, delighted me extremely, although I crossed the Splügen during the most severe weather. The grand appearance of this mass of mountains rising one above another to the clouds, this gigantic appearance of nature, which I now beheld



beheld for the first time, made me forget the cold, and all the inconveniences of the road. I contemplated with a degree of pleasure mixed with horror, the foaming waters of the Rhine, which were rolling beneath me at the foot of a frightful precipice. The roaring of the current, added to the distant rumbling of some avalanches, were the only sounds which interrupted the mournful silence of winter, and rendered it still more terrific.

"I regretted very much on this occasion that I could not draw any of the objects which presented themselves; for in these romantic regions it is impossible to detain the horses for any length of time; I therefore pursued my journey down the sides of the Cardinelles, and after travelling some hours I found myself in the fertile plains of Italy, surrounded by all the loveliness of spring.

"My pony performed this painful journey as if he had been born and bred in the mountains. I felt a great degree of regret on parting with him; and had I not been certain that I disposed of him to a good master, I should not easily have consoled myself for the loss.

"There are some good pictures dispersed about Bergamo in the churches; and although they are in very bad preservation, yet in some one may discover a greatness and boldness of design. The collection of a count Peternelli contains some fine landscapes by Tempesta, some battle pieces by Borgognone, and a small Correggio. But the objects most worthy of particular attention, are some sculpture and ornaments in the church of Alsano, a small town in the vicinity of Bergamo. The figures are of wood, the design is in a grand style, full of expression and spirit, and the

draperies are disposed with grace and simplicity. There are also some statues in marble, which, if I do not mistake, are really very fine. The pulpit is supported by three figures in the style of Caracci, which have as much grace as their attitude and destination can admit of. The proportions are maintained with the utmost exactness; the tension of the muscles is expressed with a proper degree of strength, but not exaggerated, and all those parts in which the bones project, such as the knees and elbows, are indicated with perfect truth. The able artist, who executed these figures, was a native of Bergamo, of the name of Fontani.

"C. GESSNER."

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"S. GESSNER TO HIS SON.

"Zurich, June 13, 1787.

"You will receive this letter at Rome, my dear son; thrice welcome to you be your arrival in that city! You are now admitted into the sanctuary of that art, to which you have voluntarily consecrated yourself; you will there see its most sublime productions—those monuments of the most astonishing efforts of genius, and of the utmost perfection of taste—those admirable works, the sight of which will at first humiliate and discourage you, but only to create in you afterwards the highest emulation and enthusiasm. These great artists were but men; but always reflect how they must have laboured to attain the excellence which you now observe in them. If you mean to continue as you have hitherto done, only to follow the bent of your genius, there was no necessity for your visiting Rome.

"There, no doubt, the wonders  
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of art, the beauties of nature, every thing, in short, is calculated to excite enthusiasm, and develop the mind : but look over the history of artists in former centuries ; observe also those painters who are still living, who have raised themselves to superior eminence ; collect all those of different nations, who like you aspire to reach that goal which our predecessors have attained, and who approach it with hasty strides, and learn from them with what continued efforts and unremitted labour that artist must pursue his profession who aims at perfection. You will doubtless occasionally meet with some fiery spirits who only advance by sudden leaps, whose senseless vanity will not submit to a regular though troublesome progress ; but you will always observe, that by deviating from the right path they get further from the object, instead of approaching it.

“ Lose no time in beginning your studies, and let the principal one be that of the human figure, under its most beautiful form ; bestow particular attention also on the harmony, truth, and delicacy of colouring ; copy detached groups, single figures, and sometimes even parts of figures ; but in these different studies, always proceed with unremitting diligence and scrupulous exactness. In a word, exert yourself to the utmost, for you have no time to lose.

“ Write to us as soon as you can, and tell us what were the first impressions which your residence in Rome produced, and how you were received by our friends. I am particularly anxious to know your opinion of More. We have received your letter from Milan, which gave us infinite pleasure. We were happy to learn that you found so good a master for your horse ; we felt

much interested in the fate of that poor animal, and are equally so for the faithful dog that was your travelling companion ; give him a tender embrace from us, as to a good friend, for he was truly so to you.

“ We are all in good health, and your friends desire to be most kindly remembered to you. May the most High ever guard and preserve you in health !

“ S. GESSNER.”

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“ C. GESSNER TO HIS FATHER.

“ Rome, June 15, 1787.

“ It is now some days since I arrived at Rome, after a safe and very pleasant journey. I immediately hastened to visit my friends, Lips, Kersch, Tischbein, and Trippel. The latter received me with the cordiality of a true Swiss. I found Kersch in the antient house which was formerly occupied by Mengs ; he leads a solitary life there, entirely removed from every thing that can disturb him. My visit occasioned him an agreeable surprise, notwithstanding he had long and impatiently expected me. What I felt on first entering this celebrated city ; what I still feel——indeed it is impossible to express it, for I am still entirely a stranger to every thing that surrounds me, and bewildered in the amazing variety of objects that every where meets my eye. Yet I hope my sensations will not always remain in such a confused state. Kersch and many others tell me that they experienced the same kind of confusion when they first came to Rome ; and in fact it is this superabundance of sentiments and ideas with which I almost feel oppressed at the present moment, which promises me in future the most perfect enjoyment of those



those prodigies of art which abound in this city.

"Immediately after my arrival I was induced to visit St. Peter's, by a procession which was going to that church: the immense concourse of people which was crowding towards it from all quarters, made me apprehensive that I should not be able to remain in it without being stifled; but to my great astonishment I found the church so far from full, that on examining that vast space, in which I was comparatively almost a non-entity, I was seized with a sort of religious terror. Divine service began at this instant; solemn and majestic music echoed along the vaulted roofs of the edifice; several thousand persons waited in silent and pious expectation for the benediction of the holy father, who, with arms extended towards heaven, seemed to convey it from the throne of the Deity, and shed its benign influence over the multitude. I felt myself transported beyond the limits of this earthly boundary, and, in the pious emotion of my soul, I also should have fallen on my knees if other objects had not roused me from my ecstasy. But when I recovered my calmness, I cast my eyes along the immense nave in which I stood, surrounded as it is with a quadruple row of pillars. When I beheld the colossal magnitude of this edifice, not less admirable for the beauty of its proportions, and the perfect harmony of all its parts, than for that sublime grandeur which almost terrifies the imagination, I was again overpowered with astonishment and awe. The sensations I felt were as new to me as the objects which inspired them; I had no idea, that the sight alone of bold and majestic architecture could have produced on the

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mind an impression so vivid and delightful.

"I cannot yet give you any very interesting details of Rome; I have seen a great many things, and yet I have seen nothing. One of the first studies which I intend to pursue here, is that of Roman history. It is here that one should read what the Romans have done. I entreat you, my dear parents, to allow Henry to come to me, before I leave this city; he will receive more pleasure and instruction from a journey hither, than he would by travelling over all the other parts of the globe.

"All your friends desire me to assure you of their esteem and sincere affection. C. GESSNER."

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"C. GESSNER TO HIS FATHER.

"Rome, June 22, 1787.

"I have at last met with a lodging conveniently situated for painting; I have an extensive view from my window, a good light, as it faces the north, and besides this, the advantage of being so near to Sablet, that we can converse from our windows; I am much pleased at our being such near neighbours. Sablet is a man of great merit in every respect, and his character is as estimable as his talents are great; in addition to this, he possesses a qualification which does not diminish my esteem for him; he smokes. His pictures, which he calls conversation pieces, are painted with exquisite taste, and unite the boldness of the Italian school with the delicate pencilling and fine colouring of the Flemish. There are also in the house which he inhabits, some French artists, who appear to me to have very superior merit; so you see I am surrounded by artists, and have sufficient

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choice



choice to form a very agreeable society.

“ I have already paid two visits to the celebrated Angelica Kauffman ; she received me in the most obliging manner. She is indeed a woman endowed with singular talents, to which she joins the utmost diffidence. I saw at her house some beautiful portraits ; she gives a grace to the turn of her heads, which seems peculiar to herself ; her style is delightful, and on this point she certainly deserves all the praises which are bestowed on her. Yet, notwithstanding all my admiration for her talents, I do not think she can be placed in the same class with our Graaf. Her heads of men, at least, cannot be compared with those of that artist, who touches them with such a bold and firm pencil, that his works partake of the beautiful character of *Van-dyck*. Angelica usually leaves them undefined, glazing them with soft and feeble tints, which in other respects produces an agreeable effect, and succeeds admirably. I must confess, that in her female heads it is impossible to desire any thing more graceful or fascinating. Excuse me, my dear parents, for having ventured to pass any censure on the works of this celebrated paintress, if however that may be called censure, which is an impartial comparison of the merit of two great artists.

“ I was received with much politeness by counsellor Reifenstein ; I found him employed in giving a polish to a picture, varnished with wax ; I had by this means an opportunity of observing the whole operation ; for, excepting the preparation of the colours, he does not conceal any part of his process. This is the whole detail ; after he has finished his picture, which ap-

pears as dry and dull as a painting in body colours, M. Reifenstein lays over it a thick layer of melted wax, unequally spread over the whole ; when the wax is cool, he places the picture on an easel, and passes over it several times, and in different directions, a sort of hollow shovel with a short handle which is filled with hot cinders ; this operation requires the utmost attention, because the wax must be heated only as much as is necessary to melt it without burning, in order to spread it equally over the whole picture ; and at last, to render it perfectly smooth with a varnishing brush.

“ Reifenstein is so sure, by experience, of the durability of this kind of painting, which in fact is not a new invention, although it must not be classed with that kind called *encaustic*, that according to him neither the sun nor damp can produce on it the slightest change. I do not yet know very decisively whether all colours will bear this process, nor which of them will stand it best ; neither am I thoroughly persuaded, that the operation itself is infallible, at least I remarked in one landscape some tones too brilliant for the distances, and others which I think would have been more transparent in oil painting. It also appears to me, that the fusion of the wax depends very much on chance, and that the least inattention may destroy the labour of several months.

“ I was invited to dine with Reifenstein at M. Hackert's, who treated us with the magnificence of a prince. The reputation, and consequently the merit of an artist, are things not to be disputed when he possesses a large fortune, for in such a situation it is very easy for him



him to arrogate a degree of authority, which no one is inclined to contest with him. M. Hackert does not seem to be insensible of all the advantages which his riches procure him. The arts were discussed at table, as well as the merit of those who cultivated them; amongst whom several artists of real talent underwent a very rigorous examination. M. Reifenstein did not fail to bestow his approbation on every opinion that was given by our host; he even contrived to introduce a sort of comparison between the works of M. Hackert and those of some other painters; and did it in a manner so advantageous to the former, that when he afterwards showed us his portfolio, I, as a young man, could not pursue any other course than either to admire or be silent. I chose the latter, as the best calculated to keep me out of a scrape without forfeiting my frankness, or losing the favour of so important a personage. Is not this the best method to ensure success in the world, particularly in that part of it which is denominated the great world?

"I went yesterday with Lipps to Raphael's villa; we entered the retreat of this divine artist with a sort of religious respect; it was a sanctuary in our eyes. The architectural part of the building is very simple, but the room in which Raphael used to sleep is enriched with some charming paintings in fresco. On one side of the walls he has represented the nuptials of Alexander and Roxana, and facing it, some groups of playing cupids. Even the ceiling is decorated with the most fanciful creations of his truly poetic imagination. It is to be regretted, that these beautiful paintings are damaged in some parts, owing to the ignorance of

the proprietors of the house, who have allowed it to be the residence of a gardener. It also creates some degree of pain, to observe, instead of the antient simplicity of these rural scenes, all the trifling decorations of a pretended English garden, with its hillocks, its groves, and its diminutive lawns.

"C. GESSNER."

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"S. GESSNER TO HIS SON.

"Sihlwald, July 17, 1787.

"Upon my word, my dear son, you keep your promises like a man of honour! Your letters are the delight of our life, and like bees we know how to extract a very sweet kind of honey from them; that is to say, many observations much to your advantage. I remarked with sincere pleasure in your last letter, that you know how to unite prudence with the liveliness of your sentiments, which I have been able to observe in your behaviour towards Hackert and Reifenstein. This line of conduct is in fact the only one that can be pursued with people of that character. There is a wide difference between a base flatterer and a man who, without committing his own dignity, has sufficient prudence to avoid offending the self-love of others; an error which many are liable to, and particularly several artists, who either by a foolish vanity, or in consequence of a defective education, injure themselves by unnecessarily creating enemies. In the choice of your society, my dear son, be always cautious with regard to the character and morals of those with whom you wish to be acquainted, that too much confidence in the solidity of your own principles may never lead you to form im-  
 prudent



prudent connexions. A man of depraved sensiments may have brilliant and even amiable qualities; he may be possessed of distinguished talents and extensive knowledge; but it is precisely these qualities, which render him more dangerous as an acquaintance. The only method you could adopt with a man of that description would be to do justice to his talents on every occasion, but to avoid intimacy with him. We feel truly happy at the good reception you have met with from our friends. The manner in which you have characterized some of them proves a just discrimination, and gave me great pleasure. I could not wish any thing better for you than your vicinity to Sablet and the other French artists; your acquaintance with them will tend to overcome those unsocial prejudices, which too often form a barrier between the Germans and the French, and will also furnish you with opportunities of improving in a language, the knowledge of which will ever be useful to you. The accomplishment of smoking, which Sablet unites with his other acquirements, is no doubt a great merit in your eyes: much good may it do you both! Nevertheless be wise, and keep on your guard. In such a climate as that of Italy, the practice of smoking must heat you very considerably; heat occasions thirst; in short, my child, remember that even the most robust should not trifle with their health.

“How fortunate you are to have met with so many friends, whose talents and enthusiastic admiration of their art will continually excite your zeal and increase your activity! I am fully persuaded, that you will draw some profit from every thing that can contribute to your improvement. Let

one of your first objects be to procure the means of studying the finest horses from nature; for I advise you always to adhere to the study of nature in preference, yet not to neglect observing in the great masters the best manner of giving each object its peculiar character. I wish you to inform me circumstantially what plan you intend to pursue in your studies; tell us also of your domestic arrangements, whether you eat alone or with your friends? In short, do not be sparing of your details, for every thing interests us.

“Have you seen More, and are you pleased with him? Give us some particulars concerning him, and also about Meyer and Kölla.

“S. GESSNER.”

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“C. GESSNER TO HIS FATHER.

“Rome, July 18, 1787.

“I am at this moment arrived from Tivoli, to which place I went with Troll; and I have brought with me a few drawings, although the excessive heat of the weather would not admit of our passing the whole time in drawing. Trippel and I have formed the project of going to that delightful spot to paint from nature, but not till the great heats are over.

“At Tivoli nature wears a heavenly aspect. The views, which every where strike the eye, are all finished pictures, which remind of the compositions of Poussin. The temple of Vesta, one of the finest ruins that can be beheld, and of which you have a model in your possession, is situated in the garden of the inn where all the artists take up their abode. There they assemble at noon to dine under arbours covered with vines, and meet again in the same spot at night. In this place,



place, enjoying the refreshing coolness of evening under an unclouded sky, the time is passed in sport and festivity, animated by all the vivacity which artists may indulge in; and on this classic ground, in the vicinity of that Tiber, which was so dear to Horace, and of Mænas's villa, the recollection of past ages adds to the charms of the present moment.

"The festival of St. Peter was celebrated to-day; and on this occasion the princes and nobles display the utmost magnificence; they go to church in the most sumptuous equipages, drawn by horses superbly decorated. The pope's troops follow, who do not make so brilliant an appearance. The cavalry parades in the most grotesque confusion; one has only stockings, while another has boots that are not fellows; the horses walk as slowly as if they were dragging the plough: in short, the whole forms a spectacle as novel as it is ridiculous.

"In Rome one frequently meets with the most striking contrasts; by the side of the finest productions of painting and architecture, you often see the most disgusting specimens of bad taste; in one spot all the pomp of opulence displays itself, close to it all the miseries of poverty obtrude themselves on the eye; in the streets, beings whose very aspect appals the soul, lie on the threshold of palaces, &c.

"The most beautiful part of this festival is the spectacle which closes the day; and indeed all Rome looks forward to it with anxious expectation. In the evening the cupola of St. Peter's church is illuminated. There are torches placed on the balustrade, which are lighted as soon as it grows dusk; the

signal is given by the sound of a bell, and in an instant the whole cupola appears in a flame. The colossal masses of the church and the other buildings which surround it, illumined in various ways by this immense mass of light, present a spectacle of the most singular and striking nature. The multitude, which crowds from every quarter to behold this sight, produces a number of whimsical groups which are varying every minute. They seem to undulate like waves, at one time illumined by the most vivid brightness, at another lost in total obscurity. At midnight a superb firework, played from the castle of St. Angelo in honour of the triumph of the church, terminates with becoming dignity the festivities of the day.

"But all the festivals and all the fireworks in the world would never afford me half the gratification I experienced from my visit to More. He had not, indeed, leisure to converse long with me, when I called on him, but I was fully recompensed by being allowed to remain in his study quite at my ease. Four pictures particularly struck me; the two first represent a sunrise and a sunset; the third a tempest at sea, of good colouring and the most terrific effect; the fourth, the deluge. In the latter nothing is seen but sky and water, and a few rocks, which here and there appear; yet the combination of colour produces altogether a striking effect. A picture representing an eruption of Mount Etna, pleased me least, although it possesses infinite merit; but a mass of fire alone, without the concurrence of other objects to interrupt the uniformity of its colour, can never, I think, excite great interest, nor produce a very strong impression. More excels principally in colouring; the eye



reposes with pleasure on his beautiful skies, which boast a truly ærial transparency; his thorough knowledge of perspective enables him to produce the most enchanting harmony in his landscapes; his trees are characterized with perfect truth; his water is brilliant and limpid, and for a landscape painter his figures are very tolerably drawn. It appears to me, that the manner in which he glazes his half tints contributes materially to the beauty of his colouring.

"I begin to feel myself at home in this city, and by degrees become acquainted with the beauties which every part offers to my eyes. Soon after my arrival I went to see the gallery of pictures belonging to prince Borghese. The most celebrated picture in this collection is the entombing of Christ, by Raphael. The design, composition, and an inexpressible clearness of colouring, have induced connoisseurs to class this exquisite painting with the finest productions of the art. A small Madona with the infant Jesus, and an angel on each side holding a torch, is well known to you by the drawing of it which Lipps sent you; the most exquisite grace, and an expression of virgin innocence, are diffused over the countenance of the mother; and the child is not inferior in beauty. There are also in this collection some very fine Titians; the head of Cæsar Borgia in particular claims admiration; and while contemplating its excellence, even some charming Vandycks which are near it lose their attraction. If Titian had united the drawing of Raphael with the magic of his colouring, he would have been the first painter in the world.

"My mind filled with the highest expectations, I repaired to the

Sestini chapel. When I entered the building, I thought the spirit of Michael Angelo appeared before me in majestic grandeur, and filled me with profound respect. What a boldness and fire of imagination is displayed in his picture of the Last Judgment! The dead appear to be actually rising from the earth, and disengaging themselves from their winding-sheets, to rise in varied groups towards heaven. The spectator is seized with terror on beholding the damned precipitated into the dreadful abyss, which opens its jaws to receive them. What animation and richness in the composition! and in what energetic and terrific forms is the work of destruction offered to the eye! This painting, considered in all points, is perhaps the greatest effort of the art; and in fact, who can be compared with Raphael and Michael Angelo? The same great genius also displays itself in the decorations on the walls and ceiling of the chapel, although under the most varied forms; yet the same grandeur and simplicity of outline pervades the whole of these works, which in a great measure approaches the ideal beauty of the ancients.

"C. GESSNER."

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"C. GESSNER TO HIS FATHER.

"Rome, Aug. 1, 1787.

"The gallery of prince Doria contains, among other valuable pictures, three Claudes, which are esteemed some of the best productions of this master; and also some of the finest of Poussin; the Flight into Egypt is one of the three first. The Holy Family is reposing by the side of a rivulet which flows through a forest. The setting sun spreads



spreads a glowing tint over the trunks of the trees, and its rays passing between their branches are reflected in the water, which produces a very singular illusion. The dark colouring of the trees, contrasted with the brilliancy of the sky, which appears through the interstices of the foliage, adds to its effect, and gives it almost the appearance of fire. This picture presents every varied tint of green, yet the most perfect harmony reigns through the whole. The trees are finely drawn, and their forms well chosen. The second picture is a sunset, in which that orb is just sinking into the ocean; a charming painting, replete with effect. The extent of the water occupies more than half the height of it; and although it appears all of one colour and perfectly calm, yet the effect produced by the rays of the sun reflected in different ways from its surface, and by the progressive gradation of tints which mingle with the sky in an ærial vapour, extends the limits of the horizon to the distance of several miles. Some majestic rocks form a barrier to the sea on one side, and some large trees occupy the foreground. The subject of the third is morning in its earliest progress. A lake of translucent water is edged with tufts of trees, through the dark foliage of which some mountains are visible, which melt into a gray distance; all the objects appear tinted by the fresh vapour of morning. The foreground is ornamented with some beautiful architectural buildings, and the whole is so highly finished as to be a perfect illusion. The composition, the choice of objects, every part in short is of exquisite taste, and even in the smallest blade of grass a

strict attention to nature is discernible.

“I have already told you, that this collection contains two landscapes by Poussin. Some sketches by this artist, and some engravings from his pictures, are nearly all that is known of his works in Germany; and those who judge of his talents from these specimens, must in fact suppose him a mannerist, particularly when compared with Claude Lorraine. But those of his pictures which are finished, are replete with an exquisite feeling of the beauties of nature; and in composition he sometimes rises to epic sublimity. He has neither a superior nor a rival. Claude possesses the undefinable charms of cheerfulness and elegance. Poussin has more grandeur and dignity. Claude is the Correggio of landscape painters, while Poussin is the Michael Angelo. The former surpasses every one in excellence of execution; but many works of the latter are particularly admirable for a true and vigorous colouring. But to return to those of his pictures which enrich the Doria gallery. One represents a storm; some shepherds are hastily coming down an excavated road, and driving their flocks towards a forest, which appears to be violently agitated by the tempest. This painting contains a fire and energy peculiar to itself, and fear is imprinted on the countenances of the figures with great truth of expression.

“I have this moment received your excellent letter of the 17th of July, for which I have been long in anxious expectation. You inquire after Meyer and Kölla; they are persons distinguished for their talents and industry. I have seen some heads by them in the manner



of Seidelman, which might well sustain a comparison with those of that artist. M. Trippel even gives them the preference in point of correctness in drawing. They live together in the most perfect harmony, totally secluded from the world, and very frequently work together indiscriminately on the same performance. They both return you many thanks for the interest you feel for them.

C. GESSNER."

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"C. GESSNER TO HIS FATHER.

"Rome, Aug. 17, 1787.

"I am continually changing my lodging; I am just going to take possession of a new one. Sablet and I have hired a pretty little house, in which we are to live together. We are to be our own cooks, housekeepers, and butlers, and each of us is to take the charge of the housekeeping alternately. Sablet has initiated me in the art of turning the spit, and of basting the meat with the gravy; and my progress already does credit to my master. We have an old woman to assist us in the lesser details, and we live together like two friars in a cloyster, only with more pleasure and cheerfulness. I am certain, my dear father, you would be delighted with our little arrangements, and you would do honour to our dinner. I have besides another advantage: from the windows of my apartment I have an uninterrupted view of the country and the vineyards which are scattered over it, and I can study skies and trees without going out of my house. This will be very useful to me in many respects. Sablet is fond of order, and is a good economist, and on this point he gives me some

good advice; he also obliges me always to converse either in French or Italian. Drouet has also a share in our study; he is a very amiable young Frenchman, who paints history; and Mr. Denis, a very able Flemish landscape painter, lives close to our door. Every evening we have an assemblage of artists, all men of talent, which forms quite an academy; we laugh and amuse ourselves, and chatter like magpies on the arts, and we are as happy as if we were in Paradise.

"Yet, notwithstanding I feel so comfortable in many respects, I am often dejected and discouraged, when I consider all the difficulties which are still to be conquered, before I can rise even to mediocrity in my art! and if I did not feel conscious that my whole soul is engrossed by it, that through the medium of that alone I view and study nature; if this reflection did not give me some degree of confidence, and encourage me to hope that I was born a painter, I believe I should despair of ever becoming one. I cannot well account for a singular change, which seems to have taken place in me. I feel disgusted with the style I have adopted; the reason may be because I find but few good models for it in Rome, and that excepting only the masterpieces of the antient artists, the number of which is very small, there are but few pictures in that style which reach beyond mediocrity. At the same time I am well aware how dangerous it is to deviate from one's own sphere; I have various examples before my eyes of young artists, particularly Germans, who, from being tolerably good landscape painters, have become very bad historical painters, and



and who, instead of delighting your eyes with beautiful views and smiling scenes, disgust you with dropsical Venuses and contemptible Alexanders. M. ———, for example, who certainly possesses some talent, would have been far more respectable had he continued to paint his pigs, a style in which he had peculiar merit, than to daub over historical caricatures. How many painters study the antique without comprehending it, and will never be able to paint any thing but statues, devoid of soul and expression! For my part, the smallest object in which I can trace nature has more charms in my eyes than these mutilated and inanimate compositions, which neither interest my feelings nor engage my attention. Both H. Roos and Berghem studied at Rome, yet each continued in that particular line which he had chosen. The former applied himself to the study of landscape, of works of architecture, and of the fine flocks which here presented themselves to his eye, and he became a great painter. The other imitated nature with equal correctness; the mountains which surround me, the atmosphere in which I live, appear to me every fine evening, as I have observed them in his pictures.

“ In general, the masters of the Flemish school, considered as painters, may, I think, without disadvantage, be placed in competition with those of the Italian school; and excepting only the very few great men who have adorned the latter, I should even give the preference to the Flemish. The too frequent neglect of colouring, and the studied style of the Italian masters, make the eye return with increased pleasure to the natural simplicity of the others. Yet it

must be confessed, that the great masters in the historical line which the Italians boast of, have united all the principal parts of the art. I admire above all, the grandeur and simplicity of their composition. A small number of figures, but those carefully drawn and deeply studied, are sufficient for them to compose an admirable picture. Every thing speaks and acts; every part is full of animation and soul. They never make use of such additions as are merely intended to fill up a space, yet no unpleasant vacancy offends the eye. On the contrary, in what modern artists call great compositions, the canvas is indeed filled to its utmost extent with some dozen of figures and an infinity of accessory details; but these figures neither say nor do any thing, and one seeks in vain, in such an insignificant assemblage, for that harmony and unity which delights the eye and engrosses the mind. But, indeed, this is the great secret of the art, and there are very few who are in possession of it; to rise to so elevated a height, one should have the genius of a Raphael, the creative imagination of a Michael Angelo, and the magic pencil of a Correggio. When I read the catalogue of historical painters, and observe how rare are the instances of real excellence, I feel very forcibly the absurdity of my wish to depart from the line I have chosen. Besides which, this style is undoubtedly susceptible of improvement.

“ A fine horse and a good figure, placed in a well-selected landscape, immediately make an agreeable picture; and it is my business to add life and interest to it by introducing action. Instead of these objects, paint a cart-horse on a heap of sand. This picture, if it be well executed, will always possess some merit,



merit, at least that of truth and nature; but it will not be interesting, and will ever create regret that such a subject should have cost so much labour; unless a Wouverman had treated it with his exquisite taste, and the natural graces of his pencil, and thus made it a subject that must interest the mind as well as attract the eye. But, in my opinion, the art of choosing objects, and that of representing them correctly, are two principal requisites, the union of which alone constitutes a great painter.

“I am very desirous, my dear father, of knowing your ideas and decision on these points, which are of such material importance to me, although I flatter myself I can already guess your opinion. Trippel is, like me, convinced, that every one should continue firm to the

first impulse of his genius. E—— also reanimates my ardour for the style I have adopted, and strongly encourages me to persevere in that line which I have hitherto preferred.

“The study of the human figure, and of anatomy, will henceforth be my principal object; at the same time I shall not neglect working from nature and from the antique, and I shall also occasionally make some finished studies from Raphael. Thus, by redoubling my efforts, I flatter myself I shall be able to reap some advantage from my residence in Rome, and to approach nearer to the great object of my ambition, that of rendering myself worthy, as an artist, of the title of your son.

“I have many kind wishes for you from Angelica, Trippel, Meyer, &c. &c.

“C. GESSNER.”

## DESCRIPTION OF SPORTS in the NORTH.

[FROM COLONEL THORNTON'S SPORTING TOUR.]

“FASCALLY.

“THE situation of this place is extremely romantic, and had been admired by us some time before we reached it. A scene near the bridge is particularly fine; and I could not help wondering how it escaped Mr. Pennant, for it is certainly far superior to his view. The road from hence to Blair we found excellent, running along the banks of the Gary; it extends for a very considerable way, and was made entirely at the expense of lord Braedalbane, who, to facilitate the travelling, has erected, over the torrents that rush from the mountains into the lakes, a great

number of stone bridges; Mr. Pennant says, as many as thirty-two; but I did not count them.

“Having arrived at the inn, which we found tolerably comfortable, and dispatched a hasty dinner, we walked towards the castle; it is a noble pile of building, and the principal ducal residence, seated on an eminence above a plain, watered by the Gary, an outrageous stream, whose ravages have greatly deformed the valley, by the vast beds of gravel which it has left behind.

“The house itself rather deceived our expectations, with respect to its internal embellishments, though



though it is certainly very commodious. The walls are wonderfully thick, as all old castles are, but have been much reduced in height since the rebellion in 1746, when it was strongly fortified, and held out a close seige. I have heard many circumstances of this event when conversing with Mr. C. a lieutenant, who attended my father's volunteers in the year 1745. This gentleman was taken prisoner by the rebels besieging this castle, by whom being neglected, he with some others escaped and joined sir Andrew Agnew, then blocked up in it with his troops, and has often mentioned the great spirit with which it was defended.

"I remember to have heard him say, that, in order to save a favourite horse they had taken in with them, grass was pulled from the ramparts, where it grew in some quantity; and though the men so employed were frequently in danger of being shot, and very often fired at, they carried their point.

"The most singular piece of furniture here is a chest of drawers made of broom, most elegantly striped in veins of white and brown. This plant grows to a great size in Scotland, and furnishes pieces of the breadth of six inches. We saw several guns belonging to his grace, chiefly rifles, which we thought in general too unwieldy.

"Having seen the house, we walked through the plantations, and passed some time in drinking a few bottles of our landlord's best claret, sent us with some biscuits to the hermitage. This hermitage is far preferable, in point of simplicity, to that of Dunkeld. The evening being fine, we went up to the York Cascade, which seemed to me calculated for a drawing, but is

as well executed in Pennant's Tour as the subject admits.

"Our landlord, who attended us, we found to be a very intelligent man, and were not a little pleased, in the course of the evening, to find, that by his means the gardener had procured us a few small perch, with which we hoped to be able to stock some of the lochs in Badenoch, where, as yet, they are unknown. Went to bed highly pleased with the reception we had met with.

"July 9.—Morning delightful, but very cold. The perch being examined, were found very lively, and I had no doubt, that in the tin kettle brought from London, having this object always in view, I should be able, by giving them fresh water at every brook, to keep them alive, and get them safe to Raits.

"Our party proceeded two miles together, and then stopping at a small bridge near a mill, we separated; the carriage being sent on to Dulnacardock. We left our horses in a cabin, and, attended by the landlord as our guide, were conducted, after walking about a mile, to the first view of the Falls of Brewer; having previously passed by several beautiful cascades, and excavated rocks of divers forms.

"The Falls of Brewer are superior to Pennant's boasted York Cascade. Had he seen this, I am confident he never would have mentioned the other.

"To gain a drawing was not only very difficult, but exceedingly dangerous. Mr. Garrard was very shy; but after gently reproaching him for his timidity, he was at length persuaded to follow me to a stone overhanging a precipice, where,



where, had his foot slipped, it would have been his last sketch.

“ Waterfalls, in my opinion, are subjects that no pencil can draw with the force they convey to a spectator, the chief astonishment being excited by the roaring sound of the water, which is inexpressible. Mr. Garrard has succeeded as well, under these circumstances, as any artist could possibly have done; and I am certain, few professional men who are chiefly educated in the metropolis, where Constitution Hill is thought a difficult ascent, could have been easily induced to go where he did, or to surmount the many obstacles which, even in proceeding thus far, we had to encounter. The morning was severely cold, and Mr. Garrard's sedentary occupation made him feel its effects more sensibly than I did, though I was engaged, part of the time, in writing.

“ We proceeded, after thanking our landlord for his attention to the cabin, and, mounting our cavalry, trotted on to Dalnacardock, where we found a good breakfast, as ready for us as we were to sit down to it; and my next care was to inquire about the perch, which were reported to be in perfect health, and lively.

“ Liquors and provisions of all kinds, at Dalnacardock, were plentiful and excellent; and Mr. P. and myself, finding our quarters so agreeable, determined to stay here the evening, and fish a lake next day, abounding with trout and char.

“ Set out the following morning at eleven, taking Sappho with us, with the intention of killing some snipes; the servants, with our fishing tackle, provisions, liquors, &c. following. Fished, and killed

some very fine trout; but they did not rise eagerly. Attempted, though near three o'clock, to go to a famous lake, a Scotch mile further. Arrived here, and killed some fish; but they were little superior in size to the former, and in quantity inferior. We lost by this means a good deal of time, but killed, on our return, thirty trout and one char. One trout I saw coming at me, which I think might weigh five pounds, or thereabouts; but could not rise him.

“ Had not the evening foreboded rain, which now began to fall, I think I could easily have killed three dozen more, as they now began to rise freely; but were obliged to pack up our tackle, and return to the *auberge*, where we arrived about eight o'clock, and found dinner just ready; and, to give an idea how we starve in the Highlands, take the following table:

Hodge podge,  
pudding,———greens,  
trout and char,  
roast mutton, excellent.  
Second Course.  
Brandered chickens,  
cold hams,  
snipes,  
Cheshire cheese—biscuits.  
Wines.

Claret, good.—Port, ditto,  
limes, Jamaica rum, and  
incomparable *porter* from *Calvert's*.

“ July 10.—Morning hazy. Proceeded for Raits. The kettle having been found very inconvenient, on account of the water splashing out at every jolt, which was unavoidable, I wished much to hire a person to carry it on foot, the next stage, only ten miles. I proposed it to several peasants; but taking advantage of our necessity, they had the conscience to ask me eight days'



days' wages. I offered four; but was not able to induce them to comply under their first demand, and disappointed their unreasonable expectations very completely, by taking the fish on as we had hitherto done,—and should have carried them with very little inconvenience, if the day had not been so warm, as to oblige us to supply them with fresh water at every brook. We had the precaution to take two quart bottles filled with water, to give them where brooks were wanting, letting them have the quantity of air requisite. The delays this business necessarily created, retarded our journey; but the hill of Drumorter, which we should otherwise have been induced to walk over, made us regret the less our keeping below. At length, we arrived at Dalwhinny, where our fish were plunged into the river, and recovered their sprightliness. A party of soldiers being at work, while dinner was preparing, I entered into conversation with the serjeant, wishing to know from him, if there was not amongst them, as it was probable there might be, a soldier who was a fisher, to whom I could safely intrust the fish; for, having brought them with so much trouble, so far safe, I was particularly anxious that all our labour might not prove in vain, by any accident happening to them so near Raits. He soon found a soldier, and I agreed to give him half-a-crown; and, having also repeatedly directed him to be sure to give the fish fresh water, following the mode we had done, which I described, we saw him fairly on his journey, and then sat down to dinner.

“After dinner we proceeded for Raits, where we were very anxious to arrive, the curiosity of my brother travellers being much raised;

added to which, we wanted to be at a settled abode, after so much travelling.

“Our horses were very fresh, though they had already come twenty-four miles over very steep roads. We could not avoid, however, stopping a few minutes to admire the falls of Truem, notwithstanding our haste, and got to Pitmain in the afternoon, which is thirteen miles from Dalwhinny, in fifty-nine minutes.

“Took a cup of tea with my old landlord, M'Lean, of whom I made inquiries concerning the families I knew, and then went on to Raits.

“We had scarcely sat down to supper, when we were told that the soldier was arrived with the perch, though we did not expect him till eleven at night. We now dreaded, that, by his hurrying on, he had not obeyed the order, to stop at the different brooks, to refresh the fish, and, on examination, were greatly mortified to find them all apparently dead. In hopes, however, of their recovering, we had them immediately plunged into the river, with orders for them to remain there all night; but the morning proved this experiment vain, and we were all equally concerned for a misfortune occasioned entirely by the soldier's obstinacy.

“Raits.—July 12.—Day warm. Took a turn before breakfast, and examined the dogs, all of whom, after their sea-bathing, were fresh and vigorous. Fired, and killed two brace of ducks, and a brace and a half of snipes; but cut one of the tendons of my heel with the hard seam in my fen boots, and was obliged to hobble home before nine o'clock.

“After breakfast, all the apparatus was unpacked, and we now received



received a dismal account of the voyage. It seems that the cutter, which I had engaged, was deeply laden with the stores, &c. but sailed very safely to Hull, where flour, corn, beans, biscuits, oatmeal, &c. were stowed properly, and they again set sail with a fair wind. About two o'clock in the morning, and now in the main ocean, the housekeeper was alarmed with the unpleasant sensation of the trickling of water in her cot; but not quite satisfied with the cause, had given no alarm; when, on feeling a similar sensation, which had also been felt in another cot, the alarm was given, and the crew were not long before they discovered that they had sprung a leak.

"The servants, with one voice, inveighed against the expedition, and would gladly have forfeited their year's wages to have been on *terra firma*. The pumps were set to work, and male and female used their best endeavours to free the hold; but they found that their utmost exertions made no impression in reducing the water, which appeared rather to gain upon them; and they very justly conceived that, should the weather not continue so favourable, they must all inevitably perish. Part of the little crew, with hasty epithets, blamed the captain for having brought them out in so crazy a vessel: others fell to prayers: however, on day-light appearing, the leak was at length fortunately discovered, and with difficulty so far stopped, that one hand, working every other hour, kept the hold tolerably dry. The wind still continued favourable; but the pump, not being made of the best materials, soon became in a manner useless, and the water once more gained upon them: in this dreadful dilemma, they saw a ves-

sel with crowded canvass on the same tack, and, coming near her, they did not fail to make what signs of distress they could: nor was Mrs. C. deficient; for, having hoisted what white linen she could procure on the oar of the little jolly boat, they perceived the vessel bear up to them, which proved to be a smack bound for Whitby: the master of her lending them the assistance of two hands, and taking charge of the female, kept near the cutter, and at length got them safe into the harbour, where they unanimously took care that the vessel should at least undergo a thorough repair before they again trusted themselves in her.

"This operation took up two days, and they then sailed, and were safely landed at Forres.

"Their next concern was to procure carts to convey the cargo; and so little do these people carry in their small carriages, that it took no less than forty-nine, independent of the boats, which were left to the care of the captain, who pleased himself with having invented a kind of sledge, which, with four horses, might transport the two boats over the mountains to Raits, and they were to be forwarded as soon as the horses employed returned.

"July 12.—Raits. Day fine. Examined my pasture. I had grass indeed for above twenty horses, but liable, with heavy floods, to be spoilt: in some parts it was boggy, and a better pasture for a snipe than for poor Sampson, who, though above seventeen hands and a half high, had been *abîmé*, and with difficulty saved. This horse, in contrast with a Highland pony, seemed a different species of animal, and was held in the country to be a perfect curiosity. Arrived at the house at Raits to breakfast; find



and its outside appearance by no means equal to what it had been represented on paper, except in the prospect of sport, and would willingly have been off on any terms, and have lived in camp, had I not engaged it at the desire of my friends, whose wishes and whose health made it necessary for them to have one: except for these causes, I should certainly have given it up on my own account; but, daily expecting them, I had no alternative, therefore took it with all its servants, gardens, grass, conveniences, and inconveniences.

“Breakfasted with Mrs. M<sup>c</sup>Intosh, my landlady, and family. The ladies were very civil and attentive, and Capt. M<sup>c</sup>Intosh, of Balnespich, an old acquaintance, did me the honour to come and arrange matters. They all dined and passed the evening with me, (having entered as landlord,) and a very agreeable one it was. What wines and other things they had in the house, I took on their own terms; which I afterwards found, in future negotiations, it is not always prudent to do.

“July 13.—Day fine, got up early and examined every part of the premises, the ladies breakfasting with me: it began now to get sultry; yet, lame as I was, I attempted to shoot, but without boots, having suffered sufficiently from them already. Saw plenty of ducks and snipes, and an uncommon bird, which I followed, but could not get a shot. The ducks, I understood, had suffered, as well as the snipes, from the severity of the winter, which made them not so plentiful as last year. Killed five brace and a half of ducks, a brace of snipes, and a plover.

“Dined and attempted to troll, but without success, the river not

being in order; and, by some accident, the boats, which had engrossed all my thoughts, previous to my arrival, were still at Forres.

“July 14.—Day fine. Having borrowed a boat, we were desirous to try our famous net, made by Robert Buck, a man of the first eminence in his business; but found it, though well calculated for Yorkshire rivers, too much leaded for these rocky waters. Killed a few large trout, but nothing equal to what we expected; determined, however, to take one more haul, and it proved very successful.

“Returns; 22 trout, chiefly from four to five pounds, with the trimmers, one eel, one pike.

“July 15.—Day as before. We were adjusting our plans for an evening's fishing, when Capt. Waller and Mr. Whitaker were announced, and immediately afterwards Dr. Grant and the Rev. Mr. Robert M<sup>c</sup>Pherson. Though I rejoiced particularly in having the company of these gentlemen, yet I found myself deranged, from the total inability to accommodate them to the extent of my wishes, and only lamented that they had not delayed their visit a day or two longer; however, they were easily entertained, and we passed our time very comfortably.

“In the evening I received a cast of hawks and a tercel, sent me as a present from Lochaber, to my great joy, having despaired of procuring any.

“July 17.—Day windy. Mr. Whitaker shot, while Captain Waller and myself trolled down the river; had very indifferent sport, our boat being so crazy and ill found, that, by the creaking of the oars, we alarmed all the fish as we passed. By surmounting these defects, however, as much as possible,



ble, and by giving greater length of line, I hooked a salmon, which gave me the first notice by leaping quite out of the water, and, assisted by the current, ran me off fifty yards of line with such velocity, that, in passing, it actually cut my thumb, and carried away the handle of my wheel. Ordered the boat to be run on shore, which took some time to execute, as she was unwieldy and leaked prodigiously. Being landed, and the tackle apparently in good order, I thought myself sure of him, but soon found my error; for I discovered that his great effort was to run under a hollow bank, from which Capt. Waller and my servant, Matt, took great pains to dislodge him; but, in the attempt, they broke my tackle short by the hooks. Readjusted it, lamenting, more than ever, the want of my boats.

“Proceeded down the Spey, killed some good fish, and, coming back to dinner, met Mr. Whitaker.

“Returns of the day: Trolling—one pike, seven large trout. Shot—eight ducks, three plover.

“July 18.—Day again windy; took the nets, intending to draw the river and Loch Inch, which we conceived full of fish; and, having borrowed another boat of Mr. M‘Intosh, proceeded in the two down the Spey, the party trolling, and Mr. Whitaker shooting. Found, when too late, that our boat, which was dangerous in a river, became still more so in Loch Inch; we managed as well as we could, but it was impossible to make one foot of way against the wind: on the contrary, I plainly perceived that we lost ground, and that, if the wind grew still higher, which was however scarcely possible, we must inevitably perish: we, therefore,

hoisted a handkerchief as a signal, and waited for the other boat to come down upon us, with the shooting party, which she could do at pleasure, having the wind: but, staying for Mr. Whitaker, who, anxious for sport, had hailed them from the shore, they were detained some time. At length they came along side, and, having taken us in tow, they proceeded down wind. This boat was a new one, and quite safe compared to ours; but neither of them was well built, being too high above the water, which gave the wind great hold; and, in other respects, they were awkward to manage. We put out our net, and expected excellent sport; but, owing to the wind and the rocky shore, did not kill one fish. At this instant came to us Messrs. M‘Phersons, of Indereschy, who had been to visit us at Raits, but, seeing us on the lake, and apprehending our danger, from our bad boat, &c. had come to our assistance as soon possible. These gentlemen insisted on our dining with them, which we accordingly did; and, in the interim, they wished us to try a draught with their nets. We complied, but without any success. As it was absolutely impossible to go to Raits in any boat against the wind, which was still blowing furiously, we walked home; which gave me an opportunity of showing my friends the charming road between this place and Raits, winding through the hanging birch woods, and having the view of Loch Inch and the Spey, with the adjacent meadows and corn-fields. At my return, found a goss-hawk, at least said to be such, sent me by my good friends, the Rothemurcos.

“Returns: Wild ducks, nine; snipes, three; plover, two.

“July 19.—Morning fine, afternoon



noon showery. Went to church, where I found a much thinner audience than I had ever remembered, and, conversing upon this subject with the Rothemurcos, and other gentlemen of the neighbourhood, they informed me, that the spirit of emigration had seized the people of these parts, and that many handicraftsmen and others, whose services I much wanted, had actually left the country. My shoemaker and carpenter were both gone, and with them many more: this fully accounted for the thin congregation.

"The evening proved very tempestuous, and every persuasion was made use of by me, to induce my visitors, the Laird of Rothemurcos and Mr. Cuming, to take such beds as I could give them, and to stay at Raits till the morning, but without success; and these gentlemen, having fortified themselves with a few bottles of claret and a dram, which, in the Highlands, is thought necessary to keep out the cold, set off in defiance of the weather. I felt much for them, as they must have had a very unpleasant ride.

"July 20.—Day cold and showery. Examined my hawk, which I now clearly saw was a goss hawk, though I had before doubted it, on account of her downy feathers being still on her, and the darkness of the night. Sent to inquire how my friends got home, and received the most favourable accounts.

"Mr. W. wishing much to see my pointers out, I took a short walk, near the house, with two brace of the steady gentlemen; and, though they had never been out since last November, they behaved incomparably well. I tried also a brace of whelps, who were awkward at first, not having seen moor-game; but still I depended much upon the  
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prospect they gave me. The day, indeed, was unfavourable for any dogs.

"Returns: Mr. W. killed seven snipes. Fishing—one hundred and one trout.

"July 21.—Day cold. I wished that Mr. W. should see a roebuck before he left the country; but, though there were several in the neighbourhood, it was impossible to get a shot at one, on such short notice, and he had resolved to leave us this day. I thought, therefore, the following deception might answer every purpose. I had ordered a goat, as nearly the colour of a roebuck as possible, to be procured the night before from the mountains where they then were, directing the falconers to place and tether him in the most inaccessible, obscure, and wild situation imaginable; which was done accordingly. The conversation, during supper, we had intentionally turned upon stags, roebucks, &c., till Mr. W.'s imagination became so heated, that no doubt he dreamt, in the night, of nothing else.

"We now sat down to breakfast; when, as privately agreed on, we received intelligence, that the herdsman had seen, early that morning, a roe and a roebuck among the rocks. The company were all eager to pursue them, and the rifles being prepared and loaded by me (as knowing the proper charge), some with powder and double wadding, others with ball only, which were, in the presence of Mr. W., rammed down; every person, for fear of accident, had his post allotted him. Mr. W. in compliment, as a stranger, and on the point of quitting us, was attended by the falconer, as the most intelligent person, with Otter, the deer dog, in a slip, and Mr. Garrard,  
M whose



whose curiosity was also not a little heightened. Thus they proceeded, being repeatedly cautioned, that, as their game was remarkable for quickness of sight and hearing, they must be prepared to fire immediately. After great care, seldom speaking, and never but in whispers, and making signs, on passing by some very likely places, the falconer pretended he heard a rustling; upon which, as they had been directed, the party fell flat upon the ground, cautiously crawling on; when Mr. W., seeing an animal, and concluding it to be the game he so ardently sought for, judiciously and precipitately fired. From the struggle made by the animal, occasioned by the report, with which he was unacquainted, Mr. W. imagining he had desperately wounded him, flew to seize him, but was repulsed by some strong and well-directed efforts of the goat's horns: this obliged him to call out loudly for the assistance of Otter, who, being slipped, rushed forward, but, in his hurry, did not discover the animal he was to attack, which was now almost covered and entangled in some strong junipers; but he soon came about, and, being properly fixed, he and Mr. W. seized on their antagonist with great avidity, who soon ought to have convinced them, by his language, that the roebuck in question was unfortunately only a shaven goat.

“Capt. Waller and myself, who were standing on a very dangerous precipice, at a considerable distance, might have paid dear for this joke, for I nearly fell off the rock, overcome with a fit of laughter, which this truly comic and well-executed scheme had occasioned.

“Mr. W. for some time could not tell what to make of it, when he

was complimented, in a strain of irony, on his great good fortune, &c. The jokes that went round, however, he bore with a pleasantry of temper so great and peculiar to himself, that, in the end, it totally disarmed the satirical remarks of the company: after dinner he was obliged to leave us, and we very much regretted the loss of his company, more especially as the weather during his stay had been so unfavourable for a keen sportsman in the midst of game.

“July 22.—Day gloomy, but turned out delightful. Received a letter from my correspondent at Forres, acquainting me, that the detention of the cutter and boats arose from some directions ignorantly given by the master of the sloop that brought my baggage, respecting the loading of the intended sledges, as well as from the still greater ignorance of the carpenters employed in making them. The latter, being acquainted with the road, vexed me much, as they ought to have known that sledges, made so heavy, could never be used in this, or probably in any other country. Thus I found that I had suffered the want of my boats from the total impossibility of conducting them; for no person, though many had been applied to, would undertake to bring the sledges even without the boats. The carpenter's bill was paid, and there was no remedy; the sledges were obliged to be left, and the boats came perfectly safe without them, and, I found, had been very judiciously conducted. The express which I had sent being now returned, assured me that they were actually at Loch Baugh; and Captain Waller and I determined to set out to meet them, having procured some fine baits for trolling, and taking



taking our apparatus, with a small net for trout, together with linen and other necessities for some days.

"No person could be more pleased than Captain Waller was with the morning's ride; and our sport afterwards was incomparable. It was the first day of his attempting to fish, and he enjoyed it much; but, unfortunately, a very large pike broke his rod, which took him up some time to repair. Returned to Avemore to dinner at eight in the evening, having sent a servant on before with a

fine pike, which we found ready to dress.

"Returns; Trolling—thirteen pike; fox-houn done; trout with the net, but all too large for baits, thirty-three.

"July 24.—The boats, &c. being all now safely arrived, we issued the following

"General Orders.

"That all the stores are to be immediately examined, and an account delivered in; and a similar one, also, to be sent of the condition of the hawks, pointers, &c.

RETURNS.

Hams, bacon, rein-deer and other tongues, smoked beef, pigs' countenances, &c.....	<table border="0"> <tr> <td>In good Order.</td> <td>Damaged.</td> <td>Spoilt.</td> </tr> <tr> <td>Enough to serve till the end of October.</td> <td></td> <td></td> </tr> <tr> <td>Ditto</td> <td></td> <td></td> </tr> <tr> <td>—</td> <td>Damaged.</td> <td></td> </tr> <tr> <td>—</td> <td></td> <td></td> </tr> <tr> <td>—</td> <td></td> <td></td> </tr> </table>	In good Order.	Damaged.	Spoilt.	Enough to serve till the end of October.			Ditto			—	Damaged.		—			—		
In good Order.		Damaged.	Spoilt.																
Enough to serve till the end of October.																			
Ditto																			
—		Damaged.																	
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—																			
Pickles, sweetmeats, &c.....																			
Biscuits .....																			
Tents and tent equipage.....																			
Nets of all kinds .....																			
Pegs for the tents wanting .....																			
Oatmeal wanting .....																			
Groceries .....																			

HAWKS.

GOOD.

Miss M'Gee .....	} Red Falcons.
Miss L. Townsend	
Death .....	} Red Tercels.
Devil .....	

HAWKS.

BAD.

Croc Franc .....	} Red Tercels.
Craigon .....	

SETTERS.

POINTERS.

Pero.	Carlo.
Cato.	Dargo.
Claret.	Sappho.
Sancho, lame.	Pero.
	Dash.
	Pluto.

DEER HOUND.

Orson.

} Good Order.

GUNS ALL IN GOOD ORDER.

Two double barrels .....	}
One rifle .....	
Three single barrels .....	

GUN-POWDER.

Powder dry .....	40 lbs.
Ditto..rather damp ..	40
Shot .....	11 bags.
Flints sufficient.	



“Examined the above, as by order, the 24th of July—William Lawson, head falconer, and inspector-general.

“After orders.

“Two waggons to go off tomorrow to Inverness (the nearest market town, forty-two miles off,) for oatmeal, corn, groceries, and other household articles, wines, &c.

“Tried the hawks above the house, and each killed a young plover.

“Attempted to fish for pike, but was misinformed, as those in the lake I fished were very small. Killed six trout; came home, and dined comfortably.

“July 25.—Day windy. Went out, and saw innumerable quantities of wild ducks; but, since the late rain and flood, found there was no possibility of getting near them: a week before, forty might have been easily killed in a day. Saw also numbers of snipes; killed three brace and a duck, which last I nevertheless lost. Came home early.

“Returns of the day; six snipes and one duck.

“July 26.—Day charming. Went to some lochs, which proved to be the lower Guiacks, said to be six miles off, but turned out ten.

“The road to these lakes is hilly and stony, and, when I came to the first, from the idea I had of the country, I judged it must be the lower of the two I had fished from Dalnacardock; and which, not knowing their names, I had called, as before observed, Lochs Sinclair: my guide was positively clear that I never could have been there, and Mr. Lawson joined with him in that opinion.

“The matter was elucidated by asking a herdsman, whether any gentlemen had fished those lakes: he said, he had heard that a gen-

tleman had been seen a few days before at the upper one: by this means only could I have ever ascertained the fact.

“The day was too calm; my guide and the herdsman, pretending they were good fishers; in this country they pretend to every thing. I got my tackle adjusted, and fishing very fine, killed twenty-seven good trout; and, if I had had the boat in order, for there is one belonging to his Grace of Gordon, I might have killed one hundred.

“The shape of this lake, the sides of the mountains around it, coming down sharp to the edge like a punch-bowl, with the ling or heath, together with stunted bushes on the verge, made it impossible to throw a line to kill good fish without entangling the tackle. In every hour I really lost forty minutes in re-adjusting, and this could not be avoided.

“Saw the skeleton and jaws of a trout, destroyed, as I suppose, by an otter, which, at least, must have been ten pounds weight. Dined on the side of this beautiful sheet of water, as luxuriously as ever I did at Weltgie's or Leteliers.

“On the top of these mountains, to the south, is what is called the Forest of Guiack, the property of his Grace of Gordon; and before it was disforested, six or seven years ago, four hundred head of deer might be seen at a time.

“On my return to Raits, killed three grey plover: the hawks were flown twice, and succeeded, and we found that Claret, (procured as an addition to the pointers I had, and brought to Raits with infinite care and trouble) was really good for nothing; and though much pains were taken to reclaim him, he proved of no use.

“Returns



“Returns of the day; twenty-seven trout, three grey plover, two snipes.

“July 27.—Day very inviting, but rather too warm. Went after breakfast towards the river Dulnon, nine miles off, intending to fish there. Tried the pointers and hawks on my road, in hopes that this rivulet might be full of water after the late rains; but was disappointed, the rain either not having affected it, or, from its rapidity, it had run off; but though very clear, I killed, in two hours, eighteen trout, about the size of herrings, and raised one of about two pounds, but could not hook him.

“The edges of this river I found beautifully chequered with quantities of fine juniper, forming, here and there, covers of two or three acres, well calculated to preserve foxes, and also game, from the hawks and eagles, both of which abound. The intermediate spaces are clothed with excellent and sweet pasturage, the best in these mountains.

“Saw innumerable quantities of game after giving over fishing; broods of eight, nine, ten, and fourteen: truly speaking, on a mile square, two hundred birds killed would not be missed. Each pointer (two brace out) were frequently, at the same time, pointing different broods. Flew the hawks with their usual success, and, from our being so agreeably engaged, though having unluckily no couples we wished to get off our pointers, it was ten before I returned to Raits.—Returns; eighteen trout, three couple of ducks.

“July 28.—Day rather windy and showery. In the morning, when we rose, we found that plenty of trout for baits had been received; and having breakfasted, chiefly on

goats' whey, with two very agreeable ladies of Avemore, to whom I was introduced by letter from the D. of Gordon, we induced them to honour us with their company, to see our boats, and the mode of fishing with fox-hounds, which had excited the curiosity of many persons, ladies as well as gentlemen: all were perfectly unacquainted with this method, and various, no doubt, were their ideas concerning it; but the day proving unfavourable, the ladies postponed their ride till the next day. We fished with rod, and had very good sport. One large fish broke Captain Waller's tackle, and went off.—Returns:—Trolling—eleven pike.

“July 29.—Day still windy. With some difficulty, by ten o'clock, the boats were got to Loch Alva, to which place we proceeded; but having been disappointed by a person in whom we confided for baits, and our servants not succeeding, we were but indifferently provided.

“Trolled some time without any success, though we had heard that there were pike in this loch of an immense size: few, indeed, had been caught; but many fishers had lost their tackle, the strength of which showed that the fish that carried it off must be very large. Wonderful were the accounts we received; but we did not give much credit to them, and, not raising a single fish, I began to think the whole was fabulous, and wished myself back at Lawson's Gulf, though I was confident I had left very few pike there. The ladies now came up to me, whom Captain Waller had politely conducted, as I had gone before to put the fox-hounds in order for them; and, on my mentioning my apprehensions of the scarcity of



fish, he concluded, as I had done, that there were few or none.

“ I had scarce sailed fifty yards further, when I perceived a fish coming at me, and soon hooked and landed him; he was much the same size as those taken at Lawson’s Gulf, but stronger and darker coloured.

“ This revived my hopes of sport; and, agreeable to signals, I hoisted the standard of England, and baited a fox-hound, from his colour called the Black Admiral.

“ I again kept cruising, and, on the ladies seeing how safely the *Ville de Paris* rode through the water, one of them did me the honour to come aboard: at first, indeed, she showed some small tokens of fear, but they were soon dissipated; and, turning a bay, I saw a fish rise with incredible ferocity, at least such as I had not experienced in Lawson’s Gulf, or elsewhere.

“ Miss S—— was quite delighted: we ran the boat ashore, and having given my rod to one of the servants, I landed the lady safely on the beach; and then, retaking the rod, I began to play my fish in earnest, and soon found him very strong, which convinced me that these pike were not so easily killed as those in Lawson’s Gulf: my tackle was excellent, and I did not fear killing him, though I apprehended much trouble from some immensely large roots of trees, which I saw just below the surface of the water, under which the pike generally harbour, and occupy them as their strong holds, from whence they are ready to seize their prey. At length, with the assistance I had, and the landing-net properly applied, we brought him safely on shore. I thought him a most noble fish: he was nearly a yard long,

very well fed, and in high condition.

“ Hoisted, as a signal to Captain Waller, a pennant at the mast-head, and ran down to him, to inform him of my success; he had killed three very good fish; but not near the size of those I had taken.

“ His boat was very unmanageable, for want of proper ballast; and, the weather being squally, he chose to return to the inn before me. I still continued fishing with great attention, hoping to kill another large pike, and hooked one of about fourteen pounds, and killed him; afterwards a fifth, of prodigious weight, was hooked, which frequently threw himself out of the water, and I clearly perceived that he was much larger than any I had yet seen: we thought him at least twenty-five pounds; but he broke hold, and I much lamented the loss of him; however, in attempting to raise him again, I rose another, which I at first took to be the same; this was a remarkably strong fish, and afforded me great sport before I killed him: he was above twenty pounds. I afterwards killed another, of nearly the same weight, and a small one of about nine pounds, and then returned to Captain Waller, highly pleased with the great sport I had had.

“ After dinner, the ladies did us the honour to make tea for us, and we passed a very delightful evening.

“ July 30.—Day changeable and stormy. After breakfast went again to Loch Alva, having got a large quantity of fine trout for bait; but, for many hours, could not obtain a rise. Captain Waller baited the fox-hounds, and as his boat was to be sent forward, I came down to him, having killed a very fine pike of above twenty pounds, the only



one I thought we had left in the loch. The captain came on board, and we trolled together, without success, for some time, and, examining the fox-hounds, found no fish at them. At length I discovered one of them, which had been missing, though anxiously sought for, from the first time of our coming here: it was uncommonly well baited, and I was apprehensive that some pike had run it underneath a tree, by which means both fish and hound would be lost. On coming nearer, I clearly saw that it was the same one which had been missing, that the line was run off, and, by its continuing fixed in the middle of the lake, I made no doubt but some monstrous fish was at it. I was desirous that Captain Waller, who had not met with any success that morning, should take it up, which he accordingly did, when, looking below the stern of the boat, I saw a famous fellow, whose weight could not be less than between twenty and thirty pounds. But notwithstanding the great caution the captain observed, before the landing-net could be used, he made a shoot, carrying off two yards of cord.

“As soon as we had recovered from the consternation this accident occasioned, I ordered the boat to cruise about, for the chance of his taking me again, which I have known frequently to happen with pike, who are wonderfully bold and voracious: on the second trip, I saw a very large fish come at me, and, collecting my line, I felt I had him fairly hooked; but I feared he had run himself tight round some root, his weight seemed so dead: we rowed up, therefore, to the spot, when he soon convinced me he was at liberty, by running me so far into the lake, that I had not one

inch of line more to give him. The servants, foreseeing the consequences of my situation, rowed, with great expedition, towards the fish, which now rose about seventy yards from us, an absolute wonder! I relied on my tackle, which I knew was in every respect excellent, as I had, in consequence of the large pike killed the day before, put on hooks, and gimp, adjusted with great care; a precaution which would have been thought superfluous in London, as it certainly was for most lakes, though, here, barely equal to my fish. After playing him for some time, I gave the rod to Captain Waller, that he might have the honour of landing him; for I thought him quite exhausted, when, to our surprise, we were again constrained to follow the monster nearly across this great lake, having the wind, too, much against us. The whole party were now in high blood, and the delightful *Ville de Paris* quite manageable; frequently he flew out of the water to such a height, that though I knew the uncommon strength of my tackle, I dreaded losing such an extraordinary fish, and the anxiety of our little crew was equal to mine. After about an hour and a quarter's play, however, we thought we might safely attempt to land him, which was done in the following manner: Newmarket, a lad so called from the place of his nativity, who had now come to assist, I ordered, with another servant, to strip, and wade in as far as possible; which they readily did. In the mean time I took the landing net, while Captain Waller, judiciously ascending the hill above, drew him gently towards us. He approached the shore very quietly, and we thought him quite safe, when, seeing him-



self surrounded by his enemies, he in an instant made a last desperate effort, shot into the deep again, and, in the exertion, threw one of the men on his back. His immense size was now very apparent; we proceeded with all due caution, and, being once more drawn towards land, I tried to get his head into the net, upon affecting which, the servants were ordered to seize his tail, and slide him on shore: I took all imaginable pains to accomplish this, but in vain, and began to think myself strangely awkward; when, at length, having got his snout in, I discovered that the hoop of the net, though adapted to very large pike, would admit no more than that part. He was, however, completely spent, and, in a few moments, we landed him, a perfect monster! He was stabbed by my directions in the spinal marrow, with a large knife, which appeared to be the most humane manner of killing him, and I then ordered all the signals with the sky-scrapers to be hoisted; and the whoop re-echoed through the whole range of the Grampians. On opening his jaws, to endeavour to take the hooks from him, which were both fast in his gorge, so dreadful a forest of teeth, or tushes, I think I never beheld: if I had not had a double link of gimp, with two swivels, the depth between his stomach and mouth would have made the former quite useless. His measurement, accurately taken, was five feet four inches, from eye to fork.

“On examining him attentively, I perceived that a very large bag hung deep below his belly; and, thinking it was lower than usual with other pike, I concluded that this had been deeply fed but a short time before he was taken. After

exhibiting him, therefore, to several gentlemen, I ordered that my housekeeper, on whom I could depend, should have him carefully opened the next day, and the contents of his stomach be reserved for inspection: and now ordering the servants to proceed with their burden, we returned to Avemore, drank tea, and afterwards went on to Raits, where we produced our monster for inspection, to the no small gratification of the spectators, whose curiosity had been strongly excited to view a fish of such magnitude.

“July 31.—Day warm, went to church, and afterwards had a large party to dinner. Agreeably to the orders of the preceding day, Mrs. C. opened the pike, and sent to us the contents of his stomach, which, to our surprise, consisted of part of another pike half digested. The tumour, or bag, arose from his having, no doubt many years since, gorged a hook, which seemed to us better calculated for sea than for fresh-water fishing. It was wonderfully honey-combed, but free from rust; so that I cannot doubt its having been at least ten years in his belly. His head and back bone I ordered to be preserved in the best manner I could devise, and the rest to be salted down.

“The weight of this fish, judging by the trones we had with us, which only weigh twenty-nine pounds, made us, according to our best opinions, estimate him at between forty-seven and forty-eight pounds. I had before this seen pike of thirty-six pounds, and have had them at Thornville of above thirty; but the addition of seventeen pounds and a half made this quite a different fish. There may be larger pike, but I cannot readily credit the accounts of such until I receive



receive more authentic information.

“We afterwards tried this lake several times, but could not get a rise, from which I inferred that there were few, if any, large pike

left in it. In fact, if we reflect on the quantity of food so large an animal must require every year, it cannot be expected that any piece of water can supply many such fish.”

## ECONOMY and PICTURESQUE BEAUTY of COMFORTABLE COTTAGES.

[From Mr. BARTELL'S HINTS for the PICTURESQUE IMPROVEMENT of ORNAMENTED COTTAGES.]

“**A**MONG the improvements of a gentleman's estate, I think there can be none more grateful to the feelings of the owner, than an attention to the habitations of the labouring poor residing upon it. Few things, however, are less attended to, if one may form a judgment from their general appearance, than such cottages; which are, for the most part, sordid and miserable to the last degree, equally injurious to the health and morals of the inhabitants, and not less so to the ideas that we are led to form of the humanity of the man, who, while living in all the luxury and ease that a splendid habitation and a well-furnished table afford, can calmly pass the squalid dwelling of his lowly tenant, and not feel himself inclined to repair a monument that reflects such indelible disgrace upon his philanthropy.

“Where the inclination to perform a good action is wanting, arguments, such as they are, will always be readily found to answer the purpose; those made use of in defence of this neglect are, the ingratitude with which acts of kindness are too frequently repaid, and the natural tendency to filth and sloth which prevails among the lower classes of the people.

“Without endeavouring here to determine how far truth does really exist in these arguments, I beg leave to ask, with respect to the first position, What gratitude is due to a man who exacts an exorbitant rent for a hovel, that frequently will not defend its inhabitants from the inclemency of the seasons? And, secondly, as to cleanliness; How is it in the power of a family, consisting perhaps of from eight to ten, or a dozen persons, crammed into a wretched hovel, seldom comprising more than two, and sometimes only one apartment, to be otherwise than dirty? They have not the opportunity to be clean; and, this allowed, Is it to be wondered at that filth becomes habitual? Of this melancholy truth there needs no proof to those whose business, or charitable inclinations, lead them frequently into the habitations of the poor. Let not the man of large fortune suffer the spectre Ingratitude to haunt his imagination, and prevent a trial. Let him, overflowing with the milk of human kindness, hope to meet a suitable return; yet, if disappointed, consider that ingratitude is a vice, not wholly confined to the poor.

“After mature reflection upon this subject, I am inclined to think, that



that the general condition of the labouring poor might be materially bettered; and that the landlord, independent of the satisfaction which must ever arise from conferring happiness on others, would ultimately be a gainer.

“ But it is not a comfortable habitation alone that can produce this beneficial consequence. While the whole of the land is engrossed by the farmer, little is to be expected. With the exception of a few instances, the cottager pays to the full amount for every thing that he purchases from that quarter; therefore, unless placed in a certain degree beyond the farmer’s power, yet without making him independent, all exertion to improve his situation, and, as far as is connected with it, that of the community, will be ineffectual.

“ In the disposal of farms, it is certainly in the land-owner’s power to reserve any proportion that he pleases, which might be allotted to cottages; we will say, for instance, four acres to each; less would scarcely be sufficient for the proper maintenance of a *cow or two*, that grand source of happiness and real comfort to the poor man’s family. Instead of which, both land and cottages are let to the farmer, who becomes responsible for the whole, without any further trouble or interest to the landlord, and who knows too well the sweets arising from its produce to part with it again on any terms. Even the cottager’s garden has not unfrequently fallen a sacrifice to his rapacity: this is by no means an uncommon case, and calls for serious consideration. The peasant may indeed well exclaim,

‘ Whence comes this change, ungracious,  
irksome, cold?  
Whence the new grandeur that mine eyes  
behold?

The widening distance which I daily see?  
Has wealth done this? Then wealth’s a foe  
to me;

Foe to our rights; that leaves a powerful  
few ..

The paths of emulation to pursue :  
For emulation stoops to us no more ;  
The hope of humble industry is o’er ;  
The blameless hope, the cheering sweet  
presage

Of future comforts for declining age.  
Can my sons share from this paternal  
hand

The profits with the labours of the land ?  
No; tho’ indulgent Heav’n its blessing  
deigns,

Where’s the small farm, to suit my scanty  
means?

Content, the poet sings, with us resides,  
In lonely cots like mine the damsel hides ;  
And will he then in raptur’d visions tell  
That sweet content with want can ever  
dwell?

A barley loaf, ’tis true, my table crowns,  
That, fast diminishing in lusty rounds,  
Stops nature’s cravings; yet her sighs will  
flow

From knowing this;—that once it was  
not so.’

*Bloomfield’s Farmer’s Boy.*

“ The advantages of a cow or two, under the before-mentioned circumstances, are real blessings: health, comfort, cleanliness, and, above all, the ability to act honestly, by being placed in some measure out of the reach of temptation, urged by actual necessity, may certainly be classed among the foremost of those blessings, which it is in the power of every man of fortune to bestow.

“ Such resources would not only enable the poor tenant to pay his rent, and ease his mind of that heavy burden; but at the same time stimulate him and his family to industry, by giving him an idea that he held some rank in society, and that he was not created merely for the felicity of others.

“ My profession, daily leading me into the habitations of the poor, has occasioned me to regard their situations with accuracy, and to ob-  
serve



serve the difference arising between them from favourable or adverse circumstances; and hence I can speak with some confidence upon the subject.

“ In one particular village which has fallen under my notice, where the cottages are remarkably comfortable, and where most of the tenants have the advantage of an orchard, there is very little poverty; and I have invariably found, that where the greatest degree of poverty did prevail, this accommodation was denied. Among the many instances of comfort which were to be found in this village, I shall relate one of a poor man, who brought up a very large family (I believe ten children), and was enabled to pay a yearly rent of eight pounds for his cottage and orchard; from the produce of which, and the cow that it enabled him to keep, he alone derived the comforts that he enjoyed beyond the produce of his labour.

“ Whatever is an incitement to industry is also a stimulus to cleanliness; and few things teach the latter virtue in greater perfection, than the management of a dairy. It also affords constant employment to the younger branches of a family; and is of infinite use, by giving them early habits of industry, which is the surest guide to virtue and happiness.

“ Infancy passed in sloth and filth will, most probably, end in poverty and immorality; against which nothing can be so effectual a guard, as the early period of life being actively and properly employed.

“ We are apt to deprecate idleness, without giving a sufficient degree of encouragement to industry; and, indeed, it too often happens, that the idle and the cla-

morous, generally combined, are attended to, while the quiet and industrious person too frequently goes unregarded:

‘ ————— Choosing, rather far,  
A dry but independent crust, hard earn’d  
And eaten with a sigh, than to endure  
The rugged frowns and insolent rebuffs  
Of knaves in office, partial in the work  
Of distribution; liberal of their aid  
To clam’rous importunity in rags;  
But oft’ times deaf to suppliants who would  
blush

To wear a tatter’d garb however coarse,  
Whom famine cannot reconcile to filth:  
These ask with painful shyness, and, re-  
fus’d

Because deserving, silently retire.’

COWPER.

“ If small portions of land were more generally allotted to the cottages of the poor, I am persuaded that the most beneficial consequences would be extended far and wide. It would then be the labourer’s own fault, if, with such advantages, (unless illness, or any great misfortune befel him) he did not provide comfortably for his family by the fruits of his labour; and I have not a doubt, but that a considerable reduction in the poor’s rates would be the consequence of a plan of this nature. Magistrates would not then be so frequently troubled with complaints; or, if they were, they would not have the same reason for attending to them.

“ In order to the forming some idea of the utility of this plan, I beg leave to submit the following calculation; which, though only a general idea, is perhaps not far from the truth. I will suppose the labourer to pay, for four acres of land, the annual rent of six pounds; for his cottage forty shillings; and the necessary expenses of tillage, &c. without including his own labour, to amount to forty shillings more; this would make his out-  
goings



goings amount to ten pounds. I will now suppose the produce of this land, with the assistance of a couple of cows, pigs, &c. to amount to thirty pounds, from which is to be deducted the above ten pounds for rent and expenses; leaving a balance in favour of the tenant of no less a sum than twenty pounds, or eight shillings a week; equal at least to the value of two-thirds of his daily labour.

“After these remarks were written, Mr. Kent’s Agricultural Report of Kent fell into my hands. Never having made rural æconomics my study, farther than as they relate to buildings, woods, and grounds in a picturesque point of view, combined with a sincere wish to see happiness as well as beauty equally diffused around, I could not but be highly gratified in finding arguments deduced, with so much good sense, from experience so exactly corresponding with my own.

““The poor’s rates have increased in this county in a full proportion to others; and, with a view of stopping this increase, several houses of industry have been established; but they are grievous things in the eyes of the poor, and, I am afraid, are not found to answer the end that was expected from them. I know of no law that can enforce industry; it may be encouraged, and great good will result from it; but it can never be effected by compulsion.

““There are two principles which should be kept alive, as much as possible, in the minds of the poor; pride and shame. The former will lead them to the attainment of comfort by honest means; and the latter will keep them from becoming burthensome to their neighbours. But many of the modern

plans for making provisions for them have tended to destroy these principles.

““A man born to no inheritance, who assiduously devotes his whole life to labour, when nature declines, has as great a claim upon the neighbourhood where the labours of his youth have been devoted, as the worn-out soldier or sailor has to Chelsea or Greenwich; and this reward ought to be as honourable as it is comfortable; and not to be administered in a way that is repugnant to the natural love of rational freedom, which every human mind sympathizes in the enjoyment of. Such a man as I have characterized ought to be distinguished from the lazy and profligate wretch who has seldom worked but by force. The one ought not to be crowded into the same habitation with the other: but in houses of industry there can be no distinction.

““There is one thing which is incumbent on all great farmers to do; and that is, to provide comfortable cottages for two or three of their most industrious labourers, and to lay two or three acres of grass land to each, to enable such labourers to keep a cow and a pig. Such a man is always a faithful servant to the farmer who employs him; he has a stake in the common interest of the country, and is never prompt to riot in time of sedition, like the man who has nothing to lose; on the contrary, he is a strong link in the chain of national security.

““There are but few great farmers, however, who are inclined to accommodate cottagers with these little portions of land; and when they do let them any, it is generally at double the rent they give for it. But I am persuaded, that



that if there were a certain number of cottages of this description, in proportion to the size of the estates, and they were accommodated in this manner, and those places were bestowed as a reward to labourers of particular good conduct, it would do wonders toward the reduction of the rates, and the preservation of order; for I have been witness to several striking proofs of this, in two or three labourers who have been thus favoured, whose attachment to their masters was exemplary, as they were not only steady in themselves, but by their example kept others from running into excess. There cannot well be too many of these places attached to large farms; they would be the most prolific cradles of the best sort of population.

“Mr. Kent seems to be truly sensible of the principle, that self is the first object, not only with the farmer, but with mankind in general. The comforts of the cottage ought not, however, to be left at the disposal of the farmer. If the land-owner, as is often the case, happen to be a gentleman with a liberal mind, he is the most likely person, not only to see the propriety of such a plan, but to carry it into execution with effect.

“The cottage system, I am persuaded, need only be carried to its extent to render England indeed a paradise. Its influence would not be confined to the tenants themselves, or to the country. Large and populous towns would soon be sensible of the advantages resulting from it. The overplus (for an overplus there would ever be, and that no inconsiderable one) would tend to supply the neighbourhood, if not the public markets; and even if it did neither, the cottages would have a supply within themselves, and not, as

they do now, add with the rest, in times of dearth, to the public scarcity.

“I am convinced that the scheme is not a visionary one; and the man of fortune who would put it in execution, and promote it with his full interest, would be more than entitled to the praise which Virgil bestowed upon Augustus for the restoration of his farm:

‘O Melibœe, Deus nobis hæc otia fecit:  
Namque erit ille mihi semper Deus: illius  
aram

Sæpetener nostris ab ovilibus imbuet agnus.  
Ille meas errare boves, ut cernis, et ipsum  
Ludere, quæ vellem, calamo permisit agresti.”

VIRGIL. ECL.

“Charity is never so well bestowed as when it tends to promote industry; and if the reasoning that has been made use of is founded in truth, the neglect is the more unpardonable, as it may be dispensed without being felt by the bestower. The entire gift of a cow would be of far less advantage, than the letting of land, even at the highest rent; it would, in my opinion, with no other advantage than the ordinary feed of cottager’s cows, be rather injurious than beneficial. Those commons which still remain uninclosed (and in a short time, I fear, there will be but few even of them) are in general so overstocked, that they afford little more than stowage; and to purchase feed of the farmer (for I have known the enormous sum of seven shillings a week paid for the winter feed of one cow) is more than the labourer can afford; the deficiency must therefore be made up in some way or other; too frequently, I fear, at the expense of some more wealthy neighbour; or, if this be not the case, the poor animal lingers through the winter with barely sufficient to keep her in existence;



istence ; of course, produces no profit ; and not unfrequently, from the same cause, is reduced to such extreme weakness, as to be lost in bringing forth her young. For the truth of this we need but appeal to the number of briefs and petitions that are put into our hands : within a fortnight in the present year, 1800, I have seen no fewer than five different ones, all for the loss of cows from the above cause ; and that the loss was sustained in almost every one of these instances, if not in all, for want of the animal's having a sufficient supply of food, I have not the smallest doubt : how, indeed, should it be otherwise, when turnips sold as high as seven or eight guineas per acre, and hay and straw were proportionably dear.

" We cannot much wonder, therefore, that depredations on a neighbourhood are committed, when we consider the scarcity and exorbitant price of every necessary article of life ; and which must be the case so long as the great farmer is allowed to monopolize every acre ; a few of which, distributed in small parcels, would not only encourage honesty by doing away necessity, but confer plenty, and of course happiness, on thousands.

" The care also that must be exercised in small parcels of land, renders them proportionally more productive than larger tracts, where a little mismanagement is not so easily felt, nor of such injurious consequence to the larger occupier ; and where losses are more likely to ensue from the business being left too much to the care, and consequently to the carelessness, of servants.

" If the cottager were permitted to occupy a sufficient quantity of

land to maintain a cow or two, the common complaint used by farmers, of their employing dishonest means to support themselves, would, I think, be effectually done away. Only set aside such abject poverty, and from honest minds the depravity complained of will vanish : where, indeed, dishonesty arises from principle, or long habit, whether in rich or poor, you may try to eradicate it, but, I fear, in vain.

" In a picturesque view, there is no part of an estate wherein taste may be displayed at a more inconsiderable expense, and with greater effect, than in the management of it scottages. Each being varied in its situation from another, by attending to circumstances, and observing a certain degree of variation in the structure of the buildings, the whole are made to produce a new and pleasing picture ; pleasing in every point of view, whether we consider them as the peaceful dwellings of those who are indebted to the rich for the comforts they enjoy ; or as affording that variety of picturesque effect which no other scenery can produce in a superior degree ; particularly with those surrounding appendages, upon which we know that comfort so much depends.

" The idea of plenty naturally attached to the sight of the cow, the pig, and the poultry ; the industrious attention of the housewife, with those of her family who are capable of assisting in domestic duties ; and the amusement which they afford to such as are too young to be usefully employed,—are all circumstances of the highest delight to a benevolent mind. There is also a peculiar pleasure in contemplating such animated scenes as we look for in vain from the most perfect land-



landscape, where that source is wanting. The contrast between animate and inanimate objects is as striking as it is pleasing. Herds, flocks, and human dwellings, fill up vacancies with the most agreeable forms and combinations, and assist in calling forth an association of ideas tending greatly to heighten the beauty of the scene.

‘ Home from his morning task the swain  
retreats ;  
His flock before him stepping to the fold ;  
While the full-uddered mother lows around  
The cheerful cottage, then expecting food,  
The food of innocence and health ! The  
daw,  
The rook and magpie, to the grey-grown  
oaks,  
That the calm village in their verdant  
arms,  
Sheltering, embrace, direct their lazy  
flight ;  
Where on the mingling bows they sit em-  
bower’d  
All the hot noon, till cooler hours arise.  
Faint, underneath, the household fowls  
convene ;  
And, in a corner of the buzzing shade,  
The house-dog, with the vacant grey-  
hound, lies  
Outstretch’d, and sleepy. In his slumbers,  
one  
Attacks the nightly thief, and one exults  
O’er hill and dale ; till, waken’d by the  
wasp,  
They starting snap. Nor shall the muse  
disdain  
To let the little noisy summer-race  
Live in her lay, and flutter thro’ her song :  
Not mean, tho’ simple ; to the sun ally’d,  
From him they draw their animating fire.’

THOMSON.

“ So greatly does the beauty of a village depend upon the character of these humble dwellings, that we are led from this circumstance to form, in passing through it, the idea of its general character ; which investigation also reverts to the superior possessor, whose character we contemplate with that degree of pleasure or pain, which is excited by the appearance of

comfort, or of misery, exhibited to our view.

“ Indeed, in every instance I could wish to see the following lines exemplified in the fullest extent :

‘ From every chimney mounts the curling  
smoke,  
Muddy and grey, of the new evening fire ;  
On every window smokes the fam’ly sup-  
per,  
Set out to cool by the attentive housewife,  
While cheerful groups at every door con-  
ven’d  
Bawl cross the narrow lane the parish  
news,  
And oft the bursting laugh disturbs the  
air.’

*Poems describing certain Views of Nature*

“ In the management of the peasant’s cottage, nothing but the greatest degree of simplicity is required. If the adorned cottage will bear so little decoration, even that little here would be absurd : all superfluous ornaments are out of the question ; they are not necessary to the existence, or to the comfort of the inhabitant ; and so far is unnecessary ornament from producing that happy character which is the very life and soul of cottage scenery, that it is almost the certain means of destroying it.

“ All those various circumstances which produce so pleasing an effect, as well in nature as in painting, arise from sources generally the very reverse of ornamental. Those innumerable tints and stains, those incrustations and enrichments, produced by the hand of time ; those abruptnesses, such as the flaking off of plaster, the partial exposure of a stud, or piece of timber, or the chipping of a buttress, have their full effect in giving those spirited touches, which ornament can never reach ; all of which may take place without running to such an excess, as to display wretchedness or produce inconvenience.

“ That



“That the laudable pains and benevolent expense attending the improvements of cottages may not be frustrated by a dirty or worthless tenant, no one should be permitted to enjoy the advantages arising from them, who did not conform to established rules, particularly in the articles of cleanliness and industry. They might be made the rewards of faithful servitude; the *douceur* of a laudable ambition of keeping a family from a parish; or bestowed for any other quality that might be esteemed worthy of such a consideration.

“Were such conditions as the foregoing to be those on which only such advantages could be enjoyed, I have no doubt but they would be the means of reforming many a family from filth, wretchedness, and rags, and turning their thoughts to decency and comfort. The conditions, at least, are easy; and a good habitation, with a piece of land, must be allowed to be powerful incentives, and such as few, except the most abandoned, could resist.

“To the thoughtful and well-disposed, the comfortable prospect which a situation of this nature holds out to the time when age and infirmities shall have enfeebled the powers of industry, is not among the least of its happy circumstances.

“Gesner’s description of a virtuous old peasant past the powers of labour, is so truly pleasing, that I trust an apology for inserting it is unnecessary:

“Menalcas was old. Fourscore years had already bowed his head. The silver hairs shadowed his forehead, and a snowy beard flowed over his breast. A staff secured his tottering steps. As he who, after the labours of a fair summer’s day,

in the cool evening sits down content, and thanks the gods, waiting for peaceful slumbers; so Menalcas consecrated the remainder of his days to repose, and to the worship of the gods; for he had passed his life in labour and beneficence, and therefore, tranquil and resigned, he waited for the slumbers of the grave.

“Menalcas saw blessings diffused among his children. He had given them numerous flocks, and fruitful pastures. Full of tender anxiety, they each one strove to cheer his latter days, and to repay the care that he had taken of their tender years. It is a duty that the gods never leave unrecompensed. Often seated at his cottage door, in the sun’s gentle warmth, he surveyed his gardens cultivated with the greatest care; and, far distant off, the labours and the riches of the fields. With an affable and courteous air, he engaged the passengers to sit down by him; gladly he heard the news of neighbouring villages, and was pleased to learn of strangers the manners and customs of far distant countries.

“His children, and his children’s children, came playing about him, the most delightful ornaments of his age.”

“Can a benevolent heart contemplate a more delightful picture than that of industrious age seated in the lap of ease? The countenance once flushed with all the animation of health and youth, not transformed by poverty nor soured by neglect, but settled into peaceful resignation, crowned with content, and beaming with thankfulness to his Creator, and complacency to every object that surrounds him.

“Formerly this was no uncommon



mon character among the English peasantry. Those things described which are seldom seen, are, I know, apt to be construed as visionary imaginations, fictions of the brain; but such a character as the above is no fiction, it exists even now, though unhappily but rarely met with.

“ Let us hope, however, that to our posterity the patriarch peasant will be not only an existing, but a striking and happy feature in English scenery.

“ Having entered thus far into the apparent good, as well as improvement in point of picturesque beauty, resulting from an attention to the habitations and the domestic œconomy of the poor, it becomes necessary to give some kind of general outline that may be proper to be adopted in this species of improvement.

“ A free circulation of air, and a dry situation, are as necessary to the preservation of the health, as a proper separation of the sexes is to the morals of a family.

“ Nothing is more obvious, than the injury likely to result to both sexes, from such promiscuous intercourse as must necessarily take place where a large family are crowded together into one or two small apartments.

“ I have myself not unfrequently seen, in my professional attendance on the sick, four, and sometimes five persons huddled together in the same apartment, nay, even in the same miserable bed. Indeed, at the time of writing this, I have daily occasion to attend on two families, whose cases are exactly in point. One particularly, where a man, his wife, and three children, live and lodge in a hovel (house I cannot call it), the dimensions of which do not exceed seven feet by

1804.

twelve: this only room is applied to their every purpose of life; the bed's foot reaches within twelve inches of the fire; and the only side where a passage is admitted between it and the wall, has no better floor than the pavement of the street. The apartment occupied by the other family, though of larger dimensions, has no floor at all.— These are by no means exaggerated accounts of a subject on which humanity revolts at the reflection.

“ Unless, therefore, under the particular circumstance of a family's being so small as to consist only of one or two persons, no cottage ought to have less than four apartments, viz. the kitchen, and two bed-rooms; with a fourth, which, by partitioning off, might serve as a wash-house, dairy, pantry, &c. All this is necessary for the smallest family above the number before-mentioned. But, as it is impossible to expect neatness where there is want of room, it would be more prudent to extend the scale; in which case, the wash-house and dairy might be added as a lean-to, reserving for a bed-room the apartment which would otherwise be appropriated to those uses.

“ With regard to the materials to be employed in the construction of these buildings, the same principles are to be attended to as have been already laid down in the construction of the ornamented cottage; keeping in mind, that the ornamented cottage is a degree above, while that of the peasant is at least one degree, perhaps two, in rank, beneath the farm-house.

“ The character of humility is easily attained, by attending to the height of the building. The glaring colours of bricks and tiles should be studiously avoided. The

N method



method of building cottages at Pisa, in Italy, (which is fully related in the first volume of the "Communications to the Board of Agriculture") and much the same kind of thing which is practised in some parts of Ireland, and introduced into this country by the late duke of Bedford, I should think well adapted both for cheapness and colour (if the work be capable of resisting the frost, as I understand it is, being worked dry) to all the purposes of the lower kinds of cottage architecture.

"Those windows which are placed in the roof should be thatched over with the roof itself; and as picturesque effect, as well as the small height of the building, require that some of them should be placed in that situation, the casement to this kind of window should be made as large as possible. In order to moderate, as much as may be, the inconvenience of a slanting roof, the walls might be carried up a little higher than they usually are before the roof is set on.

"With regard to uniformity in the situation of doors and windows, I think that too strict an adherence to that principle in cottage architecture ought to be avoided. The prevailing character of the cottage should be that of picturesqueness; of course, irregularity and sudden deviation accord better with it than the symmetry of regular architecture.

"In a mansion, or any building of considerable magnitude, particularly after the Grecian model, we expect to see a correspondence of parts. In such buildings, the eye is disgusted with any thing wearing the appearance of irregularity; we survey it as a piece of architecture which is intended to command attention: while in the cottage, whether ornamented or not,

we look only for comfort and general effect; which I think is altogether assisted, rather than injured, by studying to make the situations of particular parts of such buildings appear to be more the effects of convenience than objects of solicitous attention.

"In this reasoning, however, I know that I am opposed; but it is not the mere architect by profession that is perhaps always capable of judging in this particular; for unless joined to his profession as an architect, he has a knowledge of painting, he cannot reconcile such deviations to the principles of his art; it is a system that strays too much from symmetry and regularity (the standard that guides all his ideas) to be tolerated.

"That a strict attention to principles should be the foundation of that knowledge which is to raise him into fame, is indisputable; but these principles should be in some measure laid aside when he condescends to give directions for a cottage or a shed; there all affectation should be avoided: blank windows, in a cottage, for the sake of uniformity, would be as absurd, as the neglect of this principle would be in a palace. Moreover, in a house upon a small scale, convenience is to be studied in every instance: and if this is attended to (as it always should be), uniformity must sometimes give way.

"I grant that the ornamented cottage admits of a greater degree of embellishment than the habitation of the hind; but still, if it proceed to symmetrical affectation, the elegant negligence of the design is lost, and it is put upon a level with the formal upright attempted by the country carpenter.

"In designing a mansion, or a villa, the architect should bear in mind



mind the models of Palladio, the temples of Greece, or the palaces of Rome; but if the cottage partake of these, it is pedantic.

“Although the ornamented cottage may be the residence of fashion or wealth,—where good taste centres in either, it will comply with the circumstances of the situation which it has chosen; and, provided it affords the comforts of life, will not cavil, whether a door, a window, or a chimney, be in strict conformity to the architectural rules of symmetry; neither will this be expected. Wealth and splendour retire to the cottage for the sake of variety, and to enjoy themselves within those contracted limits which cannot so well be complied with surrounded by the necessary establishment of a great house; while the small but independent family seek it as the asylum of comfort, and the abode of tranquillity.

“Besides the opinion of Mr. Price (in the note before quoted) in support of this part of my argument, I am happy in having the authority of sir Joshua Reynolds; who, to the high rank which he held in his profession, added the most refined taste for all the polite arts. His mind, too expanded to admit of narrow prejudices, was regulated by the nicest investigation, and the soundest judgment. Whatever, therefore, is advanced on such a foundation, is not merely leaned upon; its stability is sufficient to bear whatever burden you chuse to impose upon it.

“In his thirteenth discourse at the royal academy he says, ‘It may not be amiss for the architect to take advantage sometimes of that to which I am sure the painter ought always to have his eyes open, I mean the use of accidents; to

follow when they lead, and to improve them, rather than always trust to a regular plan. It often happens, that additions have been made to houses, at various times, for use or pleasure. As such buildings depart from regularity, they now and then acquire something of scenery by this accident; which I should think might not unsuccessfully be adopted by an architect, in an original plan, if it do not too much interfere with convenience.

“‘Variety and intricacy is a beauty and excellence in every other of the arts which address the imagination; and why not in architecture?’

“‘The forms and turnings of the streets of London, and other old towns, are produced by accident, without any original plan or design; but they are not always the less pleasant to a walker or spectator on that account; on the contrary, if the city had been built on the regular plan of sir Christopher Wren, the effect might have been, as we know it is in some new parts of the town, rather unpleasant; the uniformity might have produced weariness, and a slight degree of disgust.’

“In the ceilings both of upper and lower apartments, it has a very characteristic appearance to leave the spars and joists uncovered; specimens of which may be seen in many cottages of old date. In this state also they are very useful; nails, for the purpose of hanging various articles, find an easy reception, which might otherwise be injudiciously applied to the detriment of the ceiling itself. The Spanish chesnut, by its durability in such situations, is superior to any other wood; witness the roofs of many churches, and other build-  
ings.



ings. It acquires also by age exactly that dark brown hue which is so particularly desirable in cottage architecture, and which fir, however good in quality, never assumes.

"In the humblest cot there are innumerable little circumstances to which attention may be directed; and which, though trifling in themselves, and almost equally so in regard to expense, tend greatly to heighten the picturesque appearance externally, as well as its character and comforts internally.

"A warm and comfortable cottage, under every circumstance of seasons, is an object calculated to produce the most pleasant sensations. In spring and summer, the surrounding verdure, the little garden decorated with flowers and loaded with fruits, to which add cleanliness and cheerfulness, place it among the most interesting of rural scenes.

"In autumn, when the first frosts begin to tinge the decaying foliage that surrounds it with all its rich variety of colouring; when, joined to the perfect stillness of a calm autumnal day, the misty atmosphere spreads its tender gray tint over the landscape;—then it is that the cottage enjoys its utmost harmony and repose, and wears its most picturesque attire.

"In winter, though less picturesque, it is a no less pleasing object; when the fast-falling flakes have whitened its humble but impenetrable roof; and the snow-drifted peasant, shaking his garments, seeks the warm shelter of its cheerful hearth.

"Domestic and other animals flocking around for shelter and for food, impart a degree of character truly winter's own.

'The cattle from th' untasted fields return,  
And ask, with meaning low, their wonted stalls,  
Or ruminat in the contiguous shade;  
Thither the household feathery people crowd,  
The crested cock, with all his female train,  
Pensive, and dripping; while the cottage hind  
Hangs o'er th' enlivening blaze, and taleful there  
Recounts his simple frolic: much he talks,  
And much he laughs, nor recks the storm that blows  
Without, and rattles on his humble roof.'

THOMSON.

"The picturesque character of a cottage, it has been before observed, is considerably increased by ivy, or other creeping plants, climbing about it; but in the peasant's cottage, beauty and emolument should go hand-in-hand; and be kept constantly in view: therefore, instead of the ivy or the honeysuckle, let the apricot, the pear, the plum, or any other productive wall-fruit, be placed as a substitute; the north aspect alone, as unfavourable to the ripening of fruit, may be reserved for ivy, the situation of all others most adapted to its nature. The vine is by far the most beautiful of all the wall-fruit, trees, and, where it meets with a situation that it likes, is by no means unproductive.

"The generality of wall-fruit trees, when well trained, are pleasing objects. In winter, their slender branches make a beautiful appearance; as the summer advances, they also increase in beauty, alternately putting forth leaves, blossoms, and fruit. The cherry-tree in particular, when the smooth brown bark of the spray, the deep green of its leaves, and the glowing colour of its fruit are combined,

ranks



ranks among the most pleasing and profitable of wall-fruit trees.

“The peach and the nectarine, than which nothing can be more beautiful, require more management; and, being always more uncertain, are less advantageous.

“Vines, ivy, or other creeping plants, when suffered to run over the roofs of houses, I do not myself think by any means ornamental. Plants of the deciduous kind, when divested of their leaves, have a naked, uncomfortable, and, indeed, a slovenly appearance: evergreens, it is true, are not liable to this objection; but, suffered to grow over the roofs of houses, they are liable to a worse, that of being prejudicial to the roof itself, by keeping it in a state of continual moisture.

“In great profusion also, plants of this kind are rather injurious in a picturesque light; giving to a house, or the tower of a church, the appearance of a heavy uniform bush.

“The more elegant creeping plants suffered to twine about the door or windows, whose regularity they break with all their native wildness, have an effect so nearly allied in idea to the primitive simplicity of past ages, in effect (if I may be allowed the expression) so classical, that it always excites our admiration.

“They may sometimes be allowed to aspire even to the chimney, where their delicate tendrils flaunting in the breeze, are seen to advantage; but if carried further than this, the very profusion destroys the effect, and produces a heaviness that is disagreeable.

“This may not be an improper place for taking notice of another part of the œconomy of the cottage,

which, though it is not of equal consequence to the happiness of a family with those before-mentioned, is not without its uses, both in a profitable and moral point of view, independent of the ornament and apparent comfort that it bestows; I mean the garden:—every thing that it produces is found useful in a family; and as an amusement it holds a distinguished rank amongst all the classes of mankind. It does not require that the mind should be highly cultivated, to enjoy the pleasures of gardening; the love of it is implanted in our minds with its earliest impressions. It is among the first of infantile amusements; and almost every one must have observed the high enjoyment which it affords to individuals of the lowest class. It is a pleasure equally enjoyed by the females of a family; who, generally, are not only fond of gardening to excess, but cultivate a small spot with equal care. Indeed, some of the neatest that I have seen, and those by no means unproductive, have been cultivated by women far advanced in life.

“But, admitting the profits arising from a small garden to be trivial, it has, perhaps, other advantages that are not to be despised. The time that is employed about it is stolen from those intervals labour which, for want of such amusement, might be worse occupied. Every one has, or ought to have, his enjoyments: it is the duty of every man of fortune, as far as it is in his power, to endeavour to procure for his dependents enjoyments of the most innocent kind; and those certainly answer the best end, where utility and pleasure are combined. What with the care of his garden, his land, and his cow,



every hour would be usefully, and of course happily, employed. Nor is the anticipation of the profits that are to be the reward of his toil among the least of his pleasures: he naturally considers every thing that arises from such sources, as so much independent of his daily labour, and tending to procure for himself and family those little comforts which are so naturally desired, and so justly his due.

“Were these kinds of means more frequently adopted, indigence would find its own remedy; and a man would not be forced to the degrading necessity of applying to a parish for that relief which his own industry would and ought to be sufficient to procure.

“Such means would also furnish the most infallible remedy against the evil effects of public-houses, the resort of the idle and the vicious, and the natural consequence of the want of employment.

“Whatever has a tendency to divert the attention from such scenes of idleness and dissipation, is productive of a more extended benefit than is perceived upon a transient view. Idleness and dissipation can scarcely fail of producing injury to the morals of their votaries; a family, of course, suffers in all respects, in proportion to the shock which these have sustained in its superior.

“I have been frequently led to pity, more than to blame, the conduct of those whom the world esteem disso-

lute and abandoned; some are, no doubt, abandoned from principle; but many more, I fear, are rendered so by their misfortunes. Is it to be wondered at, that men whose hearts are chilled by the icy gripe of poverty and distress; whose houses, or rather huts, exhibit nought but wretchedness; in short, who are to expect no comfort at their return from toil;—is it to be wondered at, that, deprived as it were of every thing which should constitute happiness in their own family, they seek with eagerness the comfort of an alehouse fire, and any society or amusement capable of producing a momentary oblivion to their cares?

“Compared with this, how different must be his sensations, who at his return is greeted by his humble yet happy family; whose brows, crowned with content, are brightened by the cheerful emanations of the evening fire; and upon whose homely board is spread wholesome but frugal plenty!

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‘Ye masters, then,  
Be mindful of the rough laborious hand,  
That sinks you soft in elegance and ease;  
Be mindful of those limbs in russet clad,  
Whose toil to yours is warmth, and graceful pride;  
And oh! be mindful of that sparing board,  
Which covers yours with luxury profuse,  
Makes your glass sparkle, and your sense rejoice.’”

THOMSON.



## ON the WRITINGS and GENIUS of ROBERT HERRICK.

[From Dr. DRAKE'S LITERARY HOURS, VOL. III.]

“HAD Herrick adopted any arrangement or classification for his poetry, it would probably have experienced a kinder fate. The reader would then have had the opportunity of choosing the department most congenial to his taste, and without incurring the risque of being seduced into the perusal of matter offensive to his feelings. At present so injudiciously are the contents of his volume disposed, and so totally divested of order and propriety, that it would almost seem the poet wished to pollute and bury his best effusions in a mass of nonsense and obscenity. Nine persons out of ten, who should casually dip into the collection, would, in all probability, after glancing over a few trifling epigrams, throw it down with indignation, little apprehending it contained many pieces of a truly moral and pathetic, and of an exquisitely rural and descriptive strain. Such, however, is the case; and I have, therefore, assigned sections in these papers to specimens of a moral and descriptive cast.

“It has already been observed, that Herrick closes his book with seventy-nine pages of religious poetry, to which is prefixed a separate title page, under the quaint and alliterative appellation of ‘His Noble Numbers or his Pious Pieces.’ From these, it might naturally be supposed, the examples I have to bring forward would be drawn. Our bard, however, like many others who have attempted divine themes, has completely failed to infuse into their structure the

smallest portion of poetic fire. It is, therefore, to his ‘Hesperides,’ I am solely indebted for the instances I have selected; and these form only a portion of what might be produced, under this head, with equal honour to his memory.

“At the commencement of his work are a series of addresses to his Muse, his Book, and Verses, one of which, for its imagery, its smoothness of versification, and its pleasing delineation of the bard’s content and unambitious mind, is peculiarly worthy of transcription.

## ‘HERRICK TO HIS MUSE.

‘Whither, mad maiden! wilt thou roam?  
Far safer ’twere to stay at home:  
Where thou may’st sit, and piping please  
The poor and private *Cottages*.  
Since *Cotes* and *Hamlets* best agree  
With this thy meaner minstrelsy.  
There with the reed, thou may’st express  
The shepherd’s fleecy happiness:—  
There on a hillock thou may’st sing  
Unto a handsome shepardling;  
Or to a girl that keeps the neat,  
With breath more sweet than violet.  
There, there, perhaps, such lines as these  
May take the simple *Villages*.  
Stay then at home, and do not goe,  
Or fly abroad to seek for woe.  
Contempts in courts and cities dwell:  
No *Critic* haunts the poor man’s cell:  
Where thou may’st hear thine own lines  
read,

By no one tongue there censured.  
That man’s unwise will search for ill,  
And may prevent it, sitting still.’

Page 1.

“Though the greater part of the productions of Herrick be of a light and amatory kind, no one who has perused his works will hesitate in giving a decided preference to those pieces which are devoted



to pathetic or descriptive subjects. They are such, indeed, as speak highly in favour of his sensibility and genius, and ought, most assuredly, to rescue his name from oblivion. Neither Carew nor Waller, in fact, have any thing which equals the tender melancholy pervading some of these effusions, and more especially the two following, whose metre also I consider as happily adapted to convey the pensive ideas of the poet.

‘ TO BLOSSOMS.

‘ Fair pledges of a fruitful tree,  
Why do ye fall so fast ?  
Your date is not so past ;  
But you may stay yet here awhile,  
To blush and gently smile ;  
And go at last.

‘ What, were ye born to be  
An hour or half’s delight ;  
And so to bid good-night ?  
’Twas pity Nature brought ye forth  
Merely to show your worth,  
And lose you quite.

‘ But you are lovely leaves, where we  
May read how soon things have  
Their end, though ne’er so brave ;  
And after they have shown their pride,  
Like you a while: they glide  
Into the grave.’

“ The concluding lines of the first and third stanzas of this beautiful little piece, are peculiarly impressive and pleasing.

“ The second poem, though on a similar topic, and expressing a similar complaint, is varied in its imagery, and possesses a more elaborate versification. It leaves, likewise, the same feelings of humility and sorrow on the mind, which, by inducing us to repose on the promises of superior power, are friendly to the best interests of man.

‘ TO DAFFADILLS.

‘ Fair Daffadills, we weep to see  
You haste away so soon :  
As yet the early-rising sun  
Has not attain’d his noon.

Stay, stay,  
Until the hasting day  
Has run  
But to the even-song ;  
And, having pray’d together, we  
Will go with you along.

‘ We have short time to stay, as you,  
We have as short a spring ;  
As quick a growth to meet Decay,  
As you, or any thing.  
We die,  
As your hours do, and dry  
Away,  
Like to the Summer’s rain ;  
Or as the pearls of Morning’s dew,  
Ne’er to be found again.’

Page 144.

“ The cultivation of descriptive poetry had, during the prior half of the seventeenth century, been much circumscribed, by a growing fondness for metaphysical imagery and conceits. What Donne had introduced, Cowley and Clieveland established as a fashion ; and the eighteenth century had dawned before this unnatural mode of composition ceased to acquire admirers. Some illustrious examples, however, were not wanting before the year 1650, which evince a very accurate and tasteful conception of rural and picturesque scenery. *Burton*, about 1600, prefixed to his ‘ *Anatomy of Melancholy*’ some admirably descriptive verses, under the title of the *Abstract of Melancholy*, and which are supposed to have given rise to the still more exquisite poems, in a similar measure, by the author of *Paradise Lost*. In 1613 and 1627 were published the *Polyolbion* and the *Nymphidia* of Drayton ; in 1616 the *Pastorals* of Browne, and, above all, in 1645, the *Il Penseroso* and *L’Allegro* of Milton.

“ Compared with these masterly productions, the descriptive pieces scattered through the *Hesperides* of Herrick, may appear to deserve little notice. They are, however, not only immediately subsequent in the



the order of time, but are possessed of no small portion of merit. They may be divided into those which describe the pleasures and employments of rural life, or delineate the imaginary sports and occupations of the fairy tribe, or the more formidable orgies of witchcraft.

“The felicity of rural life hath ever been a favourite topic with poets of every age; and it is consequently a task of much difficulty to avoid what may be termed hereditary imagery. In the following poem Herrick may certainly be traced in the snow both of Virgil and Horace; yet a considerable portion remains, which may justly be ascribed to the genius and observation of the English poet.

‘THE COUNTRY LIFE.

‘Sweet country life, to such unknown,  
Whose lives are others, not their own!  
But serving courts, and cities, be  
Less happy, less enjoying thee.  
Thou never plow’st the Ocean’s foam  
To seek, and bring rough pepper home:  
Nor to the Eastern Ind dost rove  
To bring from thence the scorched clove;  
Nor, with the loss of thy lov’d rest,  
Bring’st home the ingot from the West.  
Nor thy Ambition’s master-piece  
Flies no thought higher than a fleece;  
Or how to pay thy hinds, and clear  
All scores; and so to end the year:  
But walk’st about thine own dear bounds,  
Not envying others larger grounds:  
For well thou know’st ’tis not th’ extent  
Of land makes life, but sweet content.  
When now the cock, the plowman’s horn,  
Calls forth the lily-wristed Morn;  
Then to thy corn-fields thou dost go,  
Which though well soil’d, yet thou dost know,

That the best compost for the lands  
Is the wise master’s feet and hands.  
There at the plough thou find’st thy team,  
With a hind whistling there to them;  
And cheer’st them up, by singing how  
The kingdom’s portion is the plough.  
This done, then to the enamel’d meads  
Thou go’st; and as thy foot there treads,  
Thou see’st a present god-like power  
Imprinted in each herb and flower:

And smell’st the breath of great-ey’d kine  
Sweet as the blossoms of the vine.  
Here thou behold’st thy large sleek neat  
Unto the dew-laps up in meat:  
And, as thou look’st, the wanton steer,  
The heifer, cow, and ox draw near  
To make a pleasing pastime there.  
These seen, thou go’st to view thy flocks  
Of sheep, safe from the wolf and fox,  
And find’st their bellies there as full  
Of short sweet grass, as backs with wool.  
And leav’st them, as they feed and fill,  
A shepherd piping on a hill.  
For sports, for pageantry, and plays,  
Thou hast thy eves, and holydays;  
On which the young men and maids meet,  
To exercise their dancing feet:  
Tripping the comely country round,  
With daffadills and daisies crown’d.  
Thy wakes, thy quintels, here thou hast,  
Thy may-poles too with garlands grac’d:  
Thy Morris-dance; thy Whitsun-ale;  
Thy shearing-feast, which never fail.  
Thy harvest-home; thy wassail bowl,  
That’s tost up after fox i’ th’ hole.  
Thy mummeries; thy twelfe-tide kings  
And queens; thy Christmas revellings;  
Thy nut-brown mirth; thy russet wit;  
And no man pays too dear for it.  
To these, thou hast thy times to go  
And trace the hare i’ th’ treacherous snow;  
Thy witty wiles to draw, and get  
The lark into the trammel net:  
Thou hast thy cockrood, and thy glade  
To take the precious pheasant made:  
Thy lime-twigs, snares, and pit-falls then  
To catch the pilfering birds, not men.  
O happy life! if that their good  
The husbandmen but understood!  
Who all the day themselves do please,  
And younglings, with such sports as these.  
And, lying down, have nought t’ affright  
Sweet sleep, that makes more short the  
night.

Page 269.

“To this specimen might be added many more of similar merit, under the title of Harvest-Home, The Wake, the Wassail, &c. &c., and which display a very curious list of the sports and pastimes of our ancestors.

“That species of poetry which is employed in painting the imaginary existence and manners of fairies, elves and goblins, and which Shakspeare and Jonson delighted to indulge in, is frequently to be found



found in the volume of Herrick. He appears, indeed, to have been alive to all the superstitions of his age, and his collection abounds with amulets and charms against the fiends and spectres of gothic mythology.

"In ancient times, the watchman who cried the hours used to recite benedictions, in order to drive away from the house the fairies and demons of the night. Shakspeare, in his *Cymbeline*, alludes to a superstition of this kind, where he represents Imogen, on going to rest, exclaiming

'From fairies, and the tempters of the night,  
Guard me, beseech ye!'

And Milton, in his *Penseroso*, introduces

——'the bellman's drowsy charm,  
To bless the doors from nightly harm,'  
a ceremony which Herrick has repeatedly described, and for which, in his thirty-ninth page, he appears to have given a form, very probably for the purpose of being chaunted before his own door.

#### 'THE BELMAN.

'From noise of scare-fires rest ye free,  
From murders *Benedicite*.  
From all mischances that may fright  
Your pleasing slumbers in the night:  
Mercy secure ye all, and keep  
The goblin from ye, while ye sleep.'

"Even in his amatory strains he has taken every opportunity of inserting imagery, drawn from similar resources. He thus commences a night-piece to Julia.

'Her eyes the glow-worm lend thee,  
The shooting stars attend thee;  
And the elves also,  
Whose little eyes glow,  
Like the sparks of fire, befriend thee.'

"There are, likewise, several poems in the *Hesperides*, which are employed in describing the more

sombrous and terrific agency of witchcraft. As a specimen of these, I present the reader with the following singular production.

#### 'THE HAG.

'The hag is astride,  
This night for to ride;  
The devil and she together:  
Through thick, and through thin,  
Now out, and then in,  
Though ne'er so foul be the weather.

'A thorn or a burr,  
She takes for a spur:  
With a lash of a bramble she rides now,  
Through brakes and through briars,  
O'er ditches, and mires,  
She follows the spirit that guides now.

'No beast, for his food,  
Dares now range the wood;  
But husht in his lair he lies lurking:  
While mischiefs, by these,  
On land and on seas,  
At noon of night are a working.

'The storm will arise,  
And trouble the skies;  
This night, and more for the wonder,  
The ghost from the tomb  
Affrighted shall come,  
Call'd out by the clap of the thunder.'

Page 264.

"Our poet, however, seems more particularly to have delighted in drawing the manners and costume of the fairy world, peopled by beings of a gentle kind, and avowedly the friends of man. He has devoted several of his most elaborate poems to these sportive creations of fancy. Under the titles of *The Fairy Temple*, *Oberon's Palace*, *The Fairy Queen*, and *Oberon's Feast*, a variety of curious and minute imagery is appositely introduced. I shall transcribe the last-mentioned piece, in order to convey a just idea of the mode in which these capricious yet elegant delineations are executed.

#### 'OBERON'S FEAST.

'A little mushroom table spread,  
After short prayers, they set on bread:  
A moon-



A moon-parcht grain of purest wheat,  
 With some small glit'ring grit, to eat  
 His choice bits with; then in a trice  
 They make a feast less great than nice.  
 But all this while his eye is serv'd,  
 We must not think his ear was starv'd;  
 But that there was in place to stir  
 His spleen, the chirring grasshopper;  
 The merry cricket, puling fly,  
 The piping gnat for minstrelsy.  
 And now, we must imagine first,  
 The elves present to quench his thirst,  
 A pure seed-pearl of infant dew,  
 Brought and besweetned in a blue  
 And pregnant violet; which done,  
 His kitling eyes begin to run  
 Quite through the table, where he spies  
 The horns of papery butterflies,  
 Of which he eats, and tastes a little  
 Of that we call the cuckoe's spittle.  
 A little fuz-ball-pudding stands  
 By, yet not bless'd by his hands,  
 That was too coarse; but then forthwith  
 He ventures boldly on the pith  
 Of sugred rush, and eats the sagg  
 And well bestrutted bee's sweet bag:  
 Gladding his palate with some store  
 Of emit's eggs; what would be more?  
 But beards of mice, a newt's stew'd thigh,  
 A bloated earwig, and a fly;  
 With the red-capt-worm, that's shut  
 Within the concave of a nut,  
 Brown as his tooth. A little moth,  
 Late fatned in a piece of cloth:  
 With whithered cherries; mandrake's  
 ears;  
 Mole's eyes; to these, the slain stag's tears:  
 The unctuous dewlaps of a snail;  
 The broke-heart of a nightingale  
 O'ercome in music; with a wine,  
 Ne'er ravish'd from the flattering vine,  
 But gently prest from the soft side  
 Of the most sweet and dainty bride,  
 Brought in a dainty daizie, which  
 He fully quaffs up to dewitch  
 His blood to height; this done, commended  
 Gr ace by his priest; *The feast is ended.*

Page 136.

"I have thus endeavoured, by

various extracts and remarks, to place the neglected merit of this unfortunate bard in its proper light. He has attempted, it is true, no production of any considerable length, nor has he ventured into the lofty regions of the epic or dramatic muse. The joys of love and wine, pictures of country life and manners, or playful incursions into the world of ideal forms, where

'Trip the light fairies and the dapper  
 elves'

form the chief subjects of his poetry. Of these, some are written in a style and metre, which display no inferior command of language and versification, whilst their elegance, their tenderness, or imagery is such, as to excite a well-founded admiration.

"Unfortunately, like most authors of the age in which he lived, he has been totally inattentive to selection, and has thrown into his book such a number of worthless pieces, that those which possess decided merit, and which are few, if compared with the multitude which have none, are overlooked and forgotten in the crowd. Out of better than *fourteen hundred* poems, included in his *Hesperides* and *Noble Numbers*, not more than one hundred could be chosen by the hand of taste. These, however, would form an elegant little volume, and would perpetuate the memory and the genius of HERRICK."



# ARTS AND SCIENCES.

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## TALENTS and INGENUITY of the CHINESE.

[From Mr. BARROW'S TRAVELS.]

“IT has been observed, and perhaps with a great deal of truth, that the arts which supply the luxuries, the conveniences, and the necessities of life, have derived but little advantage in the first instance from the labours and speculations of philosophers; that the ingenuity of artists, the accidental or progressive discoveries of common workmen, in any particular branch of business, have frequently afforded *data*, from which, by the reasonings and investigations of philosophers, hints have sometimes been struck out for arriving at the same ends by a shorter way; that the learned are therefore more properly to be considered as improvers than inventors. Of this mortifying truth, the Chinese afford many strong examples in their arts and manufactures, and particularly in some of those operations that have a reference to chemistry, which cannot here be said to exist as a science, although several branches are in common practice as chemical arts. Without possessing any theory concerning the affinities of bodies, or attractions of cohesion or aggregation, they clarify the muddy waters of their rivers, for immediate use, by stirring them round

with a piece of alum in a hollow bamboo; a simple operation, which experience has taught them, will cause the clayey particles to fall to the bottom: and having ascertained the fact, they have given themselves no further trouble to explain the phenomenon.

“In like manner, they are well acquainted with the effect of steam upon certain bodies that are immersed in it; that its heat is much greater than that of boiling water. Yet, although for ages they have been in the constant practice of confining it in close vessels, something like *Papin's digester*, for the purpose of softening horn, from which their thin, transparent, and capacious lanterns are made, they seem not to have discovered its extraordinary force when thus pent up; at least, they have never thought of applying that power to purposes which animal strength has not been adequate to effect. They extract from the three kingdoms of nature the most brilliant colours, which they have also acquired the art of preparing and mixing so as to produce every intermediate tint; and in their richest and most lively hues, they communicate these colours to silks, cottons, and paper; yet they



they have no theory on colours.

“The process of smelting iron from the ore is well known to them; and their cast ware of this metal is remarkably thin and light. They have also an imperfect knowledge of converting it into steel; but their manufacturies of this article are not to be mentioned with those of Europe, I will not say of England, because it stands unrivalled in this and indeed almost every other branch of the arts. Though their cast-iron wares appear light and neat, and are annealed in heated ovens, to take off somewhat of their brittleness, yet their process of rendering cast-iron malleable is imperfect, and all their manufactures of wrought-iron are consequently of a very inferior kind, not only in workmanship but also in the quality of the metal. In most of the other metals their manufactures are above mediocrity. Their trinkets of silver fillagree are extremely neat, and their articles of tootang are highly finished.

“With the use of cannon they pretend to have been long acquainted. When Gengis-Khan entered China, in the thirteenth century, artillery and bombs and mines are said to have been employed on both sides; yet when the city of Macao, in the year 1621, made a present to the emperor of three pieces of artillery, it was found necessary to send along with them three men to instruct the Chinese how to use them. The introduction of matchlocks, I am inclined to think, is of no very antient date; they wear no marks of originality about them, like other articles of Chinese invention; on the contrary, they are exact models of the old Portuguese matchlock; and differ in nothing from those which still

continue to be carried, as an article of commerce, by this nation to Cochin-china. There can be no doubt, however, of the use of gunpowder being known to the Chinese long before the Christian era.

“A French physician, who travelled in China, says he never saw an alembic or distillatory apparatus in the whole country. The art of distillation, however, is very well known, and in common practice. Their *Sau-tchoo* (literally burnt wine), is an ardent spirit distilled from various kinds of grain, but most commonly from rice, of a strong empyreumatic flavour, not unlike the spirit known in Scotland by the name of whiskey. The rice is kept in hot water till the grains are swollen; it is then mixed up with water in which has been dissolved a preparation called *pe-ka*, consisting of rice-flour, liquorice-root, anniseed, and garlic; this not only hastens fermentation, but is supposed to give it a peculiar flavour. The mixture then undergoes distillation. The *Sau-tchoo*, thus prepared, may be considered as the basis of the best arrack, which in Java is exclusively the manufacture of Chinese, and is nothing more than a rectification of the above spirit, with the addition of molasses and juice of the cocoa-nut tree. Before distillation the liquor is simply called *tchoo*, or wine, and in this state is a very insipid and disagreeable beverage. The vine grows extremely well in all the provinces, even as far north as Pekin; but the culture of it seems to meet with little encouragement, and no wine is made from the juice of the grape, except by the missionaries near the capital.

“The manufacture of earthen ware, as far as depends upon the preparation



preparation of the materials, they have carried to a pitch of perfection not hitherto equalled by any nation, except the Japanese, who are allowed to excel them, not only in this branch, but also in all articles of lacquered and varnished ware, which fetch exorbitant prices even in China. The beauty of their porcelain, in a great degree, depends upon the extreme labour and attention that is paid to the assortment, and the preparation of the different articles employed. These are in general a fine sort of clay called *Kao-lin* which is a species of soap-rock, and a granite called *Pe-tun-tse*, composed chiefly of quartz, the proportion of mica being very small. These materials are ground down and washed with the greatest care: and when the paste has been turned or moulded into forms, each piece is put into a box of clay before it goes into the oven; yet with every precaution, it frequently happens (so much is this art still a work of chance) that a whole oven runs together and becomes a mass of vitrified matter. Neither the Chinese nor the Japanese can boast of giving to the materials much elegance of form. With those inimitable models from the Greek and Roman vases, brought into modern use by the ingenious Mr. Wedgwood, they will not bear a comparison. And nothing can be more rude and ill-designed than the grotesque figures and other objects painted, or rather daubed, on their porcelain, which however are generally the work of the wives and children of the labouring poor. That they can do better we have evident proof; for if a pattern be sent out from England, the artists in Canton will execute it with scrupulous exact-

ness; and their colours are inimitable.

“The manufacture of glass was totally unknown among them until the last century, when, at the recommendation of the Jesuits, a family was engaged to go from France to Peking, for the purpose of introducing the art of glass-making into the country. The attempt failed of success, and the concern, at the death of the manager, was broken up. In Canton they melt old broken glass and mould it into new forms; and they have been taught to coat plates of glass with silver, which are partially used as looking-glasses; but their common mirrors are of polished metal, which is apparently a composition of copper and zinc.

“The pride, or the policy, of the government, affecting to despise any thing new or foreign, and the general want of encouragement to new inventions, however ingenious, have been greatly detrimental to the progress of the arts and manufactures. The people discover no want of genius to conceive, nor of dexterity to execute; and their imitative powers have always been acknowledged to be very great. Of the truth of this remark we had several instances at *Yuen-min-yuen*. The complicated glass lustres, consisting of several hundred pieces, were taken down, piece by piece, in the course of half an hour, by two Chinese, who had never seen any thing of the kind before, and were put up again by them with equal facility; yet Mr. Parker thought it necessary for our mechanics to attend at his warehouse several times to see them taken down and again put together, in order to be able to manage the business on their arrival in China. A Chinese undertook



took to cut a slip of glass from a large curved piece, intended to cover the great dome of the planetarium, after our two artificers had broken three similar pieces in attempting to cut them with the help of the diamond. The man performed it in private, nor could he be prevailed on to say in what manner he accomplished it. Being a little jagged along the margin, I suspect it was not cut but fractured, perhaps by passing a heated iron over a line drawn with water, or some other fluid. It is well known that a Chinese in Canton, on being shown an European watch, undertook, and succeeded, to make one like it, though he had never seen any thing of the kind before; but it was necessary to furnish him with a main spring, which he could not make: and they now fabricate in Canton, as well as in London, and at one third of the expense, all those ingenious pieces of mechanism which at one time were sent to China in such vast quantities from the repositories of Coxe and Merlin. The mind of a Chinese is quick and apprehensive, and his small delicate hands are formed for the execution of neat work.

“The manufacture of silks has been established in China at a period so remote, as not to be ascertained from history; but the time when the cotton plant was first brought from the northern parts of India into the southern provinces of China is known, and noticed in their annals. That species of the cotton plant, from which is produced the manufacture usually called nankin cotton, is said to lose its peculiar yellow tint in the course of two or three years when cultivated in the southern provinces, owing, in all probability, to the great heat of the weather and

continued sun-shine. I have raised this particular species at the Cape of Good Hope, where, upon the same plant, as well as on others produced from its seed, the pods were as full and the tint of as deep a yellow in the third year as in the first. As is generally the case in most of their manufactures, those of silk and cotton do not appear to have lately undergone progressive improvement. The want of proper encouragement from the government, and the rigid adherence to antient usage, have rendered indeed all their fabrics stationary.

“Of all the mechanical arts, that in which they seem to have attained the highest degree of perfection is the cutting of ivory. In this branch they stand unrivalled, even at Birmingham, that great nursery of the arts and manufactures, where, I understand, it has been attempted by means of a machine to cut ivory fans and other articles, in imitation of those of the Chinese; but the experiment, although ingenious, has not hitherto succeeded to that degree, so as to produce articles fit to vie with those of the latter. Nothing can be more exquisitely beautiful than the fine open work displayed in a Chinese fan, the sticks of which would seem to be singly cut by the hand; for whatever pattern may be required, or a shield with coat of arms, or a cypher, the article will be finished according to the drawing, at the shortest notice. The two outside sticks are full of bold sharp work, undercut in such a manner as could not be performed any other way than by the hand. Yet the most finished and beautiful of these fans may be purchased at Canton for five to ten Spanish dollars.



dollars. Out of a solid ball of ivory, with a hole in it not larger than half an inch in diameter, they will cut from nine to fifteen distinct hollow globes, one within another, all loose and capable of being turned round in every direction, and each of them carved full of the same kind of open work that appears on the fans. A very small sum of money is the price of one of these difficult trifles. Models of temples, pagodas, and other pieces of architecture, are beautifully worked in ivory; and from the shavings, interwoven with pieces of quills, they make neat baskets and hats, which are as light and pliant as those of straw. In short, all kinds of toys for children, and other trinkets and trifles, are executed in a neater manner and for less money in China, than in any other part of the world.

"The various uses to which that elegant species of reed called the bamboo is applied, would require a volume to enumerate. Their chairs, their tables, their screens, their bedsteads and bedding, and many other household moveables, are entirely constructed of this hollow reed, and some of them in a manner sufficiently ingenious and beautiful. It is used on board ships for poles, for sails, for cables, for rigging, and for caulking. In husbandry for carts, for wheelbarrows, for wheels to raise water, for fences, for sacking to hold grain, and a variety of other utensils. The young shoots furnish an article of food; and the wicks of their candles are made of its fibres. It serves to embellish the garden of the prince, and to cover the cottage of the peasant. It is the instrument, in the hand of power, that

keeps the whole empire in awe. In short, there are few uses to which a Chinese cannot apply the bamboo, either entire or split into thin laths, or further divided into fibres to be twisted into cordage, or macerated into a pulp to be manufactured into paper.

"That 'there is nothing new under the sun,' was the observation of a wise man in days of yore. Impressed with the same idea, an ingenious and learned modern author\* has written a book to prove, that all the late discoveries and inventions of Europe were known to the antients. The discovery of making paper from straw, although new, perhaps, in Europe, is of very antient date in China. The straw of rice and other grain, the bark of the mulberry-tree, the cotton shrub, hemp, nettles, and various other plants and materials, are employed in the paper manufactories of China, where sheets are prepared of such dimensions, that a single one may be had to cover the whole side of a moderate sized room. The finer sort of paper for writing upon has a surface as smooth as vellum, and is washed with a strong solution of alum to prevent the ink from sinking. Many old persons and children earn a livelihood by washing the ink from written paper, which, ing afterwards beaten and boiled to a paste, is re-manufactured into new sheets; and the ink is also separated from the water, and preserved for future use. To this article of their manufacture the arts in our own country owe so many advantages, that little requires to be said in its favour. The Chinese, however, acknowledge their obli-

\* Mr. Dutens.



gations to the Koreans for the improvements in making ink, which not many centuries ago were received from them.

“As to the art of printing, there can be little doubt of its antiquity in China; yet they have never proceeded beyond a wooden block. The nature, indeed, of the character is such, that moveable types would scarcely be practicable. It is true, the component parts of the characters are sufficiently simple and few in number; but the difficulty of putting them together upon the frame, into the multitude of forms of which they are capable, is perhaps not to be surmounted.

“Like the rest of their inventions, the chain-pump, which in Europe has been brought to such perfection as to constitute an essential part of ships of war and other large vessels, continues among the Chinese nearly in its primitive state; the principal improvement since its first invention consisting in the substitution of boards or basket-work for wisps of straw. Its power with them has never been extended beyond that of raising a small stream of water up an inclined plane, from one reservoir to another, to serve the purposes of irrigation. They are of different sizes; some worked by oxen, some by treading in a wheel, and others by the hand.

“The great advantages attainable from the use of mechanical powers are either not understood, or purposely not employed. In a country of such vast population, machinery may perhaps be considered as detrimental, especially as at least nine-tenths of the community must derive their subsistence from manual labour. It may be a question, not at all decided in their minds, whether the

general advantages of facilitating labour, and gaining time by means of machinery, be sufficient to counterbalance the individual distress that would, for a time, be occasioned by the introduction of such machinery. Whatever the reason may be, no such means are to be met with in the country. Among the presents that were carried out for the emperor were an apparatus for the air pump, various articles for conducting a set of experiments in electricity, and the models of a complete set of mechanical powers placed upon a brass pillar. The emperor, happening to cast his eye upon them, inquired of the eunuch in waiting for what they were intended. This mutilated animal, although he had been daily studying the nature and use of the several presents, in order to be able to say something upon them when they should be exhibited to his master, could not succeed in making his imperial majesty comprehend the intention of the articles in question. ‘I fancy,’ says the old monarch, ‘they are meant as playthings for some of my great grandchildren.’

“The power of the pulley is understood by them, and is applied on board all their large vessels, but always in a single state; at least, I never observed a block with more than one wheel in it. The principle of the lever should also seem to be well known, as all their valuable wares, even silver and gold, are weighed with the steelyard: and the tooth and pinion wheels are used in the construction of their self-moving toys, and in all their rice-mills that are put in motion by a water wheel. But none of the mechanical powers are applied on the great scale to facilitate and to expedite labour. Simplicity



plicity is the leading feature in all their contrivances that relate to the arts and manufactures. The tools of every artificer are of a construction the most simple that it should seem possible to make them, and yet each tool is so contrived as to answer several purposes. Thus, the bellows of the blacksmith, which is nothing more than a hollow cylinder of wood, with a valvular piston, beside blowing the fire, serves for his seat when set on end, and as a box to contain the rest of his tools. The barber's bamboo basket, that contains his apparatus, is also the seat for his customers. The joiner makes use of his rule as a walking stick, and the chest that holds his tools serves him as a bench to work on. The pedlar's box and a large umbrella are sufficient for him to exhibit all his wares, and to form his little shop.

“ Little can be said in favour of the state of the fine arts in this country. Of their poetry, modern and antient, I have given a specimen; but I think it right once more to observe that, with regard to Asiatic compositions, Europeans cannot form a proper judgment; and more especially of those of the Chinese, which to the mysterious and obscure expressions of metaphor, add the disadvantage of a language that speaks but little to the ear; a whole sentence, or a combination of ideas, being sometimes shut up in a short monosyllable, whose beauties are most studiously addressed to the sense of seeing alone.

“ Of the other two sister arts, painting and music, a more decided opinion may be passed. Of the latter I have little to observe. It does not seem to be cultivated as a science: it is neither learned as an

elegant accomplishment, nor practised as an amusement of genteel life, except by those females who are educated for sale, or by such as hire themselves out for the entertainment of those who may be inclined to purchase their favours. And as the Chinese differ in their ideas from all other nations, these women play generally upon wind instruments, such as small pipes and flutes; whilst the favourite instrument of the men is the guitar, or something not very unlike it, some of which have two strings, some four, and others seven. Eunuchs, and the lowest class of persons, are hired to play; and the merit of a performance should seem to consist in the intenseness of the noise brought out of the different instruments. The gong, or, as they call it, the *loo*, is admirably adapted for this purpose. This instrument is a sort of shallow kettle, or rather the lid of a kettle, which they strike with a wooden mallet covered with leather. The composition is said to be copper, tin, and bismuth. They have also a kind of clarinet, three or four different sorts of trumpets, and a stringed instrument not unlike a violoncello. Their *sing* is a combination of uneven reeds of bamboo, not unlike the pipe of Pan; the tones are far from being disagreeable, but its construction is so wild and irregular, that it does not appear to be reducible to any kind of scale. Their kettle drums are generally shaped like barrels; and these, as well as different-sized bells fixed in a frame, constitute parts in their sacred music. They have also an instrument of music which consists of stones, cut into the shape of a carpenter's square, each stone suspended by the corner in a wooden frame. Those which I saw appeared



ed to belong to that species of the siliceous genus usually called gneiss, a sort of slaty granite. In the Keswick museum are musical stones of the same kind, which were picked up in a rivulet at the foot of Skiddaw mountain; but these seem to contain small pieces of black shorl or tourmaline. It is indeed the boast of their historians, that the whole empire of nature has been laid under contribution in order to complete their system of music: that the skins of animals, the fibres of plants, metals, stones, and baked earths, have all been employed in the production of sounds. Their instruments, it is true, are sufficiently varied, both as to shape and materials, but I know of none that is even tolerable to an European ear. An English gentleman in Canton took some pains to collect the various instruments of the country, of which the annexed plate is a representation; but his catalogue is not complete.

“A Chinese band generally plays, or endeavours to play, in unison, and sometimes an instrument takes the octave; but they never attempt to play in separate parts, confining their art to the melody only, if I may venture to apply a name of so much sweetness to an aggregation of harsh sounds. They have not the least notion of counter-point, or playing in parts: an invention indeed to which the elegant Greeks had not arrived, and which was unknown in Europe as well as Asia, until the monkish ages.”—

“It is scarcely necessary to add any thing further with regard to the state of painting in China. I shall only observe, that the emperor’s favourite draughtsman, who may of course be supposed as good or better than others of the same

profession in the capital, was sent to make drawings of some of the principal presents to carry to his master, then in Tartary, as elucidations of the descriptive catalogue. This man, after various unsuccessful attempts to design the elegant time-pieces of Vulliamy, supported by beautiful figures of white marble, supplicated my assistance in a matter which he represented as of the last importance to himself. It was in vain to assure him that I was no draughtsman; he was determined to have the proof of it; and he departed extremely well satisfied in obtaining a very mean performance with the pencil, to copy after or cover with his China ink. Every part of the machines, except the naked figures which supported the time-piece, and a barometer, he drew with neatness and accuracy; but all his attempts to copy these were unsuccessful. Whether it was owing to any real difficulty that exists in the nice turns and proportions of the human figure, or that by being better acquainted with it we more readily perceive the defects in the imitation of it, or from the circumstance of the human form being concealed in this country in loose folding robes, that caused the Chinese draughtsman so completely to fail, I leave to the artists of our own country to determine: but the fact was as I state it; all his attempts to draw these figures were preposterous.

“As to those specimens of beautiful flowers, birds, and insects, sometimes brought over to Europe, they are the work of artists at Canton, where, from being in the habit of copying prints and drawings, carried thither for the purpose of being transferred to porcelain, or as articles of commerce, they have



acquired a better taste than in the interior parts of the country. Great quantities of porcelain are sent from the potteries to Canton perfectly white, that the purchaser may have them painted to his own pattern: and specimens of these bear testimony that they are no mean copyists. It has been observed, however, that the subjects of natural history, painted by them, are frequently incorrect; that it is no unusual thing to meet with the flower of one plant set upon the stalk of another, and having the leaves of a third. This may formerly have been the case, from their following imperfect patterns, or from supposing they could improve nature; but having found that the representations of natural objects are in more request among foreigners, they pay a stricter attention to the subject that may be required; and we found them indeed such scrupulous copyists, as not only to draw the exact number of the petals, the stamina, and pistilla of a flower, but also the very number of leaves, with the thorns or spots on the foot-stalk that supported it. They will even count the number of scales on a fish, and mark them out in their representations; and it is impossible to imitate the brilliant colours of nature more closely. I brought home several drawings of plants, birds, and insects, that have been greatly admired for their accuracy and close colouring; but they want that effect which the proper application of light and shade never fails to produce. The coloured prints of Europe that are carried out to Canton are copied there with wonderful fidelity. But in doing this, they exercise no judgment of their own. Every defect and blemish, original or accidental,

they are sure to copy, being mere servile imitators, and not in the least feeling the force or the beauty of any specimen of the arts that may come before them; for the same person who is one day employed in copying a beautiful European print, will sit down the next to a Chinese drawing replete with absurdity.

“Whatever may be the progress of the arts in the port of Canton, they are not likely to experience much improvement in the interior parts of the country, or in the capital. It was the pride rather of the monarch, and of his ministers, that made them reject the proposal of Castaglione to establish a school for the arts, than the apprehension, as stated by the missionaries, that the rage for painting would become so general, as to be prejudicial to useful labour.

“In a country where painting is at so low an ebb, it would be in vain to expect much execution from the chisel. Grotesque images of ideal beings, and monstrous distortions of nature, are sometimes seen upon the ballustrades of bridges, and in their temples, where the niches are filled with gigantic gods of baked clay, sometimes painted with gaudy colours, and sometimes plastered over with gold leaf, or covered with a coat of varnish. They are as little able to model as to draw the human figure with any degree of correctness. In the whole empire there is not a statue, a hewn pillar, or a column that deserves to be mentioned. Large four-sided blocks of stone or wood are frequently erected near the gates of cities, with inscriptions upon them, meant to perpetuate the memory of certain distinguished characters; but they are neither objects of grandeur nor ornament,



ornament, having a much closer resemblance to a gallows than to triumphal arches, as the missionaries, for what reason I know not, have thought fit to call them.

“Next to the pagodas, the most conspicuous objects are the gates of cities. These are generally square buildings, carried several stories above the arched gateway, and, like the temples, are covered with one or more large projecting roofs. But the most stupendous work of this country is the great wall that divides it from northern Tartary. It is built exactly upon the same plan as the wall of Pekin, being a mound of earth cased on each side with bricks or stone. The astonishing magnitude of the fabric consists not so much in the plan of the work, as in the immense distance of fifteen hundred miles over which it is extended, over mountains of two or three thousand feet in height, across deep valleys and rivers. But the elevations, plans and sections of this wall and its towers have been taken with such truth and accuracy by the late captain Parish, of the royal artillery, that all further description would be superfluous. They are to be found in sir George Staunton’s valuable account of the embassy to China.

“The same emperor, who is said to have committed the barbarous act of destroying the works of the learned, raised this stupendous fabric, which has no parallel in the whole world, not even in the pyramids of Egypt; the magnitude of the largest of these containing only a very small portion of the quantity of matter comprehended in the great wall of China. This indeed is so enormous, that admitting, what I believe has never been de-

nied, its length to be fifteen hundred miles, and the dimensions throughout pretty much the same as where it was crossed by the British embassy, the materials of all the dwelling-houses of England and Scotland, supposing them to amount to one million eight hundred thousand, and to average on the whole two thousand cubic feet of masonry or brick-work, are barely equivalent to the bulk or solid contents of the great wall of China. Nor are the projecting massy towers of stone and brick included in this calculation. These alone, supposing them to continue throughout at bow-shot distance, were calculated to contain as much masonry and brickwork as all London. To give another idea of the mass of matter in this stupendous fabric, it may be observed, that it is more than sufficient to surround the circumference of the earth on two of its great circles, with two walls, each six feet high and two feet thick! It is to be understood, however, that in this calculation is included the earthy part in the middle of the wall.

“Turning from an object, which the great doctor Johnson was of opinion would be an honour to any one to say that his grandfather had seen, another presents itself scarcely inferior in point of grandeur, and greatly excelling it in general utility. This is what has usually been called the imperial or grand canal, an inland navigation of such extent and magnitude as to stand unrivalled in the history of the world. I may safely say that, in point of magnitude, our most extensive inland navigation of England can no more be compared to the grand trunk that intersects China, than a park or garden fish-pond to the great lake of Winan-



dermere. The Chinese ascribe an antiquity to this work higher by many centuries than to that of the great wall; but the Tartars pretend it was first opened in the thirteenth century, under the Mongul government. The probability is, that an effeminate and shameful administration had suffered it to fall into decay, and that the more active Tartars caused it to undergo a thorough repair: at present it exhibits no appearances of great antiquity. The bridges, the stone piers of the flood-gates, the quays, and the retaining walls of the earthen embankments, are comparatively new. Whether it has originally been constructed by Chinese or Tartars, the conception of such an undertaking, and the manner in which it is executed, imply a degree of science and ingenuity beyond what I suspect we should now find in the country, either in one or the other of these people. The general surface of the country and other favourable circumstances have contributed very materially to assist the projector, but a great deal of skill and management, as well as of immense labour, are conspicuous throughout the whole work.

“I shall endeavour to convey, in a few words, a general idea of the principles on which this grand undertaking has been carried on. All the rivers of note in China fall from the high lands of Tartary, which lie to the northward of Thibet, crossing the plains of this empire in their descent to the sea from west to east. The inland navigation being carried from north to south cuts these rivers at right angles, the smaller streams of which terminating in it afford a constant supply of water; and the three great rivers, the *Eu-ho* to the north, the Yellow river towards the

middle, and the *Yang-tse-kiang* to the south, intersecting the canal, carry off the superfluous water to the sea. The former, therefore, are the *feeders*, and the latter the *dischargers*, of the great trunk of the canal. A number of difficulties must have arisen in accommodating the general level of the canal to the several levels of the feeding streams; for, notwithstanding all the favourable circumstances of the face of the country, it has been found necessary in many places to cut down to the depth of sixty or seventy feet below the surface; and, in others, to raise mounds of earth upon lakes and swamps and marshy grounds, of such a length and magnitude that nothing short of absolute command over multitudes could have accomplished an undertaking, whose immensity is only exceeded by the great wall. These gigantic embankments are sometimes carried through lakes of several miles in diameter, between which the water is forced up to a height considerably above that of the lake; and in such situations we sometimes observed this enormous aqueduct gliding along at the rate of three miles an hour. Few parts of it are level: in some places it has little or no current; one day we had it setting to the southward at the rate of one, two, or three miles an hour, the next to the northward, and frequently on the same day we found it stationary, and running in opposite directions. This balancing of the level was effected by flood-gates thrown across at certain distances to to elevate or depress the height of the water a few inches, as might appear to be necessary; and these stoppages are simply planks sliding in grooves, that are cut into the sides of two stone abutments, which in these places contract



tract the canal to the width of about thirty feet. There is not a lock nor, except these, a single interruption to a continued navigation of six hundred miles.

“ The cemeteries, or repositories of the dead, exhibit a much greater variety of monumental architecture than the dwellings of the living can boast of. Some indeed deposit the remains of their ancestors in houses that differ in nothing from those they inhabited while living, except in their diminutive size; others prefer a square vault, ornamented in such a manner as fancy may suggest; some make choice of a hexagon to cover the deceased, and others of an octagon. The round, the triangular, the square, and multangular column is indifferently raised over the grave of a Chinese; but the most common form of a monument to the remains of persons of rank consists in three terraces, one above another, inclosed by circular walls. The door or entrance of the vault is in the centre of the uppermost terrace, covered with an appropriate inscription; and figures of slaves and horses and cattle, with other creatures that, when living, were subservient to them and added to their pleasures, are employed after their death to decorate the terraces of their tombs.

‘ Quæ gratia currum  
 Armorumque fuit vivis, quæ cura nitentes  
 Pascere equos, eadem sequitur tellure re-  
 postos.’

VIRGIL, *Æneid* vi.

‘ Those pleasing cares the heroes felt,  
 alive,  
 For chariots, steeds, and arms, in death  
 survive.’

PITT.

“ It may be considered as superfluous, after what has been said, to observe, that no branch of natural philosophy is made a study, or a

pursuit, in China. The practical application of some of the most obvious effects produced by natural causes could not escape the observation of a people who had, at an early period, attained so high a degree of civilization; but, satisfied with the practical part, they pushed their inquiries no farther. Of pneumatics, hydrostatics, electricity, and magnetism, they may be said to have little or no knowledge; and their optics extend not beyond the making of convex and concave lenses of rock crystal to assist the sight in magnifying, or throwing more rays upon, small objects, and, by collecting to a focus the rays of the sun, to set fire to combustible substances. These lenses are cut with a saw and afterwards polished, the powder of crystal being used in both operations. To polish diamonds they make use of the powder of adamantine spar, or the corundum stone. In cutting different kinds of stone into groups of figures, houses, mountains, and sometimes into whole landscapes, they discover more of persevering labour, of a determination to subdue difficulties which were not worth the subduing, than real ingenuity. Among the many remarkable instances of this kind of labour, there is one in the possession of the right honourable Charles Greville, that deserves to be noticed. It is a group of well formed, excavated, and highly ornamented bottles, covered with foliage and figures, raised in the manner of the antique *cameos*, with moveable ring-handles standing on a base or pedestal; the whole cut out of one solid block of clear rock crystal. Yet this laborious trifle was probably sold for a few dollars in China. It was bought in London for about thirty pounds,



where it could not have been made for many times that sum, if, indeed, it could have been made at all. All their spectacles that I have seen were crystal set in horn, tortoise-shell, or ivory. The single microscope is in common use, but they have never hit upon the effect of approximating objects by combining two or more lenses, a discovery indeed to which in Europe we are more indebted to chance than to the result of scientific inquiry. I observed at *Yuen-min-yuen* a rude kind of magic lantern, and a camera obscura, neither of which, although evidently of Chinese workmanship, appeared to wear the marks of a national invention. I should rather conclude, that they were part of those striking and curious experiments which the early Jesuits displayed at court, in order to astonish the emperor with their profound skill, and raise their reputation as men of learning. Of the *ombres Chinoises* they may, perhaps, claim the invention, and in pyrotechny their ingenuity may be reckoned much superior to any thing which has hitherto been exhibited in that art in Europe.

“A convex lens is among the usual appendages to the tobacco pipe. With these they are in the daily habit of lighting their pipes. Hence the great burning lens made by Mr. Parker of Fleet-street, and carried out among the presents for the emperor, was an object that excited no admiration in the minds of the Chinese. The difficulty of making a lens of such magnitude perfect, or free from flaw, and its extraordinary powers, could not be understood, and consequently not appreciated by them; and although in the short space of four seconds it completely melted down one of their base copper coins, when the

sun was more than forty degrees beyond the meridian, it made no impression of surprise on their uninformed minds. The only inquiry they made about it was, whether the substance was crystal; but being informed it was glass, they turned away with a sort of disdain, as if they would say, Is a lump of glass a proper present to offer to our great *Whang-tee*? The prime minister, *Ho-tchung-tong*, in order to convince us how very familiar articles of such a nature were to him, lighted his pipe very composedly at the focus, but had a narrow escape from singeing his satin sleeve, which would certainly have happened had I not given him a sudden push. He seemed, however, to be insensible of his danger, and walked off without the least concern.

“Indeed, in selecting the many valuable presents relating to science, their knowledge and learning had been greatly over-rated. They had little esteem for what they could not comprehend, and specimens of art served only to excite their jealousy, and to wound their pride. Whenever a future embassy shall be sent to Peking, I should recommend articles of gold, silver, and steel, children’s toys and trinkets, and perhaps a few specimens of Derbyshire spar, with the finest broad-cloth and kerseymeres, in preference to all others; for, in their present state, they are totally incapable of appreciating any thing great or excellent in the arts and sciences.

“To alleviate the afflictions of mankind, and to assuage the pains which the human frame is liable to suffer, must have been among the earliest studies of civilized society; and accordingly, in the history of antient kingdoms, we find the practitioners of the healing art regarded



garded even to adoration. Chiron, the preceptor of Achilles, and the master of Æsculapius, was transferred to the heavens, where he still shines under the name of Sagittarius. Among these nations, indeed, which we call savage, there is usually shown a more than ordinary respect for such of their countrymen as are most skilled in removing obstructions, allaying tumors, healing bruises, and, generally speaking, who can apply relief to misery. But the Chinese, who seem to differ in their opinions from all the rest of mankind, whether civilized or savage, pay little respect to the therapeutic art. They have established no public schools for the study of medicine, nor does the pursuit of it lead to honours, rank, or fortune. Such as take up the profession are generally of an inferior class; and the eunuchs about the palace are considered among their best physicians. According to their own account, the books on medicine escaped the fire, by which they pretend the works of learning were consumed, in the reign of *Shee-wbang-tee*, two hundred years be-

fore the Christian era; and yet the best of their medical books of the present day are little better than mere herbals, specifying the names and enumerating the qualities of certain plants. The knowledge of these plants and of their supposed virtues goes a great way towards constituting a physician. Those most commonly employed are ginseng, rhubarb, and China-root. A few preparations are also found in their pharmacopœia from the animal and the mineral kingdoms. In the former they employ snakes, beetles, centipedes, and the aureliæ of the silk worm and other insects; the meloe and the bee are used for blisters. In the latter, saltpetre, sulphur, native cinnabar, and a few other articles, are occasionally prescribed. Opium is taken as a medicine, but more generally as a cordial to exhilarate the spirits. Though the importation of this drug is strictly prohibited, yet, as I have before observed, vast quantities are annually smuggled into the country from Bengal and from Europe, through the connivance of the custom-house officers."

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### On the MODIFICATION of CLOUDS.

[From Mr. HOWARD'S ESSAY on this Subject.]

"SINCE the increased attention which has been given to meteorology, the study of the various appearances of water suspended in the atmosphere is become an interesting and even necessary branch of that pursuit.

"If clouds were the mere result of the condensation of vapour in the masses of atmosphere which

they occupy, if their variations were produced by the movements of the atmosphere alone, then indeed might the study of them be deemed an useless pursuit of shadows, an attempt to describe forms which, being the sport of winds, must be ever varying, and therefore not to be defined.

"But however the erroneous admission



mission of this opinion may have operated to prevent attention to them, the case is not so with clouds. They are subject to certain distinct modifications, produced by the general causes which effect all the variations of the atmosphere: they are commonly as good visible indications of the operation of these causes, as is the countenance of the state of a person's mind or body.

“It is the frequent observation of the countenance of the sky, and of its connection with the present and ensuing phenomena, that constitutes the antient and popular meteorology. The want of this branch of knowledge renders the predictions of the philosopher (who in attending only to his instruments may be said only to examine the pulse of the atmosphere) less generally successful than those of the weather-wise mariner or husbandman.

“With the latter, the dependence of their labours on the state of the atmosphere, and the direction of its currents, creates a necessity of frequent observation, which in its turn produces experience.

“But as this experience is usually consigned only to the memory of the possessor, in a confused mass of simple aphorisms, the skill resulting from it is in a manner incommunicable; for, however valuable these links when in connection with the rest of the chain, they often serve, when taken singly, only to mislead; and the power of connecting them, in order to form a judgment upon occasion, resides only in the mind before which their relations have passed, though perhaps imperceptibly, in review. In order to enable the meteorologist to apply the key of analysis to the experience of others, as well as to record his own with

brevity and precision, it may perhaps be allowable to introduce a methodical nomenclature, applicable to the various forms of suspended water, or, in other words, to the modifications of cloud.

“By modification is to be understood simply the structure or manner of aggregation, not the precise form or magnitude; which indeed varies every moment in most clouds. The principal modifications are commonly as distinguishable from each other as a tree from a hill, or the latter from a lake; although clouds in the same modification, considered with respect to each other, have often only the common resemblances which exist among trees, hills, or lakes, taken generally.

“The nomenclature is drawn from the Latin. The reasons for having recourse to a dead language for terms to be adopted by the learned of different nations are obvious. If it should be asked why the Greek was not preferred, after the example of chemistry, the author answers, that the objects being to be defined by visible characters, as in natural history, it was desirable that the terms adopted should at once convey the idea of these, and render a recourse to definitions needless to such as understand the literal sense, which many more would, it is concluded, in Latin than in Greek words.

“There are three simple and distinct modifications, in any one of which the aggregate of minute drops called a cloud may be formed, increase to its greatest extent, and finally decrease and disappear.

“But the same aggregate which has been formed in one modification, upon a change in the attendant circumstances, may pass into another.

“Or



“Or it may continue a considerable time in an intermediate state, partaking of the characters of two modifications; and it may also disappear in this stage, or return to the first modification.

“Lastly, aggregates separately formed in different modifications may unite and pass into one, exhibiting different characters in different parts, or a portion of a simple aggregate may pass into another modification without separating from the remainder of the mass.

“Hence, together with the simple, it becomes necessary to admit intermediate and compound modifications, and to impose names on such of them as are worthy of notice.

“The simple modifications are thus named and defined:

“1. *Cirrus*. Def. Nubes cirrata, tenuissima, quæ undique crescat.

“Parallel, flexuous, or diverging fibres, extensible in any or in all directions.

“2. *Cumulus*. Def. Nubes cumulata, densa, sursum crescens.

“Convex or conical heaps, increasing upward from a horizontal base.

“3. *Stratus*. Def. Nubes strata, aquæ modo expansa, deorsum crescens.

“A widely extended, continuous, horizontal sheet, increasing from below.

“This application of the Latin word *stratus* is a little forced. But the substantive, *stratum*, did not agree in its termination with the other two, and is besides already used in a different sense even on this subject, e. g. *a stratum of clouds*; yet it was desirable to keep the derivation from the verb *sterno*, as its significations agree so well with the circumstances of this cloud.

“The intermediate modifications which require to be noticed are:

“4. *Cirro-cumulus*. Def. Nubeculæ densiores subrotundæ et quasi in agmine appositæ.

“Small, well defined roundish masses, in close horizontal arrangement.

“5. *Cirro-stratus*. Def. Nubes extenuata sub-concava vel undulata. Nubeculæ hujus modi appositæ.

“Horizontal or slightly inclined masses, attenuated towards a part or the whole of their circumference, bent downward, or undulated, separate, or in groups consisting of small clouds having these characters.

“The compound modifications are:

“6. *Cumulo-stratus*. Def. Nubes densa, basim planam undique supercrescens, vel cujus moles longinqua videtur partim plana partim cumulata.

“The cirro-stratus blended with the cumulus, and either appearing intermixed with the heaps of the latter, or superadding a wide-spread structure to its base.

“7. *Cumulo-cirro-stratus vel Nimbus*. Def. Nubes vel nubium congeries pluviam effundens.

“The rain cloud. A cloud or system of clouds from which rain is falling. It is a horizontal sheet, above which the cirrus spreads, while the cumulus enters it laterally and from beneath.

“Of the *Cirrus*.

“Clouds in this modification appear to have the least density, the greatest elevation, and the greatest variety of extent and direction. They are the earliest appearance after serene weather. They are first indicated by a few threads pencilled, as it were, on the sky. These increase in length, and new ones are in the mean time added laterally. Often the first-formed threads serve as stems to support numerous branches,



branches, which in their turn give rise to others.

“The increase is sometimes perfectly indeterminate, at others it has a very decided direction. Thus, the first few threads being once formed, the remainder shall be propagated either in one, two, or more directions laterally, or obliquely upward or downward, the direction being often the same in a great number of clouds visible at the same time: for the oblique descending tufts shall appear to converge towards a point in the horizon, and the long straight streaks to meet in opposite points therein; which is the optical effect of parallel extension.

“Their duration is uncertain, varying from a few minutes after the first appearance to an extent of many hours. It is long when they appear alone and at great heights, and shorter when they are formed lower and in the vicinity of other clouds.

“This modification, although in appearance almost motionless, is intimately connected with the variable motions of the atmosphere. Considering that clouds of this kind have long been deemed a prognostic of wind, it is extraordinary that the nature of this connection should not have been more studied, as the knowledge of it might have been productive of useful results.

“In fair weather, with light variable breezes, the sky is seldom quite clear of small groups of the oblique cirrus, which frequently come on from the leeward, and the direction of their increase is to windward. Continued wet weather is attended with horizontal sheets of this cloud, which subside quickly and pass to the cirro-stratus.

“Before storms they appear lower

and denser, and usually in the quarter opposite to that from which the storm arises. Steady high winds are also preceded and attended by streaks running quite across the sky in the direction they blow in.

“The relations of this modification with the state of the barometer, thermometer, hygrometer, and electrometer, have not yet been attended to.

*Of the Cumulus.*

“Clouds in this modification are commonly of the most dense structure: they are formed in the lower atmosphere, and move along with the current which is next the earth.

“A small irregular spot first appears, and is, as it were, the nucleus on which they increase. The lower surface continues irregularly plane, while the upper rises into conical or hemispherical heaps; which may afterwards continue long nearly of the same bulk, or rapidly rise to mountains.

“In the former case they are usually numerous and near together, in the latter few and distant; but whether there are few or many, their bases always lie nearly in one horizontal plane, and their increase upward is somewhat proportionate to the extent of base, and nearly alike in many that appear at once.

“Their appearance, increase, and disappearance, in fair weather, are often periodical, and keep pace with the temperature of the day. Thus they will begin to form some hours after sun-rise, arrive at their maximum in the hottest part of the afternoon, then go on diminishing, and totally disperse about sunset.

“But in changeable weather they partake of the vicissitudes of the atmosphere; sometimes evaporating almost as soon as formed, at others suddenly forming and as quickly



quickly passing to the compound modifications.

“The cumulus of fair weather has a moderate elevation and extent, and a well defined rounded surface. Previous to rain it increases more rapidly, appears lower in the atmosphere, and with its surface full of loose fleeces or protuberances.

“The formation of large cumuli to leeward in a strong wind, indicates the approach of a calm with rain. When they do not disappear or subside about sun-set, but continue to rise, thunder is to be expected in the night.

“Independently of the beauty and magnificence it adds to the face of nature, the cumulus serves to screen the earth from the direct rays of the sun, by its multiplied reflections to diffuse, and, as it were, economize the light, and also to convey the product of evaporation to a distance from the place of its origin. The relations of the cumulus with the state of the barometer, &c. have not yet been enough attended to.

“*Of the Stratus.*

“This modification has a mean degree of density.

“It is the lowest of clouds, since its inferior surface commonly rests on the earth or water.

“Contrary to the last, which may be considered as belonging to the day, this is properly the cloud of night; the time of its first appearance being about sun-set. It comprehends all those creeping mists which in calm evening ascend in spreading sheets (like an inundation of water) from the bottom of valleys and the surface of lakes, rivers, &c.

“Its duration is frequently through the night.

“On the return of the sun the

level surface of this cloud begins to put on the appearance of cumulus, the whole at the same time separating from the ground. The continuity is next destroyed, and the cloud ascends and evaporates, or passes off with the appearance of the nascent cumulus.

“This has been long experienced as a prognostic of fair weather, and indeed there is none more serene than that which is ushered in by it. The relation of the stratus to the state of the atmosphere as indicated by the barometer, &c. appears notwithstanding to have passed hitherto without due attention.

“*Of the Cirro-cumulus.*

“The cirrus, having continued for some time increasing or stationary, usually passes either to the cirro-cumulus or the cirro-stratus, at the same time descending to a lower station in the atmosphere.

“The cirro-cumulus is formed from a cirrus, or from a number of small separate cirri, by the fibres collapsing, as it were, and passing into small roundish masses, in which the texture of the cirrus is no longer discernible, although they still retain somewhat of the same relative arrangement. This change takes place either throughout the whole mass at once, or progressively from one extremity to the other. In either case, the same effect is produced on a number of adjacent cirri at the same time and in the same order. It appears in some instances to be accelerated by the approach of other clouds.

“This modification forms a very beautiful sky, sometimes exhibiting numerous distinct beds of these small connected clouds, floating at different altitudes.

“The cirro-cumulus is frequent in summer, and is attendant on warm and dry weather. It is also occasionally



occasionally and more sparingly seen in the intervals of showers, and in winter. It may either evaporate, or pass to the cirrus or cirro-stratus.

*“ Of the Cirro-stratus.*

“ This cloud appears to result from the subsidence of the fibres of the cirrus to a horizontal position, at the same time that they approach towards each other laterally. The form and relative position, when seen in the distance, frequently give the idea of shoals of fish. Yet in this, as in other instances, the structure must be attended to rather than the form, which varies much, presenting at other times the appearance of parallel bars, interwoven streaks like the grain of polished wood, &c. It is always thickest in the middle, or at one extremity, and extenuated towards the edge. The distinct appearance of a cirrus does not always precede the production of this and the last modification.

“ The cirro-stratus precedes wind and rain, the near or distant approach of which may sometimes be estimated from its greater or less abundance and permanence. It is almost always to be seen in the intervals of storms. Sometimes this and the cirro-cumulus appear together in the sky, and even alternate with each other in the same cloud, when the different evolutions which ensue are a curious spectacle, and a judgement may be formed of the weather likely to ensue by observing which modification prevails at last. The cirro-stratus is the modification which most frequently and completely exhibits the phenomena of the solar and lunar halo, and (as supposed from a few observations) the parheliion and paraselene also. Hence the reason of the prognostic for

foul weather, commonly drawn from the appearance of halo.

“ This modification is on this account more peculiarly worthy of investigation. Little is yet ascertained of the relations of this and the last modification with the barometer, &c. although, as may be readily supposed, they have been found to accord with opposite indications of those instruments.

*“ Of the Cumulo-stratus.*

“ The different modifications which have been just treated of sometimes give place to each other, at other times two or more appear in the same sky; but in this case the clouds in the same modification lie mostly in the same plane of elevation, those which are more elevated appearing through the intervals of the lower, or the latter showing dark against the lighter ones above them. When the cumulus increases rapidly, a cirro-stratus is frequently seen to form around its summit, reposing thereon as on a mountain, while the former cloud continues discernible in some degree through it. This state continues but a short time. The cirro-stratus speedily becomes denser and spreads, while the superior part of the cumulus extends itself and passes into it, the base continuing as before, and the convex protuberances changing their position till they present themselves laterally and downward. More rarely the cumulus alone performs this evolution, and its superior part constitutes the incumbent cirro-stratus.

“ In either case a large lofty dense cloud is formed, which may be compared to a mushroom with a very thick short stem. But when a whole sky is crowded with this modification, the appearances are more indistinct. The cumulus rises through the interstices of the superior



superior clouds, and the whole, seen as it passes off in the distant horizon, presents to the fancy mountains covered with snow, intersected with darker ridges and lakes of water, rocks and towers, &c. The distinct cumulo-stratus is formed in the interval between the first appearance of the fleecy cumulus and the commencement of rain, while the lower atmosphere is yet too dry; also during the approach of thunder storms: the indistinct appearance of it is chiefly in the longer or shorter intervals of showers of rain, snow, or hail.

“The cumulo-stratus chiefly affects a mean state of the atmosphere as to pressure and temperature; but in this respect, like the other modifications, it affords much room for future observation.

“*Of the Nimbus, or Cumulo-cirro-stratus.*

“Clouds in any one of the preceding modifications, at the same degree of elevation, or in two or more of them at different elevations, may increase so as completely to obscure the sky, and at times put on an appearance of density which to the inexperienced observer indicates the speedy commencement of rain. It is nevertheless extremely probable, as well from attentive observation as from a consideration of the several modes of their production, that the clouds while in any one of these states do not at any time let fall rain.

“Before this effect takes place they have been uniformly found to undergo a change, attended with appearances sufficiently remarkable to constitute a distinct modification. These appearances, when the rain happens over our heads, are but imperfectly seen. We can then only observe, before the arrival of the denser and lower clouds, or

through their interstices, that there exists *at a greater altitude* a thin light veil, or at least a hazy turbidness. When this has considerably increased, we see the lower clouds spread themselves till they unite in all points, and form one uniform sheet. The rain then commences, and the lower clouds, arriving from the windward, move under this sheet and are successively lost in it. When the latter cease to arrive, or when the sheet breaks, every one's experience teaches him to expect an abatement or cessation of rain.

“But there often follows, what seems hitherto to have been unnoticed, an immediate and great addition to the quantity of cloud. At the same time the actual *obscurity* is lessened, because the arrangement, which now returns, gives freer passage to the rays of light: for on the cessation of rain the lower broken clouds which remain rise into cumuli, and the superior sheet puts on the various forms of the cirro-stratus, sometimes passing to the cirro-cumulus.

“If the interval be long before the next shower, the cumulo-stratus usually makes its appearance, which it also does sometimes very suddenly after the first cessation.

“But we see the nature of this process more perfectly in viewing a distant shower in profile.

“If the cumulus be the only cloud present at such a time, we may observe its superior part to become tufted with nascent cirri. Several adjacent clouds also approach and unite laterally by subsidence.

“The cirri increase, extending themselves upward and laterally; after which the shower is seen to commence. At other times the converse takes place of what has been described relative to the cessation of rain. The cirro-stratus



is previously formed above the cumulus, and their sudden union is attended with the production of cirri and rain.

“ In either case the cirri *vegetate*, as it were, in proportion to the quantity of rain falling, and give the cloud a character by which it is easily known at great distances, and to which, in the language of meteorology, we may appropriate the nimbus of the Latins.

“ When one of these arrives hastily *with the wind*, it brings but little rain, and frequently some hail or driven snow.

“ In heavy showers, the central sheet once formed, is, as it were, warped to windward, the cirri being propagated above and against the lower current, while the cumuli arriving with the latter are successively *brought to* and contribute to reinforce it.

“ Such are the phenomena of showers. In continued gentle rains it does not appear necessary for the resolution of the clouds that the different modifications should come into actual contact.

“ It is sufficient that there exist two strata of clouds, one passing beneath the other, and each continually tending to horizontal uniform diffusion. It will rain during this state of the two strata, although they should be separated by an interval of many hundred feet in elevation. See an instance in De Luc, *Idées sur la Météorologie*, tom. ii. p. 52, &c.

“ As the masses of cloud are always blended and their arrangement destroyed before rain comes on, so the reappearance of these is the signal for its cessation. The thin sheets of cloud which pass over

during a wet day, certainly receive from the humid atmosphere a supply proportionate to their consumption, while the latter prevents their increase in bulk. Hence a seeming paradox, which yet accords strictly with observation, that for any given hour of a wet day, or any given day of a wet season, *the more cloud the less rain*. Hence also arise some further reflections on the purpose answered by clouds in the œconomy of nature. Since rain may be produced by, and continue to fall from, the slightest obscuration of the sky by the nimbus (that is, by *two sheets* in different states), while the cumulus or cumulo-stratus, with the most dark and threatening aspect, shall pass over without letting fall a drop, until their change of state commences; it should seem that the latter are reservoirs in which the water is collected from a large space of atmosphere for occasional and local irrigation in dry seasons, and by means of which it is also arrested at times in its descent in the midst of wet ones. In which so evident provision for the sustenance of all animal and vegetable life, as well as for the success of mankind in that pursuit so essential to their welfare in temperate climates, of cultivating the earth, we may discover the wisdom and goodness of the Creator and Preserver of all things.

“ The nimbus, although in itself one of the least beautiful clouds, is yet now and then superbly decorated with its attendant the rainbow; which can only be seen in perfection when backed by the widely extended uniform gloom of this modification.”



## On the PROPERTIES of the VIVIPAROUS SNAIL.

[FROM SPALLANZANI'S MEMOIRS ON RESPIRATION.]

## § 1.

“**T**ERRESTRIAL animals, which exist always in an aëriform medium, furnished the subjects of the preceding experiments; but in this order, even among those which are furnished with calcareous shells, a much greater number inhabit rivers, ponds, lakes, and salt water. I have shown that land testacea absorb the oxygen contained in the atmosphere, and that they perish when deprived of it: but do the aquatic testacea absorb, in the same manner, the oxygen diffused in the water; and is this absorption as necessary to their existence as it is to that of the land testacea? If respiration, however different its mode of action in different species of animals, be, notwithstanding, a function essential to all living beings, we cannot doubt that nature has subjected to the same law the inhabitants of the water: it must, however, be acknowledged that we have no direct proofs on this subject, and that our ideas are altogether built on those of analogy.

“This subject is nevertheless agreeable and interesting in itself, and also of great importance in the animal economy: such were the motives and the views which induced me to enter on the investigation of aquatic snails, after having examined land snails in the same manner. The marshes of Pavia furnished me with three fresh-water crustacea.

“§ 2.—The first was the viviparous snail, *Helix vivipara* of Linn. Several reasons operated on me to examine this animal. It does not lay eggs, but brings forth its young.

I remarked on this occasion the following circumstance, which is peculiar to this species of snail, and which I never observed in other animals placed, like the testacea, among the lowest order of living beings. All these viviparous or oviparous animals have a certain season when they produce their young or lay their eggs. To some of them nature seems to have appointed the spring for this operation, to others summer or autumn, and to a few even winter; but those which multiply twice a-year are not very common. I am certain, however, that these snails, of which I have spoken, give birth to their young during every season of the year. I have kept them for several years in my house, in large vases filled with water, covered at the bottom with muddy earth, by which they are nourished; and I observed young snails upon the mud in winter as well as in the three other seasons, although they multiplied in far greater abundance during the spring.

“An attention to the anatomy of these animals corroborates this observation. If we cautiously divide the body of one of them, we discover that its uterus is a canal which opens externally, and contains a greater or less number of fœtuses or small snails, as well formed as the mothers that nourished them in their matrix. Some snails contain fifteen small ones, others twenty-five, and I have reckoned thirty-five in a third: in short, in one of them I even found seventy. The largest of them are  
P usually



usually in the lowest region of the uterus, as being the most mature, and most prepared for exclusion.

"If we remove the young from the uterus into a glass filled with water, they at first fall to the bottom, because they are specifically heavier than this fluid; but it was not without surprise that I afterwards perceived them leave their shells with their antennæ pointed on their head, crawl on the bottom of the glass, climb up its sides, and ascend to the surface of the water. These snails had then arrived at maturity, and consequently were at the point of exclusion. I was furnished with an irrefragable proof of this, in observing some of them, taken from the uterus by a kind of Cæsarean operation, evolved in the vessels wherein I had placed them.

"§ 3.—But this investigation presented another interesting phenomenon. On viewing attentively the most elevated portion of the uterus, we observe the fœtuses become gradually less, and in fact they are transparent eggs, in which we can distinguish the fœtuses themselves with the greatest clearness. They were partly without the shell, which was already formed, and swimming in a fluid that at this period served them for nourishment. But these eggs, of a globular form, and lined with a subtle membrane under the shell, were of different sizes: in the smallest, when viewed through a microscope, we perceived already the small animal like a point of organized matter, but the shell was not yet visible.

"I discovered, then, that these small snails, which the large ones brought forth, proceeded from an egg hatched in the uterus of the mother.

"This observation is valuable, since it shows that an animal termed viviparous, because it brings forth its young, should at first be called oviparous, since this progeny originally proceeds from an egg which is hatched in the matrix.

"As anatomical researches have likewise discovered other animals similar to these under the same point of view, analogy would induce us to believe, that those which are termed viviparous, generally considered, derive, in like manner, their origin from an egg.

"§ 4.—In order not only to gratify my own curiosity, but excite that of my students, I opened, in the course of my public lectures, a great number of these snails; and I can affirm that they all contained young ones in the uterus; which made me suspect that this species, like a variety of land snails, participate of both sexes. But if this opinion be just, are they what is strictly termed hermaphrodites? that is, can they procreate their species without copulation, like the fresh-water polypus and several other worms? Or, rather, are they less strictly hermaphrodites? and must we suppose that the concurrence of two individuals is necessary to fecundation, as is the case with land snails? We observe, however, the two sexes united in each individual of these last animals, and in their intercourse they reciprocally fecundate each other. We look, however, in vain for these two sexes in the viviparous snail: must we then suppose that these snails are true hermaphrodites?

"If this be the case, copulation cannot be essential to their fecundation, and each individual must possess



possess within itself the faculty of reproducing its species. In the constant attention I have given to these snails, with a view of studying their habits, when they were in clear and shallow water, I have always been solicitous, especially during spring and summer, to observe if they actually copulated, as we frequently witness in land snails: but I was never able to discover them in this situation; from which circumstance alone I am not, however, warranted to affirm they are really hermaphrodites, because it was very possible the act of copulation might be performed during my absence.

“Having determined to make a decisive experiment, I took, with this intention, several snails from the uterus, and placed them in small holes filled with water, so that there was only a single individual contained in each hole. I dug six of them in a place near Pavia, well supplied with water by means of subterranean springs, and which, after having been once formed, would remain full of this fluid during the whole year. In the spring the holes were filled to three-fourths of their depth, and I placed in each of them a single small snail immediately on being taken from the uterus. On emptying the holes, at the end of three months, in each of them I found the snail I had placed in it, but somewhat increased in bulk.

I refilled the holes with water, and again placed in them the same snails: I repeated my visits, and in the following year the four which only now remained had increased to double their original size. I conjectured that the others had perished, because it was not supposable they would have left their natural element. In the second year there was a proportional increase of bulk; and at the commencement of the third I was enabled, by the two which only then remained, to solve the question which at first induced me to enter on this experiment.

“In the bottom of one of the two holes, which contained the remaining animals, I found three, and in the other four, small snails; but, on breaking the shell of the parent animals, I discovered in the uterus the young in all their different stages of growth, as I had formerly observed in the others, and even eggs still smaller than any which had previously fallen under my observation.

“Since, then, each of these animals had been constantly kept separated from all others, it affords a demonstrative proof that copulation is not necessary to the multiplication of this species, and consequently that they are true hermaphrodites; and, so far as I know, this property had not hitherto been discovered in the other species of aquatic or land snails.”



## ANALYTICAL EXPERIMENTS and OBSERVATIONS ON LAC.

[From Mr. HATCHETT'S MEMOIR in the PHILOSOPHICAL TRANSACTIONS.]

“THE period is uncertain when the substance called lac, so curious in its origin and so useful to many arts, was first introduced into Europe; and although it probably was known to the antients, yet the inaccuracy of their descriptions precludes this from being stated as a positive fact.

“The natives of India have long employed it for various purposes, exclusive of those which cause it to be in request with Europeans; but many of the Indian processes are undoubtedly as yet unknown to us.

“One of these, of a very useful nature, was some time since obligingly communicated to me by Charles Wilkins, Esq. F.R.S. and has been the cause of this inquiry into the nature and properties of lac.

“Mr. Wilkins informed me, that the Hindûs dissolve shell lac in water, by the mere addition of a little borax; and the solution, being then mixed with ivory-black, or lamp-black, is employed by them as an ink, which, when dry, is not easily acted upon by damp or water. Upon trial, I found the fact to be exactly as Mr. Wilkins had stated, and therefore made other experiments; but the results of these I shall at present omit, as they will

occur with more propriety and perspicuity in the latter part of this paper.

“In respect to the natural history of lac, we are much indebted to Mr. Kerr\*, Mr. Saunders†, and Dr. Roxburgh‡; from whose valuable communications to this society, we learn many curious particulars concerning the formation of this substance, which, from their accounts, and from inspection, evidently appears to be the nidus or comb of the insect called coccus or chermes lacca, deposited on branches of certain species of mimosa and other plants.

“Lac is distinguished into four kinds; of which, however, only three are commonly known in commerce, viz. stick lac, seed lac, and shell lac; the difference of these, with that of the fourth, called lump lac, is as follows.

“1. Stick lac, is the substance or comb in its natural state, incrusting small branches or twigs.

“2. Seed lac, is said to be only the above, which has been separated from the twigs, and reduced into small fragments; but I suspect it to have undergone some other process, as I have found the best specimens to be very considerably deprived of the colouring matter§.

\* Natural History of the Insect which produces the Gum Lacca. By Mr. James Kerr, of Patna. Phil. Trans. for 1781, p. 374.

† Some Account of the vegetable and mineral Productions of Boutan and Thibet. By Mr. Robert Saunders. Phil. Trans. for 1789, p. 107.

‡ *Chermes Lacca*. By William Roxburgh, M.D. Phil. Trans. for 1791, p. 228.

§ Mr. Wilkins informs me that the crude lac, as it is taken from the branches and twigs of the trees, is usually deprived of its colouring matter by boiling, having been previously reduced, by pounding, into small fragments. In Bengal, the silk-dyers are the people who thus produce what we call the seed lac, which they do for the sake of the colour.



“3. Lump lac, is formed from seed lac, liquefied by fire, and formed into cakes. And,

“4. Shell lac, according to Mr. Kerr and Mr. Saunders, is prepared from the cells, liquefied, strained, and formed into thin transparent laminæ, in the following manner.

“ ‘Separate the cells from the ‘branches; break them into small ‘pieces; throw them into a tub of ‘water, for one day; wash off the ‘red water; dry the cells, and with ‘them fill a cylindrical tube of cotton cloth, two feet long, and one ‘or two inches in diameter; tie both ‘ends, and turn the bag above a ‘charcoal fire; as the lac liquefies, ‘twist the bag, and, when a sufficient quantity has transuded the ‘pores of the cloth, lay it upon a ‘smooth junk of the plantain tree, ‘and with a strip of the plantain ‘leaf draw it into a thin lamella; ‘take it off while flexible, for in a ‘minute it will be hard and brittle\*.’

“The degree of pressure on the plantain tree, regulates (according to Mr. Saunders) the thickness of the shell; and the quality of the bag determines its fineness and transparency.

“Assam furnishes the greatest quantity of the whole of the lac now in use†.

“Mr. Kerr (speaking of stick lac) observes, that the best lac is of a deep red colour; for, if it is pale and pierced at the top, the value is diminished, because the insects have left their cells, and consequently these can be of no use as a dye or colour, but probably may be better for varnishes.

“The seed lac which I have examined, contained but little of the colouring matter, and appeared (as I have already observed) to have undergone some process of purification; but, of all the varieties, shell lac contains the least of the tingeing substance, as may well be expected, when the mode of preparing it is considered.

“It is remarkable, that although lac has been known, and imported into Europe, during so long a time that the date cannot now be ascertained, yet it has but little attracted the attention of chemists.

“The first chemist of eminence who mentions it, and the only one who has subjected it to any thing like a regular examination, is the younger Geoffroy, whose paper is published in the *Mém. de l’Acad. de Paris* for the year 1714‡. In this paper, Mr. Geoffroy seems to have been chiefly induced to examine it on account of its tingeing substance; but he nevertheless has not neglected the substance which constitutes the cells. This he considers to be a sort of wax, very distinct from the nature of gum or resin. But it is to be observed, that he formed this opinion, not so much upon the results of chemical experiments, as upon the cellular construction observed in the stick lac, which, as he justly remarks, demonstrates it to be formed by insects, after the manner that the honeycomb is formed by bees; and that it is not, therefore, as some have supposed, a gum or resin, which has exuded from vegetables simply punctured by insects§.

\* Phil. Trans. 1781, p. 378.

† Phil. Trans. 1789, p. 109.

‡ Observations sur la Gomme Lacque, et sur les autres Matières animales qui fournissent la Teinture de Pourpre. Par M. Geoffroy le jeune. *Mém. de l’Acad.* 1714, p. 121.

§ Mr. Kerr observes, that as a red substance is obtained by incision from the plaso tree, very analogous to lac, it is probable, that the insects have little trouble in animalizing the sap of these trees, in the formation of their cells. Phil. Trans. 1781, p. 377.



“Geoffroy and Lemery obtained from lac, by distillation, some acid liquor, and a butyraceous substance. Moreover Geoffroy observes, that when stick lac was thus treated, some ammonia was also obtained, but not when seed lac was employed.

“He also mentions another sort of lac, brought from Madagascar, and called by the natives *Lit-in-bit-sic*. This substance, he says, is scarcely to be distinguished from bees-wax, which it much resembles in colour and odour; and that it is produced by a grayish insect, much larger than the *chermes lacca*. It is evident, however, from Geoffroy's description, that this substance is very different from the common lac; and there can be little doubt, but that it is the same as that which was, a few years ago, examined by Dr. Pearson, under the name of white lac, a substance resembling the *Pé-la* of the Chinese\*.

“Geoffroy (as I have stated) considered lac as a sort of wax; and since his time it has scarcely, if at all, been subjected to chemical examination; it is not therefore surprising, that the opinions of chemists concerning it have been various. Chaptal adopts the opinion of Geoffroy, and calls it a kind of wax†; but Gren‡ and Fourcroy§ regard it as a true resin.

“§ I.

#### EFFECTS OF DIFFERENT MENSTRUUA ON THE VARIETIES OF LAC.

“1. When water is poured on stick lac, which has been separated from the vegetable branches, and reduced to a coarse powder, it immediately begins to be tinged with red; and, with the assistance of

heat, a deep-coloured crimson solution is formed.

“Repeated operations of this kind reduce stick lac to a yellowish-brown substance; and the water no longer receives any colour.

“The portion thus separated from stick lac has, upon an average, amounted in my experiments to about 10 per cent.; but this is not to be regarded as the total quantity, for a part is obstinately retained by the resin and other ingredients, so that it cannot be completely separated; and moreover very considerable variations must be expected in different samples.

“Fine seed lac did not afford more than  $2\frac{1}{2}$  or 3 per cent. of the colouring substance; and shell lac, when treated in the same manner, (i. e. merely with water) did not yield more than  $\frac{1}{2}$  per cent.

“2. Alcohol dissolves a considerable portion of each of the different kinds of lac; and, when heat is not employed, the dissolved part is resin, combined with some of the colouring matter; but, if the lac is digested with heated alcohol, then the solution is more or less turbid, in consequence of some of the other ingredients becoming mixed and suspended; so that it is afterwards extremely difficult to obtain it in a state of purity and transparency, either by repose or by filtration.

“The resin may be obtained by immediately subjecting the solution to evaporation or distillation, or by previously pouring it into water with which a small quantity of muriatic or acetic acid has been mixed; for thus, when the whole is heated, a curdy precipitate of re-

\* Phil. Trans. 1794, p. 383.

† Chaptal's Elements, English edition, vol. iii. p. 387.

‡ Principles of modern Chemistry, vol. i. p. 388.

§ *Système des Connoissances chimiques*, tome v. p. 624.



sin is formed, and may be separated by a filter; after which, the liquor may be evaporated, in order to obtain any resin, or other substance, which may remain in solution after the first operation.

"The solution formed by digesting stick lac in alcohol, without heat, is of a dark brownish-red colour, and the insoluble part subsides, in the state of a dark-coloured magma; this retains the greater part of the colouring matter, which, as I have already observed, is most easily soluble in water.

"The proportion of resin thus dissolved, when stick lac is treated with alcohol, has, in my experiments, amounted to 67 or 68 per cent.; but this must depend on the quality of the samples.

"The seed lac which I examined was very pure, and yielded to alcohol about 88 per cent. of resin: it contained but little of the colouring matter; and the other substances subsided, and formed a cloud at the bottom of the glass vessel.

"Shell lac in small fragments, by simple digestion with alcohol, afforded in the first instance nearly 81 per cent. Part of the resin, however, still remained mixed with the residuum, and could not be separated but by subsequent operations: this part amounted to about 10; so that the total quantity of resin, in the shell lac which I employed, may be estimated at 91 per cent.

"When the shell lac was only reduced into small fragments, these (after the separation of the first portion of resin) retained their figure, but were become more bulky, very elastic, and nearly white. I at first therefore suspected, that some caoutchouc was present in lac; but, finding that boiling water

destroyed this elasticity, I was induced to make subsequent experiments, by which I discovered, that the elasticity of this residuum was principally owing to a substance which appeared to possess the properties of vegetable gluten. This, however, I shall more fully notice in another part of the paper.

"The resin obtained from the varieties of lac is brownish yellow, and is not so brittle as the generality of other resinous substances.

"3. Sulphuric ether does not seem to act so powerfully upon the varieties of lac as alcohol; for, as a great part of the resin is protected by the colouring matter, and by the other ingredients which are insoluble in ether, it naturally follows, that less of it can be separated by this liquid than by alcohol.

"The different kinds of lac which have been digested in ether are considerably softened, although in other respects very little alteration is produced. Ether, therefore, is not the best menstruum for lac; but, under certain circumstances, it may be occasionally employed with advantage, for the purpose of analysis.

"4. Concentrated sulphuric acid acts in the first instance on the colouring matter of lac; but, after a short digestion in a sand-bath, the whole is converted into a reddish-brown thick liquor, which soon becomes black; and the chief part of the lac is separated, in an insoluble state, resembling coal.

"During the solution of lac in sulphuric acid, a considerable quantity of sulphureous acid gas is evolved.

"5. When lac is digested with nitric acid, nitrous gas is at first produced; the lac swells much, and is converted into a deep yellow opaque brittle substance, which, by



a sufficiency of nitric acid, and continuation of the digestion during about 48 hours, is dissolved.

“The solution, however, is turbid, and, when poured into a large quantity of distilled water, deposits some yellowish flocculi, which, being collected, are found to be a sort of wax.

“The filtrated liquor is of a bright golden yellow; and, when saturated by ammonia, changes to orange colour, but does not yield any precipitate, nor any traces of oxalic or malic acid.

“This yellow nitric solution is converted, by evaporation, into a deep yellow substance, which burns like resin, but is soluble in boiling water.

“The alkalis and lime, being added to this aqueous solution, do not produce any precipitate, but the yellow colour is very considerably deepened; and, by evaporation, an orange-coloured substance is obtained, which is still easily soluble in water, and consists of the deep yellow substance above mentioned, combined with the alkali or lime.

“6. Muriatic acid dissolves the colouring matter and gluten of lac; but its action on these is feeble, unless the resin has been previously separated.

“7. Acetous acid, in its effects, much resembles muriatic acid.

“8. Stick lac, seed lac, and shell lac, are partially dissolved by acetic acid; and, if this be heated, a considerable portion is taken up.

“The dissolved part consists of the colouring extract, of resin, and of gluten; the wax being the only ingredient which is insoluble in this menstruum; but a portion of the former substances, being enveloped by the wax, is protected from the action of the acetic acid.

“The acetic solution of lac becomes turbid when cold, and deposits part of the resin; a portion however remains in solution, and may be precipitated by water; after which, the liquor retains some gluten and colouring extract, which may be precipitated by saturating the acid with an alkali, and by subsequent boiling.

“For the reasons above stated, it would be difficult to effect a complete solution of lac by means of acetic acid; but this may nevertheless be advantageously employed in analytical operations, when alternately used with alcohol.

“9. A saturated solution of boracic acid in water, dissolves the colouring extract; but, as the effect does not surpass that of water alone, we may conclude that lac is little, if at all, acted upon by boracic acid.

“10. It has been already stated, that sub-borate of soda or borax has a powerful effect on lac, so as to render it soluble in water; and as the preceding experiments prove that boracic acid alone scarcely acts upon lac, there is every reason to believe, that the excess of soda present in borax is the active substance; and this conclusion will be confirmed, by the results of subsequent experiments made with the alkalis.

“In order to render lac (especially shell lac) soluble in water, about  $\frac{1}{3}$  of borax is necessary; and this may be previously dissolved in the water, or may be mixed and added together with the lac.

“The best proportion of water to that of lac is 18 or 20 to 1. So that 20 grs. of borax, and four ounces of water, are, upon an average, requisite to dissolve 100 grs. of shell lac; but more water may be occasionally added, to supply the



the loss caused by evaporation during the digestion, which should be made nearly in a boiling heat.

"This solution of shell lac is turbid, and of a reddish-brown colour; when considerably diluted with water and agitated, a weak lather is formed; it is decomposed by acids, and the lac is precipitated in yellow flocculi, which do not apparently differ from the lac originally employed.

"The general properties of the solution show, that it is a saponaceous compound, which, being used as a varnish or vehicle for colours, becomes (when dry) difficultly soluble in water, although this was the liquid employed to form the solution.

"A white thick scum or cream collects on the surface of this liquid, after it has been suffered to remain tranquil for some time, and is found to be produced by a sort of wax, which I shall more particularly notice when the analyses of the varieties of lac are described; but, in the present case, this wax appeared in some degree to be converted into an almost insoluble soap by the alkali of the borax, and may be regarded as the principal cause of the turbidness of the solution.

"11. The lixivia of pure soda and of carbonate of soda completely dissolve the different kinds of lac; and these solutions exactly resemble those formed by means of borax, excepting that they are deeper coloured.

"Rather less than  $\frac{1}{3}$  of carbonate of soda is required to dissolve shell lac; and this solution, when dried, is sooner affected by damp or water than the solution prepared by borax.

"12. Lixivium of pure or caustic potash speedily dissolves the varie-

ties of lac, and forms saponaceous solutions, similar to that in which borax was employed, exclusive of the colour, which is deeper, and more approaching to purple.

"Lixivium of carbonate of potash extracts a great part of the colouring matter, but does not form so complete a solution of the entire substance of lac, as when pure potash is employed.

"The above alkaline solutions, by repose, afford the waxen soap which has been mentioned; and acids, being added to these solutions and to that formed by borax, precipitate the lac in a flocculent state, and of a yellow or buff colour; which precipitate, when melted, becomes similar to the lac originally employed. If, however, an alkaline solution of shell lac (prepared for instance with soda) be gradually dropped into a sufficient quantity of mariatic acid diluted with an equal portion of water, and nearly heated to the boiling point, and if after boiling the whole for about one hour the coagulum be separated, and the clear liquor be carefully saturated with soda, and again made to boil, a small quantity of a flocculent precipitate is obtained, which was found to be analogous to precipitated vegetable gluten, combined with some of the colouring extract.

"13. Pure ammonia, and carbonate of ammonia, readily act upon the colouring matter of lac, but do not completely dissolve the entire substance.

## "§ II.

### ANALYTICAL EXPERIMENTS ON STICK, SEED, AND SHELL LAC.

"Lac, when placed on a red-hot iron, at first contracts, and then melts, emitting a thick smoke, of a peculiar but rather pleasant odour: after which, a light spongy coal remains.

"Distillation



*" Distillation of Stick Lac.*

" 100 grains of the best stick lac, separated as much as possible from the twigs, were put into a glass retort, to which a double tubulated receiver and hydro-pneumatic apparatus were adapted. Distillation was then gradually performed, with an open fire, until the bottom of the retort became red-hot.

" The products thus obtained were,

	Grs.
1. Water slightly acid	10.
2. Thick brown butyraceous oil	59.
3. Spongy coal	13.50
4. A small portion of carbonate of ammonia, with a mixture of carbonic acid, carbonated hydrogen, and hydrogen gas, which may be estimated at	17.50
	100.

*" Seed Lac.*

" 100 grains of very pure seed lac were distilled in a similar manner, and afforded,

1. Acidulated water	6.
2. Butyraceous oil	61.
3. Spongy coal	7.
4. Mixed gas nearly as before, but without ammonia, amounting by estimation to	26.
	100.

*" Shell Lac.*

" 100 grains of shell lac, treated as above, yielded,

1. Acidulated water	6.
2. Butyraceous oil	65.
3. Spongy coal	7.50
4. Mixed gas, amounting by estimation to	21.50
	100.

" The coal of the shell lac, by incineration, afforded about one

grain of ashes, which contained a muriate, probably of soda, and a little iron, with some particles of sand, which may be regarded as extraneous.

*" Analysis of Stick Lac.*

" A. 200 grains of stick lac, picked and reduced to powder, were digested in a pint and a half of boiling distilled water during 12 hours. The liquor was transparent, and of a beautiful deep red; this was decanted into another vessel; and the operation was repeated, with fresh portions of water, until it ceased to be tinged; the lac then appeared of a pale yellowish-brown colour.

" The whole of the aqueous solution being evaporated, left a deep red substance, which possessed the general properties of vegetable extract, and weighed 18 grains.

" B. The dried lac was digested for 48 hours, without heat, in eighteen ounces of alcohol; and the clear tincture being cautiously decanted, different portions of alcohol were added, and the digestion was repeated, until the alcohol ceased to produce any effect.

" The whole of the solutions in alcohol were then poured into distilled water, which was heated, and an attempt was made to separate the precipitated substance by filtration; but as this did not succeed, on account of the filter speedily becoming clogged, the whole was subjected to gentle distillation; by which a brownish-yellow resin was obtained, amounting in weight to 136 grains.

" C. The remainder of the lac was again digested in boiling distilled water; by which, 2 grains of the colouring extract were obtained.

" D. The residuum was then digested with one ounce of muriatic acid



acid diluted with two ounces of water, which, by boiling, became of a bright pale red, but changed to purple, when saturated with a solution of carbonate of potash.

"A flocculent precipitate was thus obtained, which possessed the characters of precipitated vegetable gluten combined with some of the colouring extract; this, when completely dried, weighed 11 grains.

"E. There now remained 25 grains, which evidently consisted of a sort of wax, mixed with small parts of twigs and other extraneous substances.

"A part of the wax was separated by heat and pressure in a piece of linen; and another portion was separated by digestion in olive-oil, which assumed the consistency of an unguent.

"The residuum was then boiled with lixivium of potash, and became tinged with purple, in consequence of some of the colouring extract which had not been dissolved by the preceding operations.

"The undissolved part, now consisting only of the extraneous vegetable and other substances, weighed 13 grains; so that the wax, with a small portion of the colouring extract, may be estimated at 12 grains.

"By the above process, 200 grains of stick lac afforded,

	Grs.
A. } Colouring extract 18	20
C. } 2	
B. Resin - - -	136
D. Vegetable gluten -	11
E. { Wax, with a little colour-	12
ing extract, about	
Extraneous substances	
	13
	192

*"Analysis of Seed Lac.*

"200 grains of very pure seed lac were subjected to operations

very similar to those which have been described, and afforded,

	Grs.
Colouring extract -	5
Resin - - -	177
Vegetable gluten -	4
Wax - - -	9
	195

*"Analysis of Shell Lac.*

"A. 500 grains of this substance were first treated with boiling distilled water, as above mentioned, and yielded of extract only 2.50 grains.

"B. The 497.50 grains which remained, were then digested with different portions of cold alcohol, until this ceased to produce any effect; the resin which was thus separated, amounted to 403.50 grains.

"C. As the shell lac had not been reduced into powder, but only into small fragments, these were become white and elastic, and, when dry, were brittle, and of a pale brown colour; the whole then weighed 94 grains.

"D. These 94 grains were digested in diluted muriatic acid; and the acid, being afterwards saturated with solution of carbonate of potash, afforded a flocculent precipitate (resembling that obtained from solutions of vegetable gluten) which, when dry, weighed 5 grains.

"E. Alcohol acted but feebly on the residuum; it was therefore put into a matrass, with three ounces of acetic acid, and was suffered to digest without heat during six days, the vessel being at times gently shaken; the acid thus assumed a pale brown colour, and was very turbid. The whole was then added to half a pint of alcohol, and was digested in a sand-bath; by which a brownish tincture was formed, and at the same time a quantity



a quantity of a whitish flocculent substance was deposited, which, being collected, well washed with alcohol on a filter, and dried, weighed 20 grains.

“ This substance was white, light, and flaky, and, when rubbed by the nail, it became glossy, like wax; it also easily melted, was absorbed by heated paper, and, when placed on a coal or hot iron, emitted a smoke, the odour of which very much resembled that of wax, or rather spermaceti.

“ F. The solution formed by acetic acid and alcohol, being filtrated, was poured into distilled water, which immediately became milky; and, being heated, the greater part of the resin which had been dissolved assumed a curdy form, and was partly separated by a filter, and partly by distilling off the liquor; this portion of resin amounted to 51 grains.

“ G. The filtrated liquor, from which this resin had been separated, was saturated with a solution of carbonate of potash; and, being heated, a second precipitate of gluten was obtained, which, when well dried, weighed 9 grains.

“ The 500 grains of shell lac thus yielded,

	Grains.
A. Extract - - -	2.50
B. } Resin - - -	454.50
F. }	
D. } Vegetable gluten	14.
G. }	
E. Wax - - -	20.

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491.

“ The mode of analysis adopted for the shell lac, must undoubtedly appear less simple than that which was employed for seed and stick lac; but, upon the whole, it was attended with advantages; for the shell lac being in small fragments, and not in the state of a powder,

considerably facilitated the decantation of the solution in alcohol from the residuum; and although, in this last, a portion of the resin was protected from the action of the alcohol, by being enveloped in the gluten and wax, yet, by the assistance of acetic acid, the remainder of the resin, as well as the whole of the gluten, were dissolved; the wax was obtained in a pure state; and a separation of the resin from the gluten was afterwards easily effected, by the method which has been described. As therefore acetic acid is capable of dissolving resin, gluten, and many other of the vegetable principles, it certainly may be regarded as a very useful solvent, in the analysis of bodies appertaining to the vegetable kingdom.

“ From the results of the preceding analyses it appears, that the different kinds of lac consist of four substances, namely, extract, resin, gluten, and wax, the separate properties of which shall now be more fully considered.

“ *Properties of the colouring Extract of Lac.*

“ 1. When dry, it is of a deep red colour, approaching to purplish crimson.

“ 2. Being put on a red-hot iron, it emits much smoke, with a smell somewhat resembling burnt animal matter, and leaves a very bulky and porous coal.

“ 3. Water, when digested with it in a boiling heat, partially dissolves it; but the residuum was found to be absolutely insoluble in water.

“ 4. Alcohol acts but slowly on it; and, in a digesting heat, dissolves less than water. The colour of the solution is also not so beautiful; and a considerable part of the residuum left by alcohol was, when



when digested with water, found to be soluble, although this was not the case when the residuum left by water was treated with alcohol.

“ 5. It is insoluble in sulphuric ether, excepting a very small portion of resin, which appeared to be accidentally mixed with it.

“ 6. Sulphuric acid readily dissolves it, and forms a deep brownish-red solution, which, being diluted with water, and saturated with potash, soda, or ammonia, becomes changed to a deep reddish-purple.

“ 7. Muriatic acid dissolves only a part: the solution is of the colour of port wine, and, by the alkalis, is changed to a deep reddish-purple.

“ 8. Nitric acid speedily dissolves it: the solution is yellow, and rather turbid; but the red colour is not restored by the alkalis, for these only deepen the yellow colour. This nitric solution did not afford any trace of oxalic acid.

“ 9. Acetic acid dissolves it with great ease, and forms a deep brownish-red solution.

“ 10. Acetous acid does not dissolve it quite so readily, but the solution is of a brighter red. Both of the above, when saturated with alkalis, are changed to a deep reddish-purple.

“ 11. The lixivium of potash, soda, and ammonia act powerfully on this substance, and almost immediately form perfect solutions, of a beautiful deep purple colour.

“ 12. Pure alumina, put into the aqueous solution, does not immediately produce any effect; but, upon the addition of a few drops of muriatic acid, the colouring matter speedily combines with the alumina, and a beautiful lake is formed.

“ 13. Muriate of tin produces a fine crimson precipitate, when added to the aqueous solution.

“ 14. A similar coloured precipitate is also formed, by the addition of solution of isinglass.

“ These properties of the colouring substance of lac, especially its partial solubility in water and in alcohol, and its insolubility in ether, together with the precipitates formed by alumina and muriate of tin, indicate that this substance is vegetable extract, perhaps slightly animalized by the coccus.

“ The effects which it produced on gelatin, also demonstrate the presence of tannin; but this very probably was afforded by the small portions of vegetable bodies, from which the stick lac can seldom be completely separated.

#### *Properties of the Resin of Lac.*

“ This substance is of a brownish-yellow colour; and, when put on a red-hot iron, it emits much smoke, with a peculiar sweet odour, and leaves a spongy coal.

“ It is completely soluble in alcohol, ether, acetic acid, nitric acid, and the lixivium of potash and soda.

“ Water precipitates it from alcohol, ether, acetic acid, and partially from nitric acid; and it possesses the other general characters of a true resin.

#### *Properties of the Gluten of Lac.*

“ It has been already observed, that when small pieces of shell lac have been repeatedly digested in cold alcohol, they become white, bulky, and elastic. By drying, these pieces become brownish and brittle; the elasticity is also destroyed by boiling water, exactly as when the gluten of wheat is thus treated.

“ If the pieces of shell lac, after the digestion in alcohol, be digest-  
ed



ed with diluted muriatic acid, or with acetic acid, the greater part of the gluten is dissolved, and may be precipitated, in a white flaky state, by alkalis; but, if these last be added to excess, and heat be applied, then the glutinous substance is re-dissolved, and may be precipitated by acids.

“ If the pieces of shell lac, after digestion in alcohol, be treated with alkaline lixivium, then the whole is dissolved, and forms a turbid solution. But, when acids are employed, the chief part of the gluten is alone acted upon, and a considerable residuum is left, consisting of the wax, some of the resin, and a portion of gluten, which has been protected from the action of the acid by the two former substances.

“ The above properties indicate a great resemblance between this substance and the gluten of wheat; I therefore have called it gluten, but, at a future time, I intend to subject it to a more accurate examination.

“ *Properties of the Wax of Lac.*

“ If shell lac be long and repeatedly digested in boiling nitric acid, the whole is dissolved, excepting the wax, which floats on the surface of the liquor, like oil, and, when cold, may be collected; or it may be more easily obtained in a pure state, by digesting the residuum left by alcohol in boiling nitric acid.

“ The wax thus obtained, when pure, is pale yellowish white, and (unlike bees wax) is devoid of tenacity, and is extremely brittle.

“ It melts at a much lower temperature than that of boiling water, burns with a bright flame, and emits an odour somewhat resembling that of spermaceti.

“ Water does not act upon it,

neither does cold alcohol; but this last, when boiled, partially dissolves it, and, upon cooling, deposits the greater part; a small portion, however, remains in solution, and may be precipitated by water.

“ Sulphuric ether, when heated, also dissolves it; but, upon cooling, nearly the whole is deposited.

“ Lixivium of potash, when boiled with the wax, forms a milky solution; but the chief part of the wax floats on the surface, in the state of white flocculi, and appears to be converted into a soap of difficult solubility; it is no longer inflammable; and, with water, forms a turbid solution, from which, as well as from the solution in potash, the wax may be precipitated by acids.

“ Ammonia, when heated, also dissolves a small portion of the wax, and forms a solution very similar to the former.

“ Nitric and muriatic acids do not seem to act upon the wax; the effects of sulphuric acid have not been examined.

“ When the properties of this substance are compared with those of bees-wax, a difference will be perceived; and, on the contrary, the most striking analogy is evident, between the wax of lac and the myrtle wax which is obtained from the *Myrica cerifera*.

“ An account of the latter substance has been published by Dr. Bostock, of Liverpool, in Nicholson's Journal, with comparative Experiments and Observations on Bees-wax, Spermaceti, Adipocire, and the crystalline Matter of biliary Calculi\*.

“ The properties of the myrtle wax, as described in Dr. Bostock's valuable paper, so perfectly coincide

\* Nicholson's Journal for March, 1803, p. 129.



with those which I have observed in the wax of lac, that I cannot but consider them as almost the same substance; indeed I think they may be regarded as absolutely identical, if some allowance be made for the slight modifications which have been produced by the different mode of their formation.

“From the preceding experiments and analyses we find, that the varieties of lac consist of the four substances which have been described, namely, extractive colouring matter, resin, gluten, and a peculiar kind of wax. Resin is the predominant substance; but this, as well as the other ingredients, is liable, in a certain degree, to variation in respect to quantity.

“According to the analyses which have been described, one hundred parts of each variety of lac yielded as follows:

“*Stick Lac.*

Resin	-	68.
Colouring extract	-	10.
Wax	-	6.
Gluten	-	5.50
Extraneous substances	-	6.50
		<hr/>
		96.0.

“*Seed Lac.*

Resin	-	88.50
Colouring extract	-	2.50
Wax	-	4.50
Gluten	-	2.
		<hr/>
		97.50.

“*Shell Lac.*

Resin	-	90.90
Colouring extract	-	0.50
Wax	-	4.
Gluten	-	2.80
		<hr/>
		98.20.

“The proportions of the substances which compose the varieties of lac, must however be subject to very considerable variations; and

we ought therefore only to consider these analyses in a general point of view. Hence we should state, that lac consists principally of resin, mixed with certain proportions of a peculiar kind of wax, of gluten, and of colouring extract.

“The relative quantity of the two latter ingredients very considerably affect the characters of the lacs; for instance, we may observe, that the glutinous substance, when present in shell lac in a more than usual proportion, probably produces the defect observed in some kinds of sealing-wax, which, when heated and burned, become blackened by particles of coal; for the gluten affords much of this substance, and does not melt, like the resin and wax. From what has been stated, therefore, lac may be denominated a *cero-resin*, mixed with gluten and colouring extract.

“§ III.

GENERAL REMARKS.

“From the whole of the experiments which have been related, it appears, that although lac is indisputably the production of insects, yet it possesses few of the characters of animal substances; and that the greater part of its aggregate properties, as well as of its component ingredients, are such as more immediately appertain to vegetable bodies.

“Lac, or gum lac, as it is popularly but improperly called, is certainly a very useful substance; and the natives of India furnish full proofs of this, by the many purposes to which they apply it.

“According to Mr. Kerr, it is made by them into rings, beads, and other female ornaments.

“When formed into sealing-wax, it is employed as a japan, and is likewise manufactured into different coloured varnishes.

“The



“The colouring part is formed into lakes for painters: a sort of Spanish wool for the ladies is also prepared with it; and as a dyeing material, it is in very general use.

“The resinous part is even employed to form grindstones, by melting it, and mixing with it about three parts of sand. For making polishing grindstones, the sand is sifted through fine muslin; but those which are employed by the lapidaries, are formed with powder of corundum, called by them *Corune*\*.

“But, in addition to all the above uses to which it is applied in India, as well as to those which cause it to be in request in Europe, Mr. Wilkins’s *Hindû* ink occupies a conspicuous place, not merely on account of its use as an ink, but because it teaches us to prepare an aqueous solution of lac, which probably will be found of very extensive utility.

“This solution of lac in water may be advantageously employed as a sort of varnish, which is equal in durability, and other qualities, to those prepared with alcohol; whilst, by the saving of this liquid, it is infinitely cheaper.

“I do not mean, however, to assert that it will answer equally well in all cases, but only that it may be employed in many. It will be found likewise of great use as a vehicle

for colours; for, when dry, it is not easily affected by damp, or even by water.

“With a solution of this kind, I have mixed various colours, such as, vermilion, fine lake, indigo, Prussian blue, sap green, and gamboge; and it is remarkable, that although the two last are of a gummy nature, and the others had been previously mixed with gum, (being cakes of the patent water-colours) yet, when dried upon paper, they could not be removed with a moistened sponge, until the surface of the paper itself was rubbed off.

“In many arts and manufactures, therefore, the solutions of lac may be found of much utility; for, like mucilage, they may be diluted with water, and yet, when dry, are little if at all affected by it†.

“We find, from the experiments on lac, that this substance is soluble in the alkalis, and in some of the acids. But this fact (considering that resin is the principal ingredient of lac) is in opposition to the generally received opinion of chemists, namely, that acids and alkalis do not act upon resinous bodies. Some experiments, however, which I have made on various resins, gum-resins, and balsams, fully establish, that these substances are powerfully acted upon by the alkalis, and by some of the acids, so as

\* Phil. Trans. 1781, p. 380.

† The alkaline solutions of lac are evidently of a saponaceous nature, and, like other soaps, may be decomposed by acids. The entire substance of lac is not however completely dissolved, as appears from the turbidness of the liquors. Three of the four ingredients, namely, the resin, the gluten, and the colouring extract, appear to be in perfect solution; whilst the wax is only partially combined with the alkali, and forms that imperfectly soluble saponaceous compound which has been formerly mentioned, and which remains suspended, and disturbs the transparency of the solution.

From various circumstances, it does not seem improbable, that the long sought-for, but hitherto undiscovered vehicle employed by the celebrated painters of the Venetian School, may have been some kind of resinous solution prepared by means of borax, or by the alkalis.



to be completely dissolved, and rendered soluble in water.

“ It will be a very wide and curious field of inquiry, to discover what changes are thus produced in these bodies, especially by nitric acid. Each substance must form the subject of a separate investigation; and there cannot be a doubt but that much will be learned respecting their nature and properties, which hitherto have been so little examined by chemists.

“ The alkaline solutions of resin may be found useful in some of the

arts; for many colours, especially those which are metallic, when dissolved in acids, may be precipitated, combined with resin, by adding the former to the alkaline solutions of the latter. I have made some experiments of this kind with success; and perhaps these processes might prove useful to dyers and manufacturers of colours. It is probable also, that medicine may derive advantages from some of this extensive series of alkaline and acid solutions of the resinous substances.



## P O E T R Y.

## BRANKSOME HALL.

[From Mr. SCOTT'S LAY of the LAST MINSTREL.]

## I.

THE feast was over in Branksome tower,  
 And the Ladye had gone to her secret bower,  
 Her bower, that was guarded by word and by spell,  
 Deadly to hear, and deadly to tell—  
 Jesu Maria, shield us well!  
 No living wight, save the Ladye alone,  
 Had dared to cross the threshold stone.

## II.

The tables were drawn, it was idlesse all;  
 Knight, and page, and household squire,  
 Loitered through the lofty hall,  
 Or crowded round the ample fire.  
 The stag-hounds, weary with the chace,  
 Lay stretched upon the rushy floor,  
 And urged, in dreams, the forest race,  
 From Teviot-stone to Eskdale-moor.

## III.

Nine-and-twenty knights of fame  
 Hung their shields in Branksome Hall;  
 Nine-and-twenty squires of name  
 Brought them their steeds from bower to stall;  
 Nine-and-twenty yeomen tall  
 Waited, duteous, on them all;  
 They were all knights of mettle true,  
 Kinsmen to the bold Buccleuch.

## IV.

Ten of them were sheathed in steel,  
 With belted sword, and spur on heel:  
 They quitted not their harness bright,  
 Neither by day, nor yet by night:

They



They lay down to rest  
 With corslet laced,  
 Pillowed on buckler cold and hard ;  
 They carved at the meal  
 With gloves of steel,  
 And they drank the red wine through the helmet barred.

## V.

Ten squire's, ten yeomen, mail-clad men,  
 Waited the beck of the warders ten.  
 Thirty steeds, both fleet and wight,  
 Stood saddled in stable day and night,  
 Barbed with frontlet of steel, I trow,  
 And with Jedwood-axe at saddle bow.  
 A hundred more fed free in stall—  
 Such was the custom of Branksome Hall.

## VI.

Why do these steeds stand ready dight ?  
 Why watch these warriors, armed, by night ?  
 They watch to hear the blood-hound baying ;  
 They watch to hear the war-horn braying ;  
 To see St. George's red cross streaming,  
 To see the midnight beacon gleaming ;  
 They watch, against Southern force and guile,  
 Lest Scroop, or Howard, or Percy's powers,  
 Threaten Branksome's lordly towers,  
 From Warkworth, or Naworth, or merry Carlisle.

## VII.

Such is the custom of Branksome Hall.  
 Many a valiant knight is here ;  
 But he, the Chieftain of them all,  
 His sword hangs rusting on the wall,  
 Beside his broken spear.  
 Bards long shall tell,  
 How lord Walter fell !  
 When startled burghers fled, afar,  
 The furies of the Border war ;  
 When the streets of high Dunedin  
 Saw lances gleam, and falchions redden,  
 And heard the slogan's \* deadly yell—  
 Then the Chief of Branksome fell.

## VIII.

Can piety the discord heal,  
 Or staunch the death-feud's enmity ?  
 Can Christian lore, can patriot zeal,  
 Can love of blessed charity ?

\* The war-cry, or gathering word, of a Border clan.



No ! vainly to each holy shrine,  
 In mutual pilgrimage, they drew ;  
 Implored, in vain, the grace divine  
 For chiefs, their own red falchions slew ;  
 While Cessford owns the rule of Car,  
 While Ettrick boasts the line of Scott,  
 The slaughtered chiefs, the mortal jar,  
 The havoc of the feudal war,  
 Shall never, never be forgot

WILLIAM of DELORAINE.

[From the same.]

I.

**I**F thou wouldst view fair Melrose aright,  
 Go visit it by the pale moon-light ;  
 For the gay beams of lightsome day  
 Gild, but to flout, the ruins gray.  
 When the broken arches are black in night,  
 And each shafted oriel glimmers white ;  
 When the cold light's uncertain shower  
 Streams on the ruined central tower ;  
 When buttress and buttress, alternately,  
 Seem framed of ebon and ivory ;  
 When silver edges the imagery,  
 And the scrolls that teach thee to live and die ;  
 When distant Tweed is heard to rave,  
 And the owlet to hoot o'er the dead man's grave ;  
 Then go—but go alone the while—  
 Then view St. David's ruined pile ;  
 And, home returning, soothly swear,  
 Was never scene so sad and fair !

II.

Short halt did Deloraine make there ;  
 Little recked he of the scene so fair.  
 With dagger's hilt, on the wicket strong,  
 He struck full loud, and struck full long.  
 The porter hurried to the gate—  
 ' Who knocks so loud, and knocks so late ?'  
 ' From Branksome I,' the warrior cried ;  
 And straight the wicket opened wide :  
 For Branksome's chiefs had in battle stood,  
 To fence the rights of fair Melrose ;  
 And lands and livings, many a rood,  
 Had gifted the shrine for their souls repose.



## III.

Bold Deloraine his errand said ;  
 The porter bent his humble head ;  
 With torch in hand and foot unshod,  
 And noiseless step, the path he trod ;  
 The arched cloisters, far and wide,  
 Rang to the warrior's clanking stride ;  
 Till, stooping low his lofty crest,  
 He entered the cell of the antient priest,  
 And lifted his barred aventayle \*,  
 To hail the Monk of St. Mary's aisle.  
 ' The Ladye of Branksome greets thee by me ;  
 Says, that the fated hour is come,  
 And that to-night I shall watch with thee,  
 To win the treasure of the tomb.'  
 From sackcloth couch the Monk arose,  
 With toil his stiffened limbs he reared ;  
 A hundred years had flung their snows  
 On his thin locks and floating beard.

## V.

And strangely on the Knight looked he,  
 And his blue eyes gleamed wild and wide ;  
 ' And, darest thou, warrior ! seek to see  
 What heaven and hell alike would hide ?  
 My breast, in belt of iron pent,  
 With shirt of hair and scourge of thorn ;  
 For threescore years, in penance spent,  
 My knees those flinty stones have worn :  
 Yet all too little to atone  
 For knowing what should ne'er be known.  
 Wouldst thou thy every future year  
 In ceaseless prayer and penance dree,  
 Yet wait thy latter end with fear—  
 Then, daring warrior, follow me !'

## VI.

' Penance, father, will I none ;  
 Prayer know I hardly one ;  
 For mass or prayer can I rarely tarry,  
 Save to patter an Ave Mary,  
 When I ride on a Border foray :  
 Other prayer can I none ;  
 So speed me my errand, and let me begone.'

## VII.

Again on the Knight looked the Churchman old,  
 And again he sighed heavily ;

\* *Aventayle*, visor of the helmet.



For he had himself been a warrior bold,  
 And fought in Spain and Italy.  
 And he thought on the days that were long since by,  
 When his limbs were strong, and his courage was high :—  
 Now, slow and faint, he led the way,  
 Where, cloistered round, the garden lay ;  
 The pillared arches were over their head,  
 And beneath their feet were the bones of the dead.

## VIII.

Spreading herbs, and flowerets bright,  
 Glistened with the dew of night ;  
 Nor herb nor floweret glistened there,  
 But was carved in the cloister-arches as fair.  
 The Monk gazed long on the lovely moon,  
 Then into the night he looked forth ;  
 And red and bright the streamers light  
 Were dancing in the glowing north.  
 So had he seen, in fair Castile,  
 The youth in glittering squadrons start ;  
 Sudden the flying jennet wheel,  
 And hurl the unexpected dart.  
 He knew, by the streamers that shot so bright,  
 That spirits were riding the northern light.

## IX.

By a steel-clenched postern door,  
 They entered now the chancel tall ;  
 The darkened roof rose high aloof  
 On pillars, lofty, and light, and small ;  
 The key stone, that locked each ribbed aisle,  
 Was a fleur-de-lys, or a quatre-feuille ;  
 The corbells\* were carved grotesque and grim ;  
 And the pillars, with clustered shafts so trim,  
 With base and with capital flourished around,  
 Seemed bundles of lances which garlands had bound.

## X.

Full many a scutcheon and banner, riven,  
 Shook to the cold night-wind of heaven,  
 Around the screened altar's pale ;  
 And there the dying lamps did burn,  
 Before thy low and lonely urn,  
 O gallant chief of Otterburne !  
 And thine, dark knight of Liddesdale !  
 O fading honours of the dead !  
 O high ambition, lowly laid !

\* *Corbells*, the projections from which the arches spring, usually cut in a fantastic face, or mask.



## XI.

The moon on the east oriel shone,  
 Through slender shafts of shapely stone,  
 By foliated tracery combined ;  
 Thou wouldst have thought some fairy's hand,  
 'Twixt poplars straight, the osier wand,  
 In many a freakish knot, had twined ;  
 Then framed a spell, when the work was done,  
 And changed the willow wreaths to stone.  
 The silver light, so pale and faint,  
 Shewed many a prophet and many a saint,  
 Whose image on the glass was dyed ;  
 Full in the midst his Cross of Red  
 Triumphant Michael brandished,  
 And trampled the Apostate's pride.  
 The moon-beam kissed the holy pane,  
 And threw on the pavement a bloody stain.

## XII.

They sate them down on a marble stone,  
 A Scottish monarch slept below ;  
 Thus spoke the Monk, in solemn tone—  
 ' I was not always a man of woe ;  
 For Paynim countries I have trod,  
 And fought beneath the cross of God ;  
 Now, strange to my eyes thine arms appear,  
 And their iron clang sounds strange to my ear.

## XIII.

' In these far climes, it was my lot  
 To meet the wondrous Michael Scott ;  
 A wizard of such dreaded fame,  
 That when, in Salamanca's cave,  
 Him listed his magic wand to wave,  
 The bells would ring in Notre Dame !  
 Some of his skill he taught to me ;  
 And, warrior, I could say to thee  
 The words, that cleft Eildon hills in three,  
 And bridled the Tweed with a curb of stone :  
 But to speak them were a deadly sin ;  
 And for having but thought them my heart within,  
 A treble penance must be done.

## XIV.

' When Michael lay on his dying bed,  
 His conscience was awakened ;  
 He bethought him of his sinful deed,  
 And he gave me a sign to come with speed :  
 I was in Spain when the morning rose,  
 But I stood by his bed ere evening close.



The words may not again be said,  
That he spoke to me, on death-bed laid ;  
They would rend this Abbaye's massy nave,  
And pile it in heaps above his grave.

## XV.

'I swore to bury his mighty Book,  
That never mortal might therein look ;  
And never to tell where it was hid,  
Save at his chief of Branksome's need ;  
And when that need was past and o'er,  
Again the volume to restore.  
I buried him on St. Michael's night,  
When the bell tolled one, and the moon was bright ;  
And I dug his chamber among the dead,  
When the floor of the chancel was stained red,  
That his patron's cross might over him wave,  
And scare the fiends from the wizard's grave.

## XVI.

'It was a night of woe and dread,  
When Michael in the tomb I laid !  
Strange sounds along the chancel past ;  
The banners waved without a blast'—  
—Still spoke the Monk, when the bell tolled one !—  
I tell you, that a braver man  
Than William of Deloraine, good at need,  
Against a foe ne'er spurred a steed ;  
Yet somewhat was he chilled with dread,  
And his hair did bristle upon his head.

## XVII.

'Lo, warrior ! now the Cross of Red  
Points to the grave of the mighty dead ;  
Within it burns a wondrous light,  
To chase the spirits that love the night :  
That lamp shall burn unquenchably,  
Until the eternal doom shall be.'  
Slow moved the Monk to the broad flag-stone,  
Which the bloody cross was traced upon :  
He pointed to a secret nook ;  
An iron bar the warrior took ;  
And the Monk made a sign with his withered hand,  
The grave's huge portal to expand.

## XVIII.

With beating heart to the task he went ;  
His sinewy frame o'er the grave-stone bent ;  
With bar of iron heaved amain,  
Till the toil-drops fell from his brows like rain.



It was by dint of passing strength,  
 That he moved the massy stone at length.  
 I would you had been there to see  
 How the light broke forth so gloriously ;  
 Streamed upward to the chancel roof,  
 And through the galleries far aloof !  
 No earthly flame blazed e'er so bright :  
 It shone like heaven's own blessed light ;  
 And, issuing from the tomb,  
 Shewed the Monk's cowl, and visage pale ;  
 Danced on the dark-brow'd Warrior's mail,  
 And kissed his waving plume.

## XIX.

Before their eyes the Wizard lay,  
 As if he had not been dead a day ;  
 His hoary beard in silver rolled,  
 He seemed some seventy winters old ;  
 A palmer's amice wrapped him round,  
 With a wrought Spanish baldrick bound,  
 Like a pilgrim from beyond the sea :  
 His left hand held his Book of Might ;  
 A silver cross was in his right ;  
 The lamp was placed beside his knee :  
 High and majestic was his look,  
 At which the fellest fiends had shook ;  
 And all unruffled was his face—  
 They trusted his soul had gotten grace.

## XX.

Often had William of Deloraine  
 Rode through the battle's bloody plain,  
 And trampled down the warriors slain,  
 And neither known remorse or awe ;  
 Yet now remorse and awe he own'd ;  
 His breath came thick, his head swam round,  
 When this strange scene of death he saw.  
 Bewildered and unnerved he stood,  
 And the priest prayed fervently, and loud ;  
 With eyes averted prayed he,  
 He might not endure the sight to see,  
 Of the man he had loved so brotherly.

## XXI.

And when the priest his death-prayer had prayed,  
 Thus unto Deloraine he said—  
 ' Now speed thee what thou hast to do,  
 Or, warrior, we may dearly rue ;  
 For those, thou mayest not look upon,  
 Are gathering fast round the yawning stone !'—

Then



Then Deloraine, in terror, took  
 From the cold hand the Mighty Book,  
 With iron clasped, and with iron bound :  
 He thought, as he took it, the dead man frowned ;  
 But the glare of the sepulchral light  
 Perchance had dazzled the warrior's sight.

## XXII.

When the huge stone sunk o'er the tomb,  
 The night returned, in double gloom ;  
 For the moon had gone down, and the stars were few ;  
 And, as the Knight and Priest withdrew,  
 With wavering steps and dizzy brain,  
 They hardly might the postern gain.  
 'Tis said, as through the aisles they pass'd,  
 They heard strange noises on the blast ;  
 And through the cloister-galleries small,  
 Which at mid-height thread the chancel wall,  
 Loud sobs, and laughter louder, ran,  
 And voices unlike the voice of man ;  
 As if the fiends kept holiday,  
 Because these spells were brought to day.  
 I cannot tell how the truth may be ;  
 I say the tale as 'twas said to me.

## XXIII.

' Now, hie thee hence,' the father said ;  
 ' And when we are on death-bed laid,  
 O may our dear Ladye, and sweet St. John,  
 Forgive our souls for the deed we have done !'  
 The Monk returned him to his cell,  
 And many a prayer and penance sped ;  
 When the convent met at the noontide bell—  
 The Monk of St. Mary's aisle was dead !  
 Before the cross was the body laid,  
 With hands clasped fast, as if still he prayed.

## XXIV.

The Knight breathed free in the morning wind,  
 And strove his hardihood to find :  
 He was glad when he passed the tombstones gray,  
 Which girdle round the fair Abbaye ;  
 For the mystic Book, to his bosom prest,  
 Felt like a load upon his breast ;  
 And his joints, with nerves of iron twined,  
 Shook like the aspen leaves in wind.  
 Full fain was he when the dawn of day  
 Began to brighten Cheviot gray ;  
 He joyed to see the cheerful light,  
 And he said Ave Mary, as well as he might.



## XXV.

The sun had brightened Cheviot gray,  
 The sun had brightened the Carter's \* side ;  
 And soon beneath the rising day  
 Smiled Branksome towers and Teviot's tide.  
 The wild birds told their warbling tale,  
 And wakened every flower that blows ;  
 And peeped forth the violet pale,  
 And spread her breast the mountain rose :  
 And lovelier than the rose so red,  
 Yet paler than the violet pale,  
 She early left her sleepless bed,  
 The fairest maid of Teviotdale.

## XXVI.

Why does fair Margaret so early awake,  
 And don her kirtle so hastilie ;  
 And the silken knots which in hurry she would make,  
 Why tremble her slender fingers to tie ;  
 Why does she stop, and look often around,  
 As she glides down the secret stair ;  
 And why does she pat the shaggy blood-hound,  
 As he rouses him up from his lair ;  
 And though she passes the postern alone,  
 Why is not the watchman's bugle blown ?

## XXVII.

The Ladye steps in doubt and dread,  
 Lest her watchful mother hear her tread ;  
 The Ladye caresses the rough blood-hound,  
 Lest his voice should waken the castle round ;  
 The watchman's bugle is not blown,  
 For he was her foster-father's son ;  
 And she glides through the greenwood at dawn of light,  
 To meet Baron Henry, her own true knight.

## XXVIII.

The Knight and Ladye fair are met,  
 And under the hawthorn's boughs are set.  
 A fairer pair were never seen  
 To meet beneath the hawthorn green.  
 He was stately, and young, and tall ;  
 Dreaded in battle, and loved in hall :  
 And she, when love, scarce told, scarce hid,  
 Lent to her cheek a livelier red ;  
 When the half sigh her swelling breast  
 Against the silken ribband pressed ;  
 When her blue eyes their secret told,  
 Though shaded by her locks of gold—

\* A mountain on the border of England, above Jedburgh.



Where would you find the peerless fair,  
With Margaret of Branksome might compare!

## XXIX.

And now, fair dames, methinks I see  
You listen to my minstrelsy;  
Your waving locks ye backward throw,  
And sidelong bend your necks of snow:—  
Ye ween to hear a melting tale  
Of two true lovers in a dale;  
And how the knight, with tender fire,  
To paint his faithful passion strove;  
Swore, he might at her feet expire,  
But never, never cease to love;  
And how she blushed, and how she sighed,  
And, half consenting, half denied,  
And said that she would die a maid—  
Yet, might the bloody feud be stayed,  
Henry of Cranstoun, and only he,  
Margaret of Branksome's choice should be.

## XXX.

Alas! fair dames, your hopes are vain!  
My harp has lost the enchanting strain;  
Its lightness would my age reprove:  
My hairs are gray, my limbs are old,  
My heart is dead, my veins are cold—  
I may not, must not, sing of love.

While thus he poured the lengthened tale,  
The Minstrel's voice began to fail:  
Full slyly smiled the observant page,  
And gave the withered hand of age  
A goblet, crowned with mighty wine,  
The blood of Velez' scorched vine.  
He raised the silver cup on high,  
And, while the big drop filled his eye,  
Prayed God to bless the Duchess long,  
And all who cheered a son of song.  
The attending maidens smiled to see,  
How long, how deep, how zealously,  
The precious juice the Minstrel quaffed;  
And he, emboldened by the draught,  
Looked gaily back to them and laughed.  
The cordial nectar of the bowl  
Swelled his old veins, and cheered his soul;  
A lighter, livelier prelude ran,  
Ere thus his tale again began.



## ROSABELLE.

[From the same.]

O LISTEN, listen, ladies gay!  
 No haughty feat of arms I tell;  
 Soft is the note, and sad the lay,  
 That mourns the lovely Rosabelle.

—‘ Moor, moor the barge, ye gallant crew !  
 And, gentle ladye, deign to stay !  
 Rest thee in Castle Ravensheuch,  
 Nor tempt the stormy firth to-day.

\* The blackening wave is edged with white ;  
 To inch\* and rock the sea-mews fly ;  
 The fishers have heard the Water Sprite,  
 Whose screams forebode that wreck is nigh.

\* Last night the gifted seer did view  
 A wet shroud swathed round ladye gay ;  
 Then stay thee, Fair, in Ravensheuch :  
 Why cross the gloomy firth to-day ?—

\* ’Tis not because Lord Lindesay’s heir  
 To-night at Roslin leads the ball,  
 But that my Ladye-mother there  
 Sits lonely in her castle-hall.

\* ’Tis not because the ring they ride,  
 And Lindesay at the ring rides well,  
 But that my sire the wine will chide,  
 If ’tis not filled by Rosabelle.’

O’er Roslin all that dreary night  
 A wondrous blaze was seen to gleam ;  
 ’Twas broader than the watch-fire light,  
 And redder than the bright moon-beam.

It glared on Roslin’s castled rock,  
 It ruddied all the copse-wood glen ;  
 ’Twas seen from Dryden’s groves of oak,  
 And seen from caverned Hawthornden.

Seemed all on fire that chapel proud,  
 Where Roslin’s chiefs uncoffined lie ;

\* *Inch*, isle.



Each Baron, for a sable shroud,  
Sheathed in his iron panoply.

Seemed all on fire within, around,  
Deep sacristy and altar's pale ;  
Shone every pillar foliage-bound,  
And glimmered all the dead men's mail.

Blazed battlement and pinnet high,  
Blazed every rose-carved buttress fair—  
So still they blaze, when fate is nigh  
The lordly line of high St. Clair.

There are twenty of Roslin's barons bold  
Lie buried within that proud chapelle ;  
Each one the holy vault doth hold—  
But the sea holds lovely Rosabelle !

And each St. Clair was buried there,  
With candle, with book, and with knell ;  
But the sea-caves rung, and the wild winds sung  
The dirge of lovely Rosabelle.

#### HOME.

[From Mr. MERCER'S LYRIC POEMS.]

**T**HE Bandit whom the laws pursue,  
The Soldier, and the Gipsy crew,  
Arabs, and Tartars, ever doom'd to roam—  
Whate'er their place of shelter be,  
A tent, a cave, or hollow tree,  
Thither they hie with joy, and call it HOME.

There if a doxy, or a wife,  
Receive the wretch escap'd from strife ;  
If there his tatter'd brood around him cling—  
His features catch a bright'ning smile,  
He rests him from his sordid toil,  
And in his narrow confines reigns a king.

While thus the poor and wretched find  
Th' asylum for a wounded mind—  
Distemper'd men there are, estrang'd from home,  
Cold to an angel's kind embrace,  
Cheerless amid a blooming race,  
And dead to comfort in a princely dome.

Men in the lap of Fortune nurst,  
With all her froward humours curst,  
And teas'd by wishes ever on the wing ;  
Who, wand'ring still through Folly's maze,



In search of bliss consume their days,  
Nor taste her genuine draught at Nature's spring.

Ye such the men who lead the gay,  
The pride and patterns of the day,  
Whose high-priz'd friendship fools and strangers boast—  
Blush, thou! to court their barren fame;  
Let HOME, sweet HOME, thy presence claim,  
And those enjoy thy smiles who love thee most!

The SAUNTERER.

[From the same.]

FULL of the dream of keen delight,  
In youth a thousand toils we prove.  
We climb ambition's fearful height,  
And seek, thro' midnight gloom, the bow'r of love:  
But with th' ensuing morn  
The proffer'd bliss we scorn,  
And throbs of new desire our rest annoy;  
Distemper fires the veins,  
The fev'rish thirst remains,  
And passion's bitter dregs pollute the cup of joy.

Then happier far, in life's decay,  
If neither gout nor stone assail,  
If conscience, at the close of day,  
With angel visitation bid us hail;  
When frantic hopes are past,  
We taste repose at last,  
And reap sincere delight from homely cheer;  
For, by the mossy cell,  
Where quiet loves to dwell,  
The streams of comfort rise, and run for ever clear.

Assembled round the social hearth,  
When Winter holds his rigid sway,  
We share the fruits of temp'rate mirth,  
Nor fail to charm the dreary hours away—  
And O! the joy that streams  
Amid the coming gleams,  
When blossoms ope, and birds are on the wing;  
What time by music led,  
The garden path I tread,  
And meet the balmy breath of renovating Spring.

But not to formal walks confin'd,  
While yet the jocund seasons reign,

I leave



I leave the garden wall behind,  
 With all the green enclosures of the plain :  
     And sights, and sounds of joy,  
     My wand'ring steps decoy  
 Still farther on, in quest of something new ;  
     Till, past the bushy rill,  
     I mount yon shelving hill,  
 Where distant spires are kenn'd, and Ocean rolls in view.

There, as on Rapture's dazzled eye  
 The wonders of creation throng,  
 Devotion wakes, and wafts a sigh  
 To tracts beyond the limits of my song ;  
     Till, forc'd by growing heat,  
     I quit the lofty seat,  
 And hide me from the sun's meridian glare,  
     Down in some elfin nook,  
     Beside the pebbly brook,  
 Whose sound incessant brings forgetfulness of care.

Let sullen fools for ever hide—  
 At ev'n I gain the peopled road ;  
 Or, led by friendship, turn aside,  
 To greet my neighbour in his thatch'd abode.  
     With him I pace the fields,  
     Learn what his harvest yields,  
 And see his children pass in playful drove ;  
     I know the urchins all—  
     On me by name they call,  
 And flatter wrinkled age with many a mark of love.

As thus my daily rounds I go,  
 Still some kind office breeds delay—  
 My mite with pleasure I bestow,  
 To cheer the wand'ring beggar on his way :  
     And should the buxom lass  
     Of yonder hamlet pass,  
 Fresh, blooming, and of harmless favours free ;  
     Safe from her roguish smile,  
     I hand her o'er the stile,  
 And pray that she may meet with livelier lads than me.



## A BALLAD of SIMILIES.

[From Mr. HUDDSFORD'S WICCAMICAL CHAPLET.]

**I**F Life, like a Bubble, evaporates fast,  
 You must take off your wine, if you wish it to last;  
 For a Bubble may soon be destroy'd with a puff,  
 If it is not kept floating in liquor enough.

If Life's like a Flow'r, as grave moralists say,  
 'Tis a very good thing, understood the right way;  
 For, if Life is a Flow'r, ev'ry blockhead can tell,  
 If you'd have it look fresh, you must water it well.

That Life is a Journey no mortal disputes,  
 Then we'll liquor our brains, boys, instead of our boots;  
 And each toper shall own, on Life's road as he reels,  
 That a spur in the head is worth two on the heels.

If Life's like a Lamp, then to make it shine brighter,  
 We'll assign to Madeira the post of Lamp-lighter,  
 We'll cherish the flame with Oporto so stout,  
 And drink Brandy-punch till we're fairly burnt out.

The World to a Theatre liken'd has been,  
 Where each one around bears his part in the scene;  
 If 'tis ours to be tipsy, 'tis matter of fact  
 That the more you all drink, boys, the better you'll act.

Life fleets like a Dream, like a vision appears,  
 Some laugh in their slumbers and others shed tears;  
 But of us, when we wake from our Dream, 'twill be said,  
 That the tears of the Tankard were all that we shed.

## The CONQUEST of QUÉBEC.

## A MOCK HEROIC.

[From the same.]

**O**MUSE, the Conquest of Canadia tell—  
 Where General Wolf and General Montcalm fell!  
 Oh tell how many gallant warriors died—  
 In climbing up that rugged mountain's side,  
 Ere they their post on Abraham's heights could gain!  
 And tell—how many of the French were slain!  
 The French on top resistance had prepar'd,  
 And block'd the passage with—a Captain's Guard!



Undauntedly the English forc'd the trench,  
 Undauntedly—and slow retir'd the French :  
 So Victors on the mountain's top we stood,  
 We bought our passage, and the price was Blood.

There to the silent moon the British hosts  
 Pale gleam'd, and dreadful as the midnight ghosts :  
 Then form'd the General his van and rear—  
 Here the dragoon, and there the grenadier—  
 Told them how Johnson, and how Amherst, fought,  
 And gave each man a quartern of gin hot.  
 One single cannon in the front they bore,  
 One ;—for the British army had no more :  
 Thus were the regiments rank'd in firm array,  
 And stood in order by the break of day.

Dark to the view a distant thicket rose,  
 Under the gloomy covert of whose boughs  
 Some ambuscade our prudent Leader fear'd,  
 Perhaps an Indian chief—or Indian bird ;  
 Each bush, each leafy brake, he boldly swore,  
 His Aide-du-camp should carefully explore.  
 When lo ! the standards of the French appear,  
 Streaming like meteors to the troubled air :  
 Regiments on regiment to the plain they bring,  
 Aloof grim Horror beats his iron wing.

Last, from a delve in flank, two Chiefs advance  
 Potent allies of the Monarque of France :  
 One Atacullaculla, fam'd in war,  
 By Britons nam'd the Little Carpenter ;  
 T'other, of giant port and tawny hue,  
 Was call'd the Raven King of Toogaloo ;  
 On his rough brow Deliberation sate,  
 And each slow word he spake seem'd fix'd as Fate\*.

“ Stern warrior, Atacullaculla brave,  
 Whose sword can conquer, and whose arm can save,  
 Say, 'mid the battle's fury shall we rush—  
 Or sit conceal'd behind this shady bush ?  
 Here we might fight, secure of dire alarms,  
 Why should we run then into danger's arms ?  
 Yet think not, mighty chief, I mean to fly,  
 I laugh at danger—for I can but die ;—

\* A phrase in a letter of Norborne Berkeley, Lord Botetourt, much ridiculed about that time.



But never be that brutal bravery mine  
 To offer Prudence up at Valour's shrine;  
 Full well I know my country claims my life;—  
 So do my little children and my wife."

The Chief no longer could his wrath resist,  
 But clench'd the brawny terrors of his fist:  
 "Degen'rate Prince," he cried, "speak thus again,  
 This arm shall stretch thee breathless on the plain.  
 Tempt me not, coward, in my strength to rise,  
 Nought will avail thee thy disdainful eyes,  
 Thy limbs in thunder cloth'd and more than mortal size. }  
 Ye Gods! how idle doth appear your art,  
 So huge a case for such a little heart!  
 Why doth the oker stain thy bosom red,  
 Why nods the sable plumage o'er thy head?  
 Why, 'midst thy bold companions, dost thou boast  
 With loudest yell to animate the host?  
 Why do the hoary scalps adorn thy wall,  
 Frequent as Fox-heads round the hunter's hall?  
 If thou dost tremble to behold the foe,  
 To send the poison'd arrow from the bow,  
 With red right-hand the tomahawk to wield,  
 To scalp the warriors gasping in the field?  
 Go, formidable giant, rouse thy might  
 To rage in forests, and with beasts to fight;  
 Go try thy prowess on the fearful hare;  
 Thou durst not combat in the walks of war.  
 Fly, prudent coward, save that worthless life,  
 Fly to thy little children and thy wife;  
 That wife shall groan beneath her husband's shame,  
 Those children blush to hear their father's name."

"Imperious Chief," the Raveh King replied,  
 "I scorn thy menace as I hate thy pride.  
 'Tis not thine arm, with nervous valour strung,  
 No, nor the thunder of thy braver tongue,  
 Can shake the firm resolve that I pursue;  
 Here will I stand and fight—and so shall you.  
 Yet, Atacullaculla, wisely hear  
 The voice of Reason whisper in thine ear.  
 Say, should the fury of the whistling lead  
 From thy broad shoulders strike thy painted head,  
 What would it boot thee that, with ceaseless yell,  
 Thy friends shall howl around thy narrow cell;  
 Shall idly lay the wampum by thy side,  
 And ask in solemn sadness, "Why you died?"



Is Fame thy passion? Fame is idle breath;—  
 For who can hear the praises of his death?  
 Say, if thou knowest, on what dreary coast  
 Shall stalk thy silent, melancholy ghost?  
 Thou dost not fondly trust what priests recount  
 Of a new world behind yon cloud-topt mount,  
 Where our forefathers still their sports pursue,  
 Urge the swift chase and guide the light canoe!  
 Nature and Reason cry, 'They judge amiss;  
 Yon mountain's other side must be like this.'

He scarce had ended parley, when on high  
 A musquet bullet sung along the sky;  
 O'er Atacullaculla's head it flew,  
 And smote the Raven King of Toogaloo;  
 Deep in his forehead sunk the fatal ball:  
 See the dire chance of being made too tall!  
 The giant prone, o'er fourscore inches spread,  
 Fell, and lay number'd with the mighty dead:  
 His fate unmov'd his bold compeer beheld,  
 Rush'd dreadful to the fight, and loudly yell'd.

Then, then began a direful bloody battle,  
 Swords clash, drums beat, men shout, and cannons rattle.  
 To arms! to arms! see where the enemy sits!  
 Advance, present, fire; fix your bayonets!  
 How soon is quench'd the sun's immortal light!  
 Each army stands conceal'd from t'other's sight,  
 In sulphury clouds of all-involving smoke,  
 And darkness is around them as a cloke.  
 Behold, the murderous Fiends of Hell rejoice  
 At the dread thunder of the cannon's voice!  
 The trumpets' clang, the soldiers' piercing cries,  
 Rock the firm earth, and rend the echoing skies.  
 Charge! charge! the broken Gallic squadrons run,  
 Nor dare to face the sulphur-belching gun:  
 They fly, they fly, in wild disorder fly—  
 Huzza! the day's our own! St. George and Victory!

But e'er I rein the Muse's furious force,  
 Soft let her weep o'er Wolfe's still bleeding corse.  
 In manhood's prime, alas! the Hero falls:  
 Who could withstand three whizzing musquet balls?  
 Where were ye, Nymphs, when the remorseless lead  
 Pierc'd his brave breast—and made your Hero bleed?  
 He long had boasted your peculiar care;  
 But ye were daunted at the din of war,



And trembling fled beneath your oozy caves,  
 Beneath old Lawrence' flood, and Montmorenci's waves !  
 For Thee the hardy Veteran wept, for Thee  
 Check'd the strong course of Joy for Victory.

'Twas Fate (and who almighty Fate shall blame ?)  
 Took from his Life—and added to his Fame.  
 Unconquer'd he resign'd his glorious breath,  
 And Victory soothed him in the arms of Death.  
 Ill-fated Chief ! his mighty valour gave  
 A Realm to Britain—to himself a Grave.  
 No more !—His fame Envy nor Time shall waste—  
 Tho' on his precious limbs the worms must feast.  
 Fresh shall his memory live to latest times,  
 Fresh and immortal as the Muse's Rhimes.

ALBERT and ADELA.

[From the REIGN of FANCY.]

“ FAREWELL, my Adela, farewell !  
 We soon shall meet to part no more ;  
 Let hope thy rising fears dispel,  
 And joy thy bosom's peace restore.

“ And when the length'ning shadows fall,  
 And when you mark the signal light  
 To glimmer on the Convent wall,  
 Prepare, my Adela, for flight.

“ For never was the blossom born,  
 The hues of beauty ne'er were given,  
 To drop into the grave forlorn,  
 Seen only by the eye of Heaven.”

He flies afar the Convent's bound ;  
 And now, where burns the taper dim,  
 The holy sisters throng around,  
 And chaunt with awe their vesper hymn.

To Mercy there they urge their claim,  
 And there their hallow'd anthems rise ;  
 Devotion fans the kindling flame,  
 And wings their incense to the skies.

But there no Adela appears,  
 The fairest of the saint-like throng :  
 The loveliest face is bath'd in tears  
 That strays those cloister'd haunts among.



From the dim lattice, ivy-twin'd,  
 Her eyes explore the darken'd plain :  
 " Can Albert's heart become unkind ?  
 Or what can thus his steps detain ?

" Why do these shadowy forms decay ?  
 Why do yon orient fields of air  
 No more the misty shapes display,  
 That fear-struck Fancy painted there ?

" Is it the day-star meets my eye,  
 And shoots afar these lines of light ?  
 Thou leav'st thy palace in the sky,  
 And toilest up the ærial height !

" Ah, 'twill be long ere thy last beam  
 On yonder western cliffs shall shine,  
 And loose the ploughman's weary team,  
 And light the billows of the Rhine.

" Come, balmy Sleep ! in poppies drest,  
 And thy delightful visions shed,  
 And sooth this throbbing pulse to rest,  
 Till night the clouds of darkness spread.

" And visit thou my dream the while,  
 Fair semblance of the man I love,  
 With such a look and such a smile  
 As first my eyes beheld him prove.

" Thank Heaven ! the sun has now withdrawn  
 To the bright chambers of his rest,  
 And twilight, stealing o'er the lawn,  
 Draws the dim curtains of the west."

'Tis gloom and silence all around,  
 And thicker still the shadows fall,—  
 " A flame illumines the Convent's bound,  
 And glimmers on the ivy'd wall !

" Or was it but the meteor's light,  
 Or was it but the moon's pale beam,  
 That broke the darkness of the night  
 And shot afar its trembling gleam ?

She hastens on with silent step,  
 Her bosom fill'd with wild alarms,  
 " O let us from these walls escape !"  
 And sinks into the stranger's arms.



Away they dart—their courser's feet  
 Are quick to scour the printless sand.  
 The lightning, on its pinion fleet,  
 Not swifter travels o'er the land.

“The wind is up! the torrent roars,  
 The floods the trackless heath deform,  
 The Rhine's dark billows smite the shores;  
 Loud yells the demon of the storm!

Where now for shelter shalt thou flee?  
 Ah, lady! thee what woe betides?  
 It is not Albert rides with thee;  
 It is a ruthless robber rides!

To Mercy vain is now thy claim;  
 Heaven pardons not such guilt as thine;  
 In vain thou call'st on Albert's name,  
 His bed is now the rolling Rhine.

They rode, rode on, by haunted stream,  
 By precipice and cavern hoar,  
 Where horror dims the noon-tide beam,  
 Where darkness dwells for evermore.

But to what forest's lonely bound  
 He bore her, ere the break of day,  
 Or to what castle's darksome round,  
 No one, with truth, could ever say.

In Convents still the tale is told;  
 And oft, to hear the moral true,  
 Down many a virgin's cheek has roll'd  
 The tear to love and pity due.

And oft as Fancy lends her aid  
 To light the faded flame once more,  
 Full many a forceful prayer is said,  
 And many a bead is number'd o'er.

E'en thou, for whom I strive to sing  
 In numbers thou hast taught to flow,  
 And suited to the sounding string  
 The hapless lovers' tale of woe;

E'en thou shalt feel thy bosom prove  
 The overwhelming tide of fears,  
 And glow with all a sister's love,  
 And weep with all a sister's tears.



## The HERMIT of the CLIFFS.

[From the same.]

**I** PROMISED you, mie Winifred,  
 What time you blam'd mie am'rous lay,  
 A storie that might reach thie heart,  
 Where love's fond ardours helde no part,  
 As true, though not so sweet, as they.

Hearre thenne hys solitarie tale,  
 Whom longe experience render'd sage,  
 To wooddes and mountains wyld who ran,  
 Far from the bloode-stain'd haunts of man,  
 And scoop'd hys blameless hermitage.

A trav'llerre sadde, from distante lande,  
 Reclyn'd beneathe the spreadinge tree,  
 Ande blest the gales, thatt, breathinge blande,  
 Hys fyre-inflated temples fann'd,  
 Ande strove to chase hys agonie.

'Twas where yon verdante clyff aspyres,  
 And overlookes the ocean tyde ;  
 Where waves the pine-tree to the breeze  
 Thatt wanderres wylde o'er summerre seas,  
 And swelles the sail wyth conscious pride.

The strangerre felt his heart revive,  
 Whyle oft-before hys eyes would passe  
 The painted bark, for pleasure made,  
 Wyth pennons gaie, and sails display'd,  
 Reflected yn the waterie glasse.

'Twas such a scene as grieffe might seeke,  
 Ande rest ande consolation fynd,  
 For there each object mette hys eyes  
 Thatt lends ytts aide to harmonize  
 The jarringe tumults of the mynd.

The wandererre felt their lenient powerre,  
 Hee rais'd hys eyes and breath'd a prayer ;  
 Ande vow'd he never would departe  
 From scenes so gratefulle to hys hearte,  
 From haunts so holie ande so fair.



"Att last," he cried, "Omniscient Heaven,  
 Relenting, views wyth pitying eye,  
 And yieldes thatt hallowed tranquil spot  
 Where, all forgettinge, ande forgott,  
 I'll lyve mie little hour and die."

'Twas there hee built hys blamelesse cell,  
 Ande there hee fix'd hys calm retreat;  
 The cowslips on the summit smil'd,  
 Lyke hym, the hermits of the wyld!  
 Belowe the restless ocean beat.

Oft, whenne the wintrie tempest rose,  
 Ande wyld winds chaf'd the rollinge deeppe,  
 Whenne everie starre wythdrew ytts light,  
 Ande the darke cloude of murkie night  
 Conceal'd the terrors of the steepe;

The Hermit bade his watchlight burn,  
 Ande beam a beacon onn the clyff,  
 The lonelie mariner to chearre,  
 To soothe hym on hys night-watch drearre,  
 And guide aright hys fragile skiff.

O, sweet! for whom I stryke the lyre,  
 Thatt warbles negligent of art,  
 Seeke nott the Hermit's tale to know,  
 For ytt would make thyne eyes o'erflowe,  
 Ande grieffe sitt swelling at thie heart.

Hee slumbers yn the lappe of rest,  
 Ande all hys grieffes att last are o'er,  
 'Tis where yon tall clyff rears ytts headde,  
 The cowslips there their bosoms spreadde,  
 The ocean laves hys cavern hoar.

Ande oft, whenne Spring imprints the sod,  
 And bids hys golden tresses wave,  
 The rustic villagers are seen  
 Slow trooping o'er the velvet green,  
 To deck wyth scented herbs hys grave.

The sailor too, whenne storms arise,  
 And darkness veils each friendlie starre,  
 Sighs sad, who never sigh'd before,  
 When on the clyff hee spies no more  
 The Hermit's watchlight gleam afar.



## The MISTRESS.

[FROM MR. ELTON'S POEMS.]

**S**PORTS and blandishments and smiles,  
 Tempting tricks and wanton wiles,  
 Playful rail'ries, arts of pleasure,  
 Winning rogueries without measure ;  
 Keen incitements, cunning blisses,  
 Sighs and whispers, murm'ring kisses,  
 And whate'er with pleasing pains  
 Maddens the Lover's venom'd veins,  
 Avaunt ! with me no more to dwell ;  
 And hence, Neära ! hence farewell !  
 But O come of purer kind,  
 Health of body, health of mind,  
 Chaste discretion, sober fear,  
 Temp'rate blood and conscience clear ;  
 Truth in singleness of heart,  
 Keen-discerning syren art,  
 And whatever Pow'rs remove  
 The venom'd stings of madd'ning Love,  
 Now be present here to me,  
 From the yoke of passion free.  
 Hence in vain, ye sports and smiles,  
 Hence in vain, ye wanton wiles ;  
 Playful rail'ries, arts of pleasure,  
 Winning rogueries without measure,  
 Keen incitements, cunning blisses,  
 Sighs and whispers, murm'ring kisses,  
 All ye blandishments of art,  
 Hence ! in vain ye tempt my heart.  
 Why with pliant arms delay me ?  
 Why with longing looks survey me ?  
 Why with kisses treach'rous-kind  
 Seek you to ensnare my mind ?—  
 Press no more with idle art  
 Lip to lip and heart to heart ;  
 Ply the crafty trade no more,  
 I am not blind as heretofore.  
 When you valued Virtue's prize  
 You were dearer than mine eyes ;  
 Thou hast turn'd to vice and shame ;  
 Tarnish'd is thy decent fame ;  
 And thy beauty now I deem  
 Viler than the sullied stream !—  
 Wo, alas ! my Life, my Soul !  
 Lucid tear-drops trickling roll,



Tremble from thy lids, and rest  
 On thy softly swelling breast ;  
 Soft the stealing shower descends ;  
 Pearl with pearl successive blends ;  
 Modest drops of comely dew,  
 Can I these indiff'rent view ?  
 Am I rock or brass, to see  
 Those pure lustres dimm'd for me ?  
 Could I this unmov'd behold,  
 Brass and rock were softer mould.  
 Then, O then, of purer kind,  
 Health of body, health of mind ;  
 Chaste discretion, sober fear,  
 Temp'rate blood and conscience clear ;  
 Truth in singleness of heart,  
 Keen-discerning syren art ;  
 And whatever Pow'rs remove  
 The venom'd stings of madd'ning Love ;  
 O farewell !—and now again  
 Now be present looser train ;  
 Sports and blandishments and smiles,  
 Tempting tricks and wanton wiles,  
 Playful raill'ries, arts of pleasure,  
 Winning rogueries without measure ;  
 Keen incitements, cunning blisses,  
 Sighs and whispers, murm'ring kisses,  
 And whate'er with pleasing pains  
 Maddens the Lover's venom'd veins :  
 Thus were it sweet possess of all thy charms  
 To live—and sweet to die within thine arms !

LINES to the HERO of JAFFA.

[From the same.]

**T**HOU ! who dost bruise with adamantine rod  
 The groaning earth, blind instrument of God !  
 I mark thy rageful bosom struggling high,  
 Satanic passions low'ring in thine eye !  
 While brooding evil thoughts, demoniac hate,  
 Thou deem'st thy puny arm the scourge of Fate ;  
 Thou deem'st accomplice Heaven directs thy aim,  
 Blasts by thy breath, and thunders in thy name ;  
 Thou deem'st at hand th' inevitable hour,  
 And curst the nation that defies thy pow'r.  
 Lo ! to thy proud anticipating eyes  
 The wide waste scenes of Desolation rise.



The seas are past—Lo ! wither'd by thy might  
 The recreant host precipitates its flight ;  
 Then Demon Triumph yells along the plain,  
 And Murder laughs exulting o'er the slain ;  
 Alike the palace tow'rs, the Shepherd's homes,  
 Insatiate blood-red Rapine awless roams ;  
 Deathshrieks of torture on the shudd'ring air  
 Commingle wild with wailings of Despair ;  
 With outrag'd bosom, with convulsive breath,  
 The fainting Virgin supplicates for death ;  
 Clasp'd to the kneeling Mother's sacred breast,  
 The Infant bleeds—and Horror veils the rest !—  
 Thou—who unmov'd midst tears and groans and blood,  
 Sit'st on a throne of ghastly Solitude ;  
 A MOLOCH IDOL, by the lurid gleams  
 Of victim altars, list'ning Infant screams ;  
 Thou ! who couldst bend on pale Distemper's train  
 An eye of blood, and doom them with the slain ;  
 While as in praises flow'd their falt'ring breath,  
 Who shar'd the banquet slept the sleep of death :  
 Thou ! who on Jaffa's guilty height hast stood  
 And in grim rapture gaz'd the waste of blood ;  
 While as delib'rate rush'd the slaught'ring flame,  
 And coward Fury paus'd with frigid aim ;  
 Beneath the mild and holy light of day  
 In welt'ring heaps the prostrate Captives lay ;  
 If when the nightly darkness hovers round,  
 No startful horrors wake the bosom-wound ;  
 If Hell's assistant Fiends with icy mail  
 Have arm'd thy nature—HOIST THE DARING SAIL !  
 Midst clang'rous trumpets and exultant cries  
 I see embark'd thy vaunted destinies ;  
 Thy glance reverted views the less'ning shore,  
 That once abandon'd—thou return'st no more !—  
 O monstrous hope ! O arrogant of mind !  
 In atheist pride fierce, obstinate, and blind ;  
 Let Mem'ry wake !—He \* lives whose val'rous arm  
 Shook thy bold breast with tumult of alarm ;  
 When as the deeps in swift succession swell  
 O'er the dash'd rocks—the rocks their rage repel ;  
 Still urg'd amain with aggravated roar,  
 And still in foam receding from the shore ;  
 So heaps on heaps thy foil'd confed'rates fled,  
 And the choak'd breach ran purple with their dead.  
 Let Mem'ry wake !—or shall Oblivion veil,  
 In awe of thee, the bold impartial tale ?

\* Sir Sydney Smith.



Seest thou yon sculptur'd pile \* that seems to rise  
 And midst the palmy desert threat the skies?  
 Exalted there th' Historic Muse appears,  
 And registers the storied lapse of years:  
 High on the column's base observant stands,  
 And grasps the style with firm untrembling hands;  
 There deeds of horror swell the roughen'd stone,  
 And Infamy there marks thee for her own;  
 While from the marble forms heroic start,  
 And gen'rous valour heaves each dauntless heart;  
 Lo! Albion's Youth disprove th' insulting boast,  
 And scourge the prowess of thy vet'ran host;  
 Trampling to earth the standard of their pride,  
 Wrought with long triumphs and in combats dyed.  
 In Vict'ry's grasp the dying Chief elate  
 Smiles greatly patient and resign'd to Fate;  
 Torn from the Gaul's fell brow her laurels bloom,  
 Shelter his hoary head and grace his hallow'd tomb.  
 Died Albion's valour with the Patriot dead?  
 Fled her brave Spirit with the Spirit fled?  
 But thou shalt find beyond the mediate main,  
 That Abercrombie's soul revives again;  
 Yet undegen'rate from their daring sires,  
 Yet kindling with hereditary fires;  
 In bright array the Sons of Freedom stand,  
 A dreadless and unconquerable band.  
 Shall SHE, whose proud and world-opposing lance  
 Has drunk of yore the dearest blood of France;  
 Of France, whose wrecks yet strow the SOV'RAND ISLE,  
 Whose gore yet blushes on the strand of Nile;  
 Shall SHE let fall the terrors of her spear,  
 And learn, O shame!—and learn from *thee* to fear?  
 Ha! thou hast rous'd the LION in his den!  
 The strife *thou* temptest is the strife of MEN!  
 Compar'd to *this*, thy direst, deadliest fray  
 Were but the baby pastime of a day:  
 Here FREEDOM sits—and braves thy tyrant shock,  
 With red-cross shield, her throne BRITANNIA'S rock!  
 Then by the wrongs which ravag'd Europe owns  
 From all thy crimes—by all her tears and groans;  
 By all the helpless unoffending names  
 Of them who gasp'd amidst Tenebro's flames;  
 By Alexandria's Mothers gore-imbrued;  
 By wanton Carnage drunk with Infant blood;  
 By the wan Captive's shriek and struggling breath,  
 By the dread stupor of the sleep of death;

This idea was suggested by the allegorical frontispiece to Tresham's Epistle from  
 Hannibal to Buonaparte.

By



By dungeon'd murders—deep and silent graves ;  
 By FREEDOM's martyrs—by HELVETIA's slaves ;  
 O cloth'd in blasphemy and blood ! advance  
 Th' infernal ensigns of unrighteous France !  
 Tho' Hell strive with thee ; tho' the dogs of Hell  
 Track thy dark steps, and at thy bidding yell  
 Havock and death, the MIGHTY ONE of HEAV'N  
 Shall turn thee back in rout disast'rous driv'n :  
 Heav'n's awful Arm in clouds of Pow'r display'd  
 Shall scatter thy proud hosts like heartless deer dismay'd :  
 And he that bruise'd the nations with his rod,  
 Shall feel the fury of the wrath of God !

### VACCINE INOCULATION.

[From Mr. BLOOMFIELD's GOOD TIDINGS.]

SWEET beam'd the star of peace upon those days  
 When Virtue watch'd my childhood's quiet ways,  
 Whence a warm spark of Nature's holy flame  
 Gave the farm-yard an honourable name,  
 But left one theme unsung : then, who had seen  
 In herds that feast upon the vernal green,  
 Or dreamt that in the blood of kine there ran  
 Blessings beyond the sustenance of man ?  
 We tread the meadow, and we scent the thorn,  
 We hail the day-spring of a summer's morn :  
 Nor mead at dawning day, nor thymy heath,  
 Transcends the fragrance of the heifer's breath :  
 Here, that dear fragrance, as it floats along  
 O'er ev'ry flow'r that lives in rustic song ;  
 Here, all the sweets of meadows and of kine  
 Embalm, O Health ! an offering at thy shrine.

Dear must that moment be when first the mind,  
 Ranging the paths of science unconfin'd,  
 Strikes a new light ; when, obvious to the sense,  
 Springs the fresh spark of bright intelligence.  
 So felt the towering soul of MONTAGU,  
 Her sex's glory, and her country's too ;  
 Who gave the spotted plague one deadly blow,  
 And bade its mitigated poison flow  
 With half its terrors ; yet, with loathing still,  
 We hous'd a visitant with pow'r to kill.  
 Then when the healthful blood, though often tried,  
 Foil'd the keen lancet by the Severn side,  
 Resisting, uncontaminated still,  
 The purple pest and unremitting skill ;

When



When the plain truth tradition seem'd to know,  
 And simply pointed to the harmless Cow,  
 Doubt and distrust to reason might appeal;  
 But, when hope triumph'd, what did JENNER feel!  
 Where even hope itself could scarcely rise  
 To scan the vast, inestimable prize?  
 Perhaps supreme, alone, triumphant stood  
 The great, the conscious power of doing good,  
 The power to will, and wishes to embrace  
 Th' emancipation of the human race;  
 A joy that must all mortal praise outlive,  
 A wealth that grateful nations cannot give.  
 Forth sped the truth immediate from his hand,  
 And confirmations sprung in ev'ry land;  
 In ev'ry land, on Beauty's lily arm,  
 An infant softness, like a magic charm,  
 Appear'd the gift that conquers as it goes;  
 The dairy's boast, the simple saving *Rose*!  
 Momentous triumph—Fiend! thy reign is o'er;  
 Thou, whose blind rage hath ravag'd ev'ry shore,  
 Whose name denotes destruction, whose foul breath  
 For ever hov'ring round the dart of death,  
 Fells, mercilessly fells, the brave and base  
 Through all the kindreds of the human race.

Who has not heard, in warm, poetic tales,  
 Of eastern fragrance and Arabian gales?  
 Bowers of delight, of languor, and repose,  
 Where beauty triumph'd as the song arose?  
 Fancy may revel, fiction boldly dare,  
 But truth shall not forget that thou wert there,  
 Scourge of the world! who, borne on ev'ry wind,  
 From bow'rs of roses \* sprang to curse mankind.  
 The Indian palm thy devastation knows:  
 Thou sweep'st the regions of eternal snow†:  
 Climbing the mighty zenith of his years,  
 The British oak hath dropp'd his seeming tears,  
 Hath shook his head to many a passing bell,  
 And wept whole centuries as thy victims fell:  
 Armies have bled, and shouts of vict'ry rung,  
 Fame crown'd *their* deaths, *thy* deaths are all unsung:  
 'Twas thine, while victories claim th' immortal lay,  
 Through private life to cut thy desperate way;

\* The first medical account of the Small-pox is given by the Arabian physicans, and is traced no further back than the siege of Alexandria, about the year of Christ 640.

WOODVILLE.

† First introduced into Greenland in 1733, and almost depopulated the country.

WOODVILLE.



And when at length the wondrous magnet gave  
 Th' ambitious wings to cross the western wave,  
 Thee, in their train of horrid ills, they drew  
 Beneath the blessed sunshine of Peru \*.  
 But why unskill'd th' historic page explore?  
 Why thus pursue thee to a foreign shore?  
 A homely narrative of days gone by,  
 Familiar griefs, and kindred's tender sigh  
 Shall still survive; for, oh! on ev'ry mind  
 Are left some traces of thy wrath behind.

There dwelt, beside a brook that creeps along  
 Midst infant hills and meads unknown to song,  
 And alder-groves, and many a flow'ry lea  
 Still winding onward to the northern sea,  
 One to whom poverty and faith were giv'n;  
 Calm village silence, and the hope of heav'n:  
 Alone she dwelt: and while each morn brought peace,  
 And health was smiling on her year's increase,  
 And haply still a flatt'ring prospect drew;  
 'Twas well,—but there are days of trouble too.  
 Sudden and fearful, rushing through her frame,  
 Unusual pains and feverish symptoms came;  
 Then, when debilitated, faint, and poor,  
 How sweet to hear a footstep at her door!  
 To see a neighbour watch life's silent sand;  
 To hear the sigh, and feel the helping hand!  
 But woe o'erspread the interdicted ground,  
 And consternation seiz'd the hamlets round:  
 Uprose the pest—its fated victim died;  
 The foul contagion spread on ev'ry side;  
 She, who had help'd the sick with kind regard,  
 Bore home a dreadful tribute of reward,  
*Home*, where six children yielding to its pow'r  
 Gave hope and patience a most trying hour;  
 One at her breast still drew the living stream,  
 (No sense of danger mars an infant's dream,)  
 Yet ev'ry tongue express'd, and ev'ry eye,  
 “Whoe'er survives the shock, that child will die!”  
 But vain the fiat,—Heav'n restor'd them all,  
 And destin'd one of riper years to fall.  
 Midnight beheld the close of all his pain,  
 His grave was clos'd when midnight came again;

\* In 1520, says Mr. Woodville, when the Small-pox visited New Spain, it proved fatal to one half of the people in the provinces to which the infection extended; being carried thither by a Negro slave, who attended Narvaez in his expedition against Cortes. He adds, About fifty years after the discovery of Peru, the Small-pox was carried over from Europe to America by way of Carthagena, when it overran the Continent of the New World, and destroyed upwards of 100,000 Indians in the single province of Quito.



No bell was heard to toll, no funeral pray'r,  
 No kindred bow'd, no wife, no children there;  
 Its horrid nature could inspire a dread  
 That cut the bonds of custom like a thread.  
 The humble church-tower higher seem'd to show,  
 Illumin'd by their trembling light below;  
 The solemn night-breeze struck each shiv'ring cheek;  
 Religious reverence forbade to speak:  
 The starting Sexton his short sorrow chid  
 When the earth murmur'd on the coffin lid,  
 And falling bones and sighs of holy dread  
 Sounded a requiem to the silent dead!

"Why tell us tales of woe, thou who didst give  
 "Thy soul to rural themes, and bade them live?  
 "What means this zeal of thine, this kindling fire?  
 "The rescu'd infant and the dying sire?"  
 Kind heart, who o'er the pictur'd Seasons glow'd,  
 Whose smiles have crown'd the verse, or tears have flow'd,  
 Was then the lowly minstrel dear to thee?  
 Himself appeals—What, if *that child* were HE!  
 What, if those midnight sighs a farewell gave,  
 While hands, all trembling, clos'd his father's grave!  
 Though love enjoin'd not infant eyes to weep,  
 In manhood's zenith shall his feelings sleep?

#### The BRIDAL CHAPLET.

[From Mr. SPENCER'S YEAR OF SORROW.]

**F**RESH flowers which on the fountain brink  
 The breath of day-spring rears,  
 Whose dainty blossoms only drink  
 The rainbow's diamond tears;

Such flowers alone my hand shall wreath  
 For Harriet's genial bow'r,  
 Such flowers alone their sweets shall breathe  
 On Harriet's \* bridal hour.

Pure as Elysian mornings break,  
 Fond hopes her fair cheek flush,  
 Pure as the sinless thoughts which wake  
 The cherub's infant blush!

\* The lady Harriet Hamilton, eldest daughter to John James marquis of Abercorn, shortly to have been married to Henry de la Poer, marquis of Waterford, earl of Donegal.



Oh ! for a voice, if such there be,  
Which sighs have never broke,  
Oh ! for a harp, whose melody  
Of sorrow never spoke !

For thee, Tyrone, their strains should flow,  
Since ev'ry bliss divine  
Which saints believe, or seraphs know,  
With Harriet's heart is thine.

Yes, thine are joys beyond the scope  
Of fiction's brightest theme,  
Brighter than all which youth can hope,  
Or Love, or Fancy dream.

Smile on thy green hills, Erin, smile,  
Thy woes, thy wars shall cease,  
An angel to thy troubled isle  
Bears Concord, Joy, and Peace !



## ODE for the NEW YEAR, 1804.

By HENRY JAMES PYE, Esq. Poet Laureat.

## I.

**W**HEN, at the Despot's dread command,  
 Bridg'd Hellespont his myriads bore  
 From servile Asia's peopled strand,  
 To Græcia's and to Freedom's shore—  
 While hostile fleets terrific sweep  
 With threatening oar th' Ionian deep,  
 Clear Dirce's bending reeds among  
 The Theban Swan no longer sung \*:  
 No more by Isthmus' wave-worn glade;  
 Or Nemea's rocks, or Delphi's shade,  
 Or Pisa's Olive-rooted grove,  
 The temple of Olympian Jove,  
 The Muses twin'd the sacred bough  
 To crown th' Athletic Victor's brow,  
 Till on the rough Ægean main,  
 Till on Platea's trophied plain,  
 Was crush'd the Persian Tyrant's boast,  
 O'erwhelm'd his fleet, o'erthrown his host,  
 Then the bold Theban seiz'd again the lyre,  
 And struck the chords with renovated fire:  
 "On human life's delusive state,  
 "Tho' woes unseen, uncertain, wait—  
 "Heal'd in the gen'rous breast is every pain,  
 "With undiminish'd force, if Freedom's rights remain †."

## II.

Not so the British Muse—Tho' rude  
 Her voice to Græcia's tuneful choir,  
 By dread, by danger unsubdu'd,  
 Dauntless she wakes the lyric wire:  
 So when the awful thunder roars,  
 When round the livid lightnings play,  
 Th' Imperial eagle proudly soars,  
 And wings aloft her daring way.  
 And, hark! with animating note  
 Aloud her strains exulting float,  
 While pointing to th' invet'rate host,  
 Who threat destruction to this envied coast:

\* See Pind. Isth. Ode viii.

† Ibid.



“ Go forth, my sons—as nobler rights ye claim  
 “ Than ever fann’d the Græcian patriot’s flame,  
 “ So let your breasts a fiercer ardour feel,  
 “ Led by your Patriot King, to guard your Country’s weal.”

## III.

Her voice is heard—from wood, from vale, from down,  
 The thatch-roof’d village, and the busy town,  
 Eager th’ indignant country swarms,  
 And pours a people clad in arms,  
 Num’rous as those whom Xerxes led,  
 To crush devoted Freedom’s head;  
 Firm as the band for Freedom’s cause who stood,  
 And stain’d Thermopylæ with Spartan blood;  
 Hear o’er their heads the exulting goddess sing :  
 “ These are *my* favourite sons, and *mine* their Warrior King !”

## IV.

Thro’ Albion’s plains, while wide and far  
 Swells the tumultuous din of war,  
 While from the loom, the forge, the flail,  
 From Labour’s plough, from Commerce’ sail,  
 All ranks to martial impulse yield,  
 And grasp the spear, and brave the field,  
 Do weeds our plains uncultur’d hide ?  
 Does drooping Commerce quit the tide ?  
 Do languid Art and Industry  
 Their useful cares no longer ply ?  
 Never did Agriculture’s toil  
 With richer harvests clothe the soil ;  
 Ne’er were our barks more amply fraught,  
 Ne’er were with happier skill, our ores, our fleeces wrought.

## V.

While the proud foe, to swell invasion’s host,  
 His bleeding country’s countless millions drains,  
 And Gallia mourns, through her embattled coast,  
 Unpeopled cities, and unlabour’d plains,  
 To guard and to avenge this favour’d land,  
 Tho’ gleams the sword in ev’ry Briton’s hand,  
 Still o’er our fields waves Concord’s silken wing,  
 Still the Arts flourish, and the Muses sing ;  
 While moral Truth, and Faith’s celestial ray,  
 Adorn, illume, and bless, a George’s prosp’rous sway.



## ODE FOR HIS MAJESTY'S BIRTH-DAY,

1804.

[By the Same.]

## I.

**A**S the blest Guardian of the British Isles,  
 Immortal Liberty, triumphant stood,  
 And view'd her gallant sons, with favouring smiles,  
 Undaunted heroes of the field or flood;  
 From Inverary's rocky shores,  
 Where loud the Hyperborean billow roars,  
 To where the surges of the Atlantic wave  
 Around Cornubia's Western borders rave,  
 While Erin's valiant warriors glow  
 With kindred fire to crush the injurious foe,  
 From her bright lance the flames of Vengeance stream,  
 And in her eagle eye shines Glory's radiant beam.

## II.

Why sink those smiles in Sorrow's sigh?  
 Why Sorrow's tears suffuse that eye?  
 Alas! while weeping Britain sees  
 The baleful fiends of pale Disease  
 Malignant hovering near her throne,  
 And threat a Monarch all her own—  
 No more from Anglia's fertile land,  
 No more from Caledonia's strand,  
 From Erin's breezy hills no more  
 The panting legions crowd the shore;  
 The buoyant barks, the vaunting host  
 That swarm on Gallia's hostile coast,  
 The anxious thought no longer share,  
 Lost in a nearer, dearer care,  
 And Britain breathes alone for GEORGE's life her prayer.



## III.

Her prayer is heard—Th' Almighty Power,  
Potent to punish or to save,  
Bids Health resume again her happier hour ;—  
And, as across the misty wave  
The fresh'ning breezes sweep the clouds away  
That hid awhile the golden orb of day,  
So from Hygeia's balmy breath  
Fly the drear shadows of Disease and Death—  
Again the manly breast beats high,  
And flames again the indignant eye,  
While, from the cottage to the throne,  
This generous sentiment alone  
Lives in each heart with patriot ardour warm,  
Points every sword, nerves every Briton's arm,  
“ Rush to the field where GEORGE and Freedom lead,  
Glory and fame alike the warrior's meed,  
Brave in their Country's cause, who conquer or who bleed.”



# DOMESTIC LITERATURE

Of the Year 1804.

## CHAPTER I.

### BIBLICAL AND THEOLOGICAL.

*Comprising Biblical Criticism, Theological Criticism, Sermons, single Sermons, Controversial Divinity.*

IF the contributions of the current year, which constitute the first class of the chapter before us, be not so numerous, nor, upon the whole, so important as those of the year preceding, they can by no means be regarded as irrelevant or unentitled to attention, while we have to notice, at the head of them, a continuation of the very acute, recondite, and successful labours, now happily brought to a close, of professor White; upon whose oriental learning and researches we have already had frequent occasions to dilate in terms of equal gratitude and approbation. The work to which we now allude is the third volume of his Edition of Philoxenus's Syriac Version of the New Testament, adding the Epistles of St. Paul to the Four Gospels, which were comprised in the first volume; and to the Acts of the Apostles and the Catholic Epistles, which constituted the second. From the very early period in which the Christian religion was successfully propagated over Syria, where it seems to have taken a firm and extensive root as early as towards the close of the first century from the birth of our Saviour, it is not to be wondered at that a vernacular version of the New Testament should have existed nearly coeval with the apostles themselves in the Syrian tongue and country. In effect, as there were three distinct dialects spoken within the precincts of Syria, it is highly probable that there were versions published at the period we now speak of in each of them; but we know, from the actual existence of copies even in the present day, that a version of the whole of the New Testament, excepting the second epistle of St. Peter, the second and third of St. John, that of St. Jude, and the Apocalypse, was actually published at Antioch, where the purest of the three dialects was vernacular; and the evidences of history will support us in assigning to this Antiochan or Peshito version an antiquity of nearly if not altogether *sixteen hundred years*; of which a new edition consisting of a thousand copies was struck off at Vienna under the auspices of the emperor Ferdinand I., A.D. 1555. It was nevertheless conceived by several learned men of the fourth and fifth centuries, that this Peshito ver-



sion was not altogether so exact and literal as could be wished; and hence in the beginning of the sixth century a new Syriac translation was undertaken by Polycarp, at the suggestion and with the assistance of Philoxenus, bishop of Hierapolis. It is to this latter translation that the erudite labours of Dr. White have been directed. From its high antiquity, and the general ignorance of the Syriac tongue throughout Europe at large during the middle ages of the Christian church, scarcely any thing was known of the existence either of the Philoxenian or the Peshito versions for many centuries. In the twelfth, however, the former was revised by Dionysius Barsalibæus, bishop of Amida, but many parts of it were deficient. These deficiencies have been since supplied by the researches of other erudite travellers, and we have now a copy of it, as complete as we can ever expect to have it, (for it still breaks off suddenly in the Epistle to the Hebrews, at ch. xi. v. 27) produced from the Oxford press, much indeed to the credit of this learned university. To the Syriac text the professor has added a literal Latin version of his own; Greek lections in the margin, and Syriac variations at the bottom of the page: and throughout the whole of this arduous undertaking he has proved himself highly worthy of the trust which was reposed in him; and reposed upon the express recommendation of that late very judicious and penetrative scholar bishop Lowth.

In Mr. Fellowes's "Guide to Immortality; or *Memoirs* of the Life and Doctrine of Christ," as he has entitled his work, with a quaint adherence to fashionable phraseology, we perceive much indepen-

dency of spirit; much thirst after information, and much honesty and ingenuousness of heart. In one respect, however, notwithstanding all that has been offered upon the subject, the author appears to us to be strangely deficient in consistency of conduct: we mean, in continuing a member of the national church, and allowing himself to receive his proportion of the pecuniary means she has provided for the dissemination of doctrines, which both in the present and several prior publications it is his avowed object to resist and exterminate. With so many examples before him of members who, from motives of conscience, have felt themselves compelled to relinquish their connexion with the establishment, and to resign, in many instances, the *very considerable* preferment they had *actually* attained, and the well-grounded *expectations* of much higher and more valuable, rather than consent to act in open hostility to the doctrines of a church of which they were members, or because even in private they could no longer accede to those doctrines *ex animo*—we are astonished to find that this gentleman still resolutely continues within the pale of the building he is thus openly endeavouring to pull about his ears. Faith and practice should uniformly accompany each other; and if we acquit him, as we have no hesitation in doing, of improbity of heart, we can only do it at the expense of his judgment and understanding. There seems to be one very unnecessary alarm into which Mr. Fellowes has fallen in the course of his "Guide to Immortality," and that is the extreme austerity with which the sabbath is in danger of being observed in the present day; and which he seems



seems to apprehend will shortly subject it to all the severities, and freedom from recreation as well as manual labour, of the Jewish sabbath. Taking a *general* survey of the Christian world in relation to this point, as exhibited in the present age, we confess we see no necessity for the apprehensions which are here so palpably avowed; and even admitting that among some sectarians there may be "a tendency observable to keep the sabbath with the same *ceremonial precision* with which it was observed by the Pharisees in the time of our Lord;" it does not bespeak much Christian charity in our author, nor, in our opinion, evince much knowledge of actual fact, to accuse these same persons of "*hypocritical austerity*" as well as "*ceremonial precision*." An arrow so poisonous ought not to have been shot at random: it is impossible there can be otherwise than hostility amongst the different communities of the Christian church, while this rankling curiosity is encouraged of peeping into each other's hearts, and endeavouring to develop their motives.

In professor Less's "Authenticity, uncorrupted Preservation, and Credibility of the New Testament," we perceive a work of far higher value in our estimation, and cannot but feel indebted to the translator of it, Mr. Kingdon, for thus presenting it to the world in an English dress. It constitutes, however, a part only of Dr. Less's "*Geschichte der Religion*," or "History of Religion;" and we trust that the author of the present version will meet with sufficient success to induce him to naturalize the remaining portions of the entire work. The "Authenticity" is divided into two parts: of which the first treats of the authenticity,

properly so called, of the New Testament; and the second, of its credibility. Its authenticity is attempted to be ascertained from its internal evidence of genuineness, and its external proofs, resulting from history. As fair, historic proofs, and amply capable of producing conviction, we are referred to the testimonies of the apostolic fathers of the first age, and especially Clement of Rome, Polycarp, and above all Ignatius; each of whom in their remains, which have reached us, expressly refers to various parts of the New Testament, and quotes the names of the respective authors of the parts referred to. These citations, however, it must be confessed, are not numerous; nor can they be expected to be so; for we have but few fragments of these proto-teachers in the Christian church that have actually descended to us. Yet when we enter the second century, we have such a variety of writers whose works have, to a considerable extent, survived the ruins of time, and who have quoted so largely and so definitely, both as to place and person, from the writings that at present constitute the Christian Scriptures, that we are able to substantiate very nearly the whole of them. Of the authors of the second century whose writings are still extant, Irenæus is by far the most important as to the point in question. He was acquainted with several of the immediate disciples of the apostles, and determines by name the writers of almost every book admitted in the Christian church, except the author of the Epistle to the Hebrews, which he can neither assent to ascribe to St. Paul, nor to regard as a book divinely inspired. From a consideration of the writers of the second, Dr. Less passes on to



those of the third century, whose works are extant, but to none of whom, excepting Origen, does he pay any stated or definite attention. He does not attempt to ascertain who was the author of the Apocalypse; though he thinks it probable that it was written by St. John; while he pointedly contends that it is very antiënt, and that it cannot be less than coeval with the end of the first or beginning of the second century. The arguments advanced in discussing the second part of this very valuable treatise, namely the *credibility* of the Christian Scriptures, are chiefly confined to a consideration of the characters of those who have written them, and the opportunities they possessed of ascertaining the various facts they narrate. The whole is ably detailed, and well worthy of serious and attentive perusal. We have examined a *part* of the original German of this work; and so far as our comparison has extended, we have no reason to be dissatisfied with the version now offered.

In Mr. Tomlinson's "Attempt to rescue the Holy Scriptures from the Ridicule they incur by incorrect Translations, &c." we perceive little more than the *attempt* itself. His views are often confused, his fancy is permitted to rove too much at large, and simplicity is too generally exchanged for mystery. To *explain* the Scriptures where explanation is really wanting, is a most laudable pursuit: but how they are to be explained by unwarranted conceits respecting conversations between the Deity and Adam in paradise upon the supposed esoteric meaning of the holy cherubim, or by the use of such words as *mincha* for *offering* in Gen. iv. 3, 4. we confess we have not penetration enough to understand. The

mystagogue, of all descriptions of persons whatever, is the least qualified for being an expositor.

"Memoirs of the Life and Writings of the late reverend and learned Hugh Farmer, &c." Mr. Farmer was an excellent man, and an ornament to the dissenters: he has now been dead, however, for nearly *twenty* years; and unless it be supposed that the few and simple annals of his life were still sufficiently varied to excite much public attention at the time of his decease, and that his person and memory are still strongly impressed on the bosom of his friends, (of neither of which we can perceive proofs,) we are at a loss to conceive the motive for dragging him at this distance of time from the shades of oblivion, and presenting him to public notice. From a spirit directly the reverse of that manifested by the preceding author, Mr. Farmer, instead of hunting after some concealed and mystical meaning in the plainest language of the Scriptures, was for resolving a variety of their miracles, and other præternatural agencies, into the common laws of nature; and we now particularly allude to his "Inquiry into the Nature and Design of Christ's Temptation in the Wilderness;" his "Essay on Demoniacs;" and his "Treatise on the History of Balaam," as here presented to us for the first time in the guise of a fragment. It was the second of these works that attracted most attention from the world, in consequence of a dispute in which he was hereby involved with Mr. Fell, another dissenting minister of no inconsiderable eminence in his day—and which, on the part of the latter, was conducted with an asperity by no means to be justified, and than which nothing could be



further from all chance of producing conviction. Farmer, though in our opinion enlisted on the wrong side of the question, was a man of far superior talents to his adversary; and he felt no occasion, therefore, for the deadly weapon of acrimony in his replies. Yet it should seem that, if not convinced by the arguments of Fell, he was at least induced, from the reasonings of his own mind, to hesitate upon this and various consimilar subjects towards the close of his life, since it appears that "a second volume on the Demonology of the Antients"—and "a Dissertation on the Story of Balaam," both prepared for the press, were either committed to the flames by his own hands, or those of his executors in consequence of his peremptory and dying injunction. Such having been the fact, we cannot justify the conduct of the present editor, Mr. S. Palmer, who was a particular friend of Mr. Farmer's, in introducing into the volume before us a fragment from the condemned and executed manuscript upon the subject of Balaam, from whatever quarter it may have been obtained. What the entire work may have done we know not; but we are sure that the present detached and unsatisfactory hints will no more add to Mr. Farmer's fame, than the desultory hints lately offered upon the same subject by the venerable Jacob Bryant will add to the fame of the latter.

In the "Antidote to Infidelity, by a Lover of Divine Truth," we meet with a modest attempt to explain the prophecies of our Saviour on Matt. xxiv., Mark xiii., and Luke xxi., by selections from the writings of Doddridge, Gill, Whitby, Porteus, Nisbett and others; which, having afforded satisfaction to the

compiler's own mind, influenced as it appears at one time to have been by the infidel strictures of Gibbon, he trusts may be of use to others labouring under a similar train of doubts and indecisions. The design is laudable, and beneficial we hope will be its effect. We do not recollect having noticed the name of Cappe in the list of the expositors from whom the author has gleaned. He might have consulted him on several points with no small advantage.

"An Abstract of the whole Doctrine of the Christian Religion, with Observations, by John Anastasius Freylinghausen, of Halle in Germany," has been presented to the public by her majesty; superintended in its course through the press by the present excellent bishop of London, and printed as the first-fruits of lord Stanhope's improved process in stereotype. With respect to the typographic department, the letter is clear, and well defined, but the paper is by far too thick and woolly. In regard to the department of editing, the book is correctly printed; and, in relation to the doctrines it contains, the system is altogether and avowedly that of the Lutheran church. The shades of difference are not considerable, however, between this and our own establishment; and if, in reality, they had been so, it is scarcely to be imagined that a prelate so exalted in the hierarchy, and so attached to our national system, would have been prevailed upon to have personally engaged in the present undertaking. Those who are desirous of noticing the discrepancies which really exist between the two churches, have now a ready opportunity, and may consult the book with advantage. The most objectionable, and we had almost



said *outrageous* part we have met with in the course of a careful perusal, is the explanation of the doctrine of Christ's descent into hell; by which, we are told, is meant, "that soon *after his resurrection*, he repaired body and soul to the abode of the devils and the damned, both to show himself unto them as their conqueror, and to terrify them." It is added, however, that the proofs of this doctrine are obscure, and that "it will admit of different interpretations."—Our own church allows of the same latitude: and hence it is not to be wondered at, that the best prelates and expositors of our church articles have considerably differed from each other in their modes of explanation. From an observation introduced into the preface by the right reverend editor, we learn, that he has taken the liberty to omit certain passages of the original, which contained doctrines peculiar to the Lutheran church, and to render others more *conformable to the tenets of the church of England*. We have hence no doubt that the present interpretation is that of the bishop of London itself: but no man can give the slightest glance at it, and at the same time at the ingenious sermon upon this subject lately published by the present bishop of St. Asaph, without being astonished at the very wide and diametrically opposite differences which, in consequence, it is obvious, must prevail between the opinions of these two learned prelates of the same establishment. These opinions, indeed, seem to form the extremes of existing interpretations;—there are others which lie between them, and which are, perhaps, nearer to the truth than either. The most absurd and impious with which we are acquainted is that of Calvin—

which, however, does not lie between them, but shoots off at a tangent equally distant and remote from both;—and which conceives, that our Saviour not only went into the place of torment, but actually submitted for a season to all the sufferings that are there supposed to be inflicted on the agonizing spirits of the condemned.

Mr. Lloyd, in his "Christian Theology; or an Inquiry into the Nature and general Character of Revelation," appears to have selected his subject as a kind of succession to the late archdeacon Paley's very valuable and ingenious "Natural Theology;" and although we cannot flatter him by asserting that his work contains an equal degree of fair argument and persuasive eloquence, it evinces much honesty of heart, and no small ability of head. It is, nevertheless, too unrestrained and declamatory, and is rather aimed at possessing a momentary triumph over the feelings, than a solid and permanent conviction of the judgment. It is divided into five parts or chapters. In the first, the author discusses "the nature, design and importance of revelation;" in the second, "the unity of divine truth as displayed in the Jewish and Christian dispensations;" in the third, "the sentiments and dispositions which the Christian religion ought to produce, more especially in its ministers; and the means most conducive to this important end." The fourth chapter is devoted to a consideration of the doctrine of atonement; and the last to a survey "of the nature and attributes of God; the relation and dependence of his creatures, and the duties resulting from this relation and dependence; of Adam's state before and after the fall, and the



the provision made for his restoration to the image of his Maker; and of the nature of this restoration, with some important observations connected with it."

Mr. J. G. Durham, in his Norrisian prize essay, entitled "The Providence of God," has produced a well-compact dissertation on a subject so often treated antecedently as to leave little more to expect than a clear and ably digested arrangement of the arguments advanced by former writers.

Dr. Crookshank has republished his translation of Witsius's "Economy of the Covenants between God and Man; comprehending a complete Body of Divinity," in two vols. 8vo.; upon which we shall only observe, that the divinity here presented to us is entirely of the school of Calvin, and consequently gloomy and contracted.—Mr. Searle has also republished his "Horæ Solitariae," a learned but enthusiastic performance, in two vols. 8vo. Much of it, and particularly of the second volume, consists of essays upon what the author supposes to be the names and titles by which the Holy Spirit is designated in the Scriptures, both Jewish and Christian; together with an account of the heresies relative to the doctrine of the Holy Spirit, which have been promulgated since the Christian æra.

The late Mr. Archibald Arthur's "Discourses on Theological and Literary Subjects" cannot be more pertinently introduced than in the present place, although they do not exactly quadrate with the classification before us. They are introduced by an epitomized *account*, or, as the French National Institute would denominate it, *notice*, of the author's life, who for fifteen years was an assistant to Dr. Reid in teach-

ing the class of moral philosophy at Glasgow, and succeeded to the chair of moral philosophy on his demise. The discourses are posthumous selections, by professor Richardson, from the various, and in many instances unfinished, papers left by Mr. Arthur upon his death, and of which, none were, perhaps, ever intended by himself for publication. Allowances ought, therefore, in common justice to be made for the inaccuracies which it is impossible to avoid noticing occasionally in this work;—and we are not quite certain, that, under the circumstances of the case, Mr. Arthur's friends are perfectly vindicable in a publication of these papers in any way. They are divided into two parts; of which the first contains the following five discourses:—On the argument for the existence of God, from the appearance of design in the universe: Observations by Mr. Hume on the existence of God considered: The goodness of God defended from the objections of Mr. Hume: On the justice and moral government of God: Of evils and their causes, and the symptoms respecting them. The second part offers us discourses altogether of a literary description, of which several have already appeared before the public in some periodical publications: they relate to the qualities of inanimate objects which excite agreeable sensations—to Mr. Burke's and Dr. Hutcheson's theories of beauty—to the sensations excited by grand and terrible objects—to novelty considered as an object of taste—to the influence of custom upon our judgments in matters of taste:—antient and modern languages—the causes that have retarded or promoted the fine arts—the importance of natural philosophy—sensibility—the effects



effects of critical knowledge in the advancement of the fine arts—and observations on the punishment of crimes.

Mr. Blackburne has performed an equal act of filial duty, and of acceptable service to the public, by presenting, in seven vols. 8vo. an entire edition of the “Works theological and miscellaneous” of his late excellent father, the celebrated archdeacon of Cleveland. The publication is prefaced by an “Account of the Life and Writings of the Author,” partly drawn up by himself, and now completed by his son; and is illustrated by an appendix of original papers. We also meet with a few articles, and especially in the first volume, which are here for the first time offered to public notice. Of these the subjects are as follow: 1st, “A Story of two Jews and the Catacombs;” which is intended to prove the absurdity of divisions among different sects of Christians; and the advantage of exhibiting the unity of the spirit in the bond of peace. The tale is possest of no small degree of merit, both as to its conception and narration. It details allegorically the rise and progress of Christianity, and the various contests to which it has been occasionally exposed. 2d. “A candid Address to the Jews residing or desiring to reside in Great Britain; occasioned by the Repeal of a late Act of Parliament in their favour; with a Postscript to the Christian Reader, and a Reply to Dr. Tucker’s Strictures on the preceding Postscript.” In this paper our author evinces the usual candour and liberality of his mind towards a people, who had been very acrimoniously abused during the discussion of the naturalization bill. Some amends, we are happy to find, have lately

been made to them for the intolerance they have experienced in our own country, by the more enlightened, in *this respect* more enlightened, government of St. Petersburg, which has just liberated them from every ignominious restraint, and admitted them to all the privileges of the most favoured subjects of the Russian empire. 3d. “A Letter to a Friend, containing some Remarks on Dr. Clark’s Visitation Charge.” To which is added, “Notes on a Paper entitled ‘Some Rules of Caution for the more successful Examination into the Doctrine of the Trinity:’” throughout the whole of which the archdeacon discovers his usual intrepidity and independence of mind; his disregard of all canons and prescribed forms; and his determination to judge for himself upon every point. Yet, though upon the doctrine of the trinity, and several other subjects, he takes sufficient pains to inform us what his opinions are *not*; he is purposely concealed and taciturn upon every inquiry as to what they *are*. Nor can we thoroughly comprehend the arguments by which, with his avowed disregard for, and not unfrequently contempt of, all prescribed formularies, he could satisfy his own conscience as to the propriety of continuing a member of an establishment which insists upon a hearty and habitual concurrence in its regulated creed.

Of the sermons of the year, published in the form of volumes, we meet with many that are well entitled to notice and general study. And in this class, the first work that seems to claim our attention is Mr. Tooke’s selection and translation of sermons from the German of the Rev. George Joachim Zollikofer, minister of the reformed



congregation at Leipsic. Mr. Tooke's selection extends to two volumes; and we are given to understand that a third and a fourth volume will soon be added to those now before us. The subject to which these sermons are more immediately directed is, "the evils that are in the world,"—although they are not altogether restricted to this inquiry. In number they consist of fifty-eight, the mere titles of which we are incapable of extracting at length. In general there is a manly and elevated eloquence—a clear, perspicuous arrangement—a catenation of sound convincing argument, that pervade the whole of them, and appear to be *passibus æquis*, or nearly so, preserved in the version. A few latinized epithets, on the one hand, and low turns of expression on the other, have unaccountably escaped from the translator's pen; but they are blots not often to be met with, and which we easily overlook in the general merit of the whole. If there be any one sermon more than another with which we have been particularly gratified, it is, perhaps, the 24th in the order of publication, "How we may and ought to make Religion our main Concern." We have also been highly pleased with the 36th, on "The Grounds and Sources of Christian Fortitude;"—a discourse that ought to be sedulously and seriously pondered in the present day: and with the last in the second volume, "On the Brevity and Trouble of Life."

Mr. Prebendary Drummond, of York, has at length completed for public inspection an edition of a single volume of the sermons of the late very excellent archbishop of that metropolis. We say *at length*; for not less than *twenty-six years* have elapsed since the author's

decease; and why such a period of time should have been found requisite for the mere arrangement of the materials before us, we yet remain to be informed. The sermons are six in number, all of them upon public occasions, and written with considerable force of thought and manliness of style. They are introduced by a few memoirs of the archbishop's life; and conclude with a letter, written by himself, on theological study, which the biblical student may peruse with an equal degree of pleasure and profit.

"Sermons chiefly designed to elucidate some of the leading Doctrines of the Gospel. By the Rev. Edward Cooper, Rector of Hamstall, Ridwere, &c." We wish all our rectors were swayed by similar sentiments, and an equal attachment to the creed they profess. The author was induced to hazard the volume before us from a favourable, and no doubt a very just, reception of a sermon he had, some time antecedently, the honour of preaching before the archdeacon and clergy of Stafford, who unanimously requested its publication. The language is plain, but perspicuous and forcible: and the writer seems throughout to give a manifest proof of the sincerity of his heart in the great cause to which he has devoted himself. In the opinion of some readers he may, perhaps, be suspected of verging rather more nearly than they could wish towards the borders of what is now denominated *evangelical mysticism*. But we honour, in every instance, the zeal and earnestness of the preacher, and wish we could more widely diffuse the spirit of his piety. The subjects here insisted upon are rather doctrinal than practical: upon the latter point, indeed,



indeed, there can be no difference among Christians of every denomination.

The son of the late respected Dr. Layard, dean of Bristol, has, with filial piety, published a posthumous volume of his father's sermons, for the benefit of the surviving family. While we regret the exigency which could render such a step necessary, we are pleased, and especially in the present times of pecuniary restraint and retrenchment, at surveying the object of the publication charitably assisted by the names of a printed list of subscribers, which extends to not less than the first forty pages of the volume. Yet a spirit of charity alone is not necessary to obtain a circulation of the sermons now before us: their intrinsic merit, in point of composition, if not of the highest order, is sufficient to recommend them to general notice; and the sincere and ardent piety they breathe through every page, cannot fail to ameliorate the heart of every one who will seriously peruse them. In number they are seventeen; and the more general subject is that of our ecclesiastical festivals. We have been most pleased with the discourse entitled "The Reward attendant on the Conversion of a Sinner: preached at the Magdalen Hospital." We find in it less common-place matter than is usually crowded into sermons preached at this and similar institutions: yet in tracing the "habit of continual dissipation and amusement among the opulent" to "manners" which have "submitted to the doctrines of *Epicurus*, instead of being regulated by the precepts, restrained by the prohibitions, or sanctioned by the promises of the Gospel;"—the orator proves that he is far better ac-

quainted with the tenets of the New Testament, than with those of the Grecian philosopher—whose maxims, notwithstanding the popular opinion upon this subject, were most chaste and self-denying—and the whole tenour of whose life was a personification of purity, simplicity, and virtue.

"Sermons, chiefly occasional, on important Subjects, by Samuel Martin, D.D. Minister of Monimail." We have perused many funeral sermons, and funeral orations, offered as single discourses, in memory of the deceased whom it has been the preacher's object to celebrate, but we have seldom before witnessed an entire *series* of sermons upon a similar subject. The discourses before us consist of not fewer than eight: and of these, the first was preached on occasion of the death of the late earl of Leven; the second on the death of lady Leven; and the ensuing six are expressly designed to accord with the two preceding; and of course are directed to the discussion of "faith in that revelation which lord and lady Leven professed and honoured;" to a recommendation of that national church of which lord and lady Leven were members;—of that irreligion and profaneness which lord and lady Leven at all times shunned and detested; of that infidelity which lord and lady Leven ever regarded as affording proofs of an "unto-ward generation;" of that peace and tranquillity which lord and lady Leven were foremost to encourage in the midst of the present period of turbulence and war; and, finally, of that "perfection and felicity of the heavenly state," into which there can be no doubt that lord and lady Leven have been removed. Throughout the whole of this



this new-fashioned series of sermons we meet with many excellent remarks and pious injunctions; yet we cannot avoid thinking that somewhat too much "*Leaven leaveneth the whole lump.*"

"Sermons delivered to the Congregation of Protestant Dissenters, at Call-Lane Chapel, Leeds. By Joseph Bowden." We have been much pleased with the general and truly christian spirit of these sermons, and especially with the very modest language in which they are ushered before the public. Mr. Bowden has been the pastor of a flock that appears highly and judiciously to estimate his merit, for not less than twenty-eight years. "A few months ago a note was delivered to him, signed by thirty-two of them, requesting that he would give them an opportunity of reading to their families a few of the sermons, which, he trusts, something better than compliment or partiality induced them to say that they had heard with pleasure and advantage." The request thus honourably advanced was diffidently complied with; and a selection of the sermons solicited having been printed, the author hopes that a *publication* of them will not "be held unpardonably presumptuous." The subjects are for the most part rather practical than doctrinal or hypothetical; and they are in general directed to considerations of essential moment and importance. In reality, we cannot but perceive a considerable portion of sound judgment exercised in the choice and arrangement of the different discourses; and shall be deceived if the volume be not regarded by the public as an acceptable present.

In Mr. Vanbrugh's "Sermons on several Subjects and Occasions,"

we are sensible of a strong desire to promote the interests of a religion, of whose importance the preacher is deeply and powerfully convinced. His discourses are hence grave and serious, his reasoning distinct and clear, and his diction not unfrequently animated and eloquent. In his search after metaphors we occasionally, however, find him incongruous and bewildered. In the present times of domestic danger he may have learnt the use of the *musket*; but he is certainly no *toxophilite*, or he would not have told us, as he has done in p. 122, that the "*arrow of death is struck to some human being by every beat of the pendulum.*"

"Lectures delivered in the Parish-church of Wakefield, in the Year 1802, by Thomas Rogers, M.A. &c." 2 vols. 8vo. These lectures, which in number amount to thirty-one, are designed as a commentary upon that part of our established liturgy which is contained in the Morning Prayer. The language is plain and perspicuous; and the author has accomplished his design in a manner creditable to his abilities. Brilliancy of style, or novelty of illustration, is neither exhibited nor aimed at; the whole, however, is serious and intelligible, and we have no doubt has not been devoid of success in delivery from the pulpit.

"Sermons and other miscellaneous Pieces. By the late Henry Hunter, D.D." 2 vols. 8vo. A charitable desire to contribute towards the support of the widow and family of this learned and eloquent preacher, ought not to have hurried, as it has done, the editor of the present posthumous work into the publication of sermons "of which some, as he expressly tells



tells us, were written in haste; others were never revised;" and "none of them received the author's finishing touch, nor *were indeed at all designed for publication*;" and which are in truth the mere sweepings of his study, jumbled together for the sole purpose of ekeing out two eleemosynary volumes. Surely some more eligible way might have been contrived to have obtained a moderate fund for the support of Dr. Hunter's family, than by thus injudiciously throwing a stain upon his literary reputation. From a regard to his *real* abilities we shall abruptly drop the article before us—conscious that we could not enter into a detail of its contents without participating in the mischief that has been already heaped upon his classical taste and talents.

Mr. Warner of Bath has now published a second volume of his "Practical Discourses," the first of which we noticed with a mixed attribution of praise and blame in our domestic literature of last year. We have still to observe that he discovers a warm and earnest desire to impart the great truths of the gospel successfully, from a thorough conviction of their importance to the happiness of man both in this life and in the next; that he labours seriously and honourably to promote spirituality of heart, as well as rectitude of faith; and to induce men to give proofs of vital godliness, as well by their actions as their professions; and we have still to observe also, that if he would more frequently check his pen than he appears to do, and would weigh the import and real value of his diction before he commits it to paper, he would write with equal animation, and far less inaccuracy of phrase and metaphor. The sermons are nine in number; and are

introduced by a preface in which Mr. Warner recapitulates the steps he had taken, and the warning voice he had uttered, to abolish the certainly *unjustifiable* practice of exercising our volunteer corps on Sundays, in preference to any other day. In his endeavour to reform this abuse in his own parish he was unsuccessful; for notwithstanding all his efforts he could not excite the interference of the magistracy of Bath in his favour. His opposition to so unhallowed a custom, however, does him credit; and he received, as he was entitled to do, the concurrent thanks of a full vestry of his own parishioners for his exertions. That we may not have to return to this subject, we shall notice in this place that Mr. Warner has also published a separate sermon, with the same view of suppressing the practice here complained of; and a sermon which has afforded cause for some degree of controversy among the clergy of Bath and Bristol.—Mr. Evans has published a discourse, in reply to many of the observations contained in it, from the text of John xviii. 36. which was *intended* to have been delivered at the parish church of St. Austine, in the latter city; and the Rev. Mr. Falconer, and another writer whose name has not reached us, have respectively published a letter in vindication of his sentiments. With the former of these epistles we have been much pleased; its language is plain and manly, and its address is to the judgment rather than to the passions. The writer is an able coadjutor in the cause in which he has engaged.

Mr. Clapham, vicar of Christchurch, Hants, has published a second volume of his "Sermons selected and abridged chiefly from minor



minor Authors." It is a *vast* body of divinity, so far at least as bulk is concerned : for it offers us not less than sixty sermons, and extends to no fewer than *seven hundred and sixteen* pages in 8vo. The compiler states it in his title-page to be *for the use of families*; but surely the man who would scavenge among minor authors whose works never introduced them into very extensive fame, even on their first publication, and especially *such* minor authors as those he has in general had recourse to—must exhibit a strange want of taste and judgment; for, had these qualifications been his lot, instead of finding him wading through the dulness and obscurities of Riddoch, Peters, Powell, and Catcott, we should have traced him calling forth the beauties, the elegancies, the masculine force and spirit of Hooker, Barrow, Chillingworth, and Jeremy Taylor. To a certain description of preachers, however, even these may be useful; those we mean who are too ignorant or too indolent to attempt improving their own parishioners by their own labours, and yet who cannot have recourse to the toils of the very excellent orators we have last enumerated, without a fear of detection; those to whom it is of no consequence whether their audience be asleep or awake during the lazy exercise of their functions, and who quit the pulpit with far more pleasure than they enter it. And it is to this consideration we can alone resolve it, that the first of these two heavy volumes has already attained the honour of a third edition. The editor has subjoined six sermons of his own.

"Sermons on various Subjects. By John Grose, A.M. &c." This is also a second volume in the series now before the public; and

those who have purchased the first will perhaps be in no way generally indisposed to become possessed of this latter selection. The style is for the most part plain and simple; and the discourses are rather addressed to the church universal than to any particular sect or establishment of it. Hence the Scriptures are explained without any prominent reference to distinct creeds or formularies; and the subjects discussed are such as are appealed to by Christians of every denomination. The volume consists of thirteen sermons; and as their titles are short we will enumerate them. Gratitude to God. The Case of the Leper, Luke 5. On not living to ourselves. On the Parable of the Virgins. On Indifference in Religion. On conforming to the World. On a future Resurrection. On the Power of Conscience. On doing well. On the Parable of the Debtor and two Creditors. On the Love of God. On the Fear of Death.

Among the single sermons of the year, we have much pleasure in announcing one by the bishop of Landaff, preached at St. George's, Hanover Square, before the Society for the Suppression of Vice. Its text is Gal. vi. 9. "Let us not be weary in well doing." The sentiments here delivered do honour to the right reverend preacher's heart; and the language in which they are conveyed does equal honour to his head. We trust the society for whose instruction it was composed will avail itself of the advice it offers. Under such a guidance the institution may become a very extensive blessing to the country in which it exists; and much of the censure to which it has been, and not always unjustly, exposed, must vanish or be misapplied. We have noticed



noticed the rise and progress of this society almost from its foundation; and we rejoice to find that it has in a very considerable degree purged itself of many of the evils which we ventured to point out as constituting a part of its system, two years ago; and especially the employment of spies and informers; and the restriction of its attention to the irregularities committed in the lower classes of life. By a perseverance in the first of these evils, the society at last found itself most completely duped and imposed upon; and we believe that the generality of informations now communicated to the magistrates, is from the testimony of individual members, previously arranged and digested at its own committees. With regard to the second evil, we know that it has long occupied the thoughts of many of its most excellent and liberal members; and nothing has delayed their exertions in the suppression of vice amongst the wealthy and the fashionable, but the difficulty, as well as the delicacy, of entering private houses, and rendering their tinsel culprits the proper subjects of legal investigation. We hear, however, that various schemes are under consideration for this purpose against the present winter; and we have reason to believe that the grave and honourable interference of the bishop of London, both in the opera-house, and in one or two private concerts performed on Sunday evenings, initiated with this institution. We have heard, however, and not without regret, that even the society for the suppression of vice is not without its dissensions; and that many of its ablest and oldest members have been more than once on the point of resigning, in consequence of various im-

prudent and highly intemperate plans of reformation, proposed by others of junior admission and experience.

From Mr. Biddulph, minister of St. James's, Bristol, we have received a single sermon preached also before another society labouring with fellow feeling in the great cause of promoting our common religion, but whose views are directed to a different quarter, and are operated upon by different considerations. The sermon we now refer to was preached in the parish church of St. Andrew and St. Anne, Blackfriars, before the society for missions to Africa and the East, instituted by members of the established church. If the old adage of *Fas est ab hoste doceri* be correct, there certainly can be no reason why one classification of the same religious brotherhood may not be allowed to avail itself of an advantage pointed out by another classification: why the members of the established church may not imitate the order of methodists in their zeal and system for propagating a knowledge of the everlasting gospel in foreign and barbarous regions. It cannot, however, but be a matter of some surprise, that while the latter, as well as several other Christian communities, has been able to obtain almost as many missionaries as they could desire, without passing beyond the pale of their own respective communities, the church of England has been compelled to have recourse to foreigners. It is true, as we are told in the report of the society which accompanies the sermon before us, "there is a good prospect of one or two zealous and devoted members of our own church coming forward, after due preparation, in this great cause;" but hitherto it

has



has been under the necessity of enlisting into its service persons from other communities; and, we believe, chiefly or altogether from the Lutheran establishment. Four or five are in the act of training for this important purpose at Berlin, and two, educated in the same city, sailed for Sierra Leone in the beginning of the year 1804. We cannot but be pleased, however, with the means with which these proto-preachers of the gospel, to the wild and barbarous Sosoos, Foolas, and Mundingos, are provided for the purpose of giving them some insight into its benevolent principles, on the first moment of their reaching Western Africa. For they have not only been in some measure instructed in the Soso language, the most useful, as being the most commonly employed along the coast in question, but they are also furnished with several books of religious instruction printed in this very tongue, through the benevolent interference of the Rev. Mr. Brunton; who, during a late residence among the Soso tribes, acquired a sufficient knowledge of it for this important purpose. The general directions given to these two hardy and zealous missionaries, in the report before us, are liberal, and truly benevolent. From the connexion they must necessarily have with traffickers in the slave-trade, both foreign and domestic, the regulation of their conduct must become a matter of no small delicacy: they are directed to "take all prudent occasions of weaning the native chiefs from this traffic, by depicting its criminality, the miseries which it occasions to Africa, and the obstacles which it opposes to a more profitable and generous intercourse with the European nations. But 1804.

while you do this," continues the address, "you will cultivate kindness of spirit towards those persons who are connected with this trade. You will make all due allowances for their habits, their prejudices, and their views of interest. Let them never be met by you with reproaches and invectives, however debased you may find them in mind and manners." This advice is sage, so far as it is practicable; but we are much afraid that more is here exacted of the preachers than they will be able to accomplish: we cannot readily perceive how it will be possible for these gentlemen to live in brotherly love and amity with "those persons who are connected with the slave-trade," from the moment that the latter shall discover that one of the first objects of their pursuit is to subvert this traffic altogether, by daily protestations against its cruelty and criminality. We cannot but wish that the more powerful interference of a British parliament had removed this fatal dilemma, into which it appears to us that all Christian missionaries to Western Africa must be inevitably plunged. The sermon itself, which has introduced these remarks, and accompanies the report of the society, is a plain, serious, and rational discourse; taking a brief but interesting survey of the institution, and offering many cogent arguments in its favour.—The Transactions of the *Evangelical* or *Methodist* Missionary Society, from the nature of their contents, have fallen more accurately under the head of political travels.

The death of Dr. Priestley has produced a variety of memorial discourses in the dissenting churches with which he was chiefly connected, or from ministers who were intimately acquainted with him. We



have received sermons upon this event from Dr. Disney, preached in Essex-street; from Mr. Belsham, preached at Hackney; Dr. Toulmin, delivered at the New Meeting, Birmingham; Mr. Wood, delivered at Mill-hill chapel, Leeds; and Mr. Edwards, delivered at the chapel in Monkwell-street, London. These, in various styles, and with various shades of merit, panegyricize the virtues and expatiate upon the talents of the deceased. Of the entire list we have preferred those published by Dr. Disney and Mr. Belsham; the former of whom is chiefly noticeable for the perspicuous simplicity of his composition; and the latter for the glowing colours, we had almost said the overstrained character, with which he has delineated his "guide, philosopher, and friend." For the personal connexion, however, which so long subsisted between this gentleman and the deceased, we must make some allowance. And whatever may have been the opinion of the generality of the world with respect to this very extraordinary man in an earlier period of his life, we apprehend there is no one who has carefully perused the history of his last sickness and death, but must regard him in these awful moments, not only as a real Christian, but as an ornament to Christianity itself. To Dr. Toulmin's sermon, a letter upon the same subject is added by his colleague in the ministerial office, Mr. Kentish; it is addressed to the congregation to which he is joint preacher, and is written with seriousness and animation. From the same hand we have also received two single sermons upon particular occasions; the one entitled "The Importance of Education to the Christian Minister," delivered at Exeter, in recommenda-

tion of the academical institution in that city: and the other entitled "The Influence of the Love of religious Truth upon the Christian Minister," delivered at Birmingham on occasion of the death of the Rev. T. Kenrick, one of the ablest tutors of the Exeter academy. They are sensible and perspicuous discourses: but have no further claim upon public notice. Dr. Toulmin has also published a small volume, in twelves, which he has denominated "Addresses to young Men:" they are for the most part on practical points of considerable importance, consist of eight addresses in number, and are delivered in unornamented but impressive diction.

From the zealous and able pen of Dr. Glasse we have received a fast-day sermon, preached May 25, and expressly memorial of the outrageous assassination of the duc d'Enghien. The text is from Jer. xlvii. 6: and it is commented upon, and applied to the present times, in a manner that does equal credit to the heart and the head of this excellent divine. Mr. M. Skinner has also been induced to publish a sensible and valuable sermon, at the desire of the clergy to whom it was addressed, preached at the visitation of the venerable the archdeacon of Norwich, holden at Walsingham, May 3, 1804. His text is 2 Tim. ii. 24. "The servant of the Lord must not strive, but be gentle unto all men; apt to teach, patient."—The true character of the Christian preacher is here more correctly drawn than we have lately seen it on any occasion; and we may venture to add, that he who most faithfully copies the picture, will obtain most of the veneration and affection of his parishioners.



The sermon preached by Dr. Law before the university of Cambridge on Commencement Sunday, July 1, is entitled to high commendation. It is entitled "The Limit to our Inquiries with respect to the Nature and Attributes of the Deity:" and the three points which immediately engage the preacher's attention are the doctrines of the Trinity, of the operation of the Holy Spirit, and of predestination: upon the last topic he clearly demonstrates the absurdity of all attempts, on the part of mankind, circumscribed as they are in their faculties of reasoning, and actual knowledge of facts, to determine how far events of any description may be incompatible with the power or the wisdom of the Deity: "In some supposed incompatibility, however," observes he, "between the liberty of man and the foreknowledge of God, the foundation of Calvinism has been laid. According to which system every thing is pre-ordained, and we are mere machines or instruments passive under the hand of God. The consequences are, that Christ did not die for all; that he was not, as the Scriptures have assured us that he was, a propitiation for the sins of the whole world. It follows also that man is created to be necessarily wicked and miserable, without any fault of his own; a doctrine which annihilates the distinction of blame or desert, and, with them, those strong arguments which natural religion suggests in proof of a future state of remuneration. If things be so, what must we think, but that the God of all mercy is unmerciful, the God of all justice unjust?"

Equally entitled to attention is the fast sermon preached May 25, before the houses of lords and

commons, by the bishop of Gloucester: in which, trite as the subject may be conceived, the right reverend orator has contrived to enliven it with much originality of thought—has elevated it by an un-failing dignity of style—and rendered it deeply interesting and impressive by the accurate picture he has drawn of the awful times in which we exist, and the serious and important advice he has advanced for the discharge of the duties to which we are in consequence peculiarly called.

The sermons or theological addresses delivered in the course of the year to our different volunteer corps are numerous, but in no instance that has occurred to our perusal, possessed of pre-eminent merit. The best of them have proceeded from the pens of Mr. Hodgson, Mr. Moore, Mr. Longmore, Mr. Simpson, and Mr. Roberson.

Of other single sermons, we can barely notice, among our national clergy, Mr. Gilbank's upon the due observance of Good Friday; Mr. Hoole's on opening the chapel at Poplar, in consequence of its having been repaired and embellished at the cost of the East India Company; Dr. Orme's, a masonic address, delivered in the church of Louth; Mr. Whitby's, a visitation sermon, delivered in St. Mary's, Stafford. And, among the dissenters, Mr. Corrie's "upon the exercise of private judgment in matters of religion," preached at Dudley before the annual assembly of dissenting ministers; Mr. Davis's, "preached before the society of Unitarian Christians established in the west of England;" Mr. Langdon's, preached at Salem chapel, Leeds; and Mr. James's, preached at Newbury, in Berkshire.



Among the writings in controversial divinity, we ought first to notice that the bishop of St. David's has published a second edition of his tract entitled "First Principles of Christian Knowledge," which consists of an explanation of the most difficult terms and doctrines of the church catechism, and office of confirmation; the three church creeds exemplified, and attempted to be proved from the scriptures; with an introduction on the duty of conforming to the established church as good subjects and good Christians. The character of the work is so well known, that we need not enlarge upon it.

"Thoughts on the Calvinistic and Arminian Controversy;" by G. S. Faber, B. D. *Est modus in rebus*, &c. The object of Mr. Faber is to show that consequences dreadfully and nearly equally horrible must necessarily flow from the Arminian and the Calvinic systems, when pressed to the extreme of their legitimate results; and secondly, a tenet which we remember was some time since started by the bishop of Lincoln, that the church of England is in truth neither Calvinistic nor Arminian—but situate, lying, and being, in some measure, between the two—and is in its creed scriptural alone.

Of similar purport is Mr. arch-deacon Pott's tract entitled "Considerations on the general Conditions of the Christian Covenant, with a view to some important Controversies." The controversies here alluded to are obviously those introduced by the Calvinistic and Arminian interpreters of our church articles. The immediate object of the present able writer, however, is not so much to start a new or middle course, perfectly distinct from the other two, as to in-

troduce a reconciliation between them by expunging the more obnoxious tenets on each side of the question. The attempt evinces not only a charitable spirit, but at the same time a thorough conviction that something must be done to remove the unsettled and hesitating state in which the national faith has been long trembling, and which can alone prevent the ruin of the national establishment.

In our critical retrospect of the domestic literature of 1802, we noticed the interesting, but too acrimonious, controversy which had occurred between Mr. Marsh in consequence of his translation of Michaelis's "Introduction to the New Testament," and especially of his "Dissertation on the Origin and Composition of the three first Gospels," and an anonymous author, whom Mr. Marsh and the literary world in general have since recognised in the person of the bishop of Oxford. Without further returning to the origin of this dispute, we shall refer our readers to the account we gave of it in the above volume of our Register, p. 242; and shall proceed to observe that the *anonymous* combatant, for as such we must still regard him, since to the present moment he has not chosen to throw off the mask, could not consent to remain silent after the very severe retort he had received in Mr. Marsh's "Illustration of his Hypothesis" respecting our first three gospels. The consequence was the publication of a "Supplement" to his original "Remarks on Michaelis's Introduction;" and the result of this "Supplement" has been a rejoinder from Mr. Marsh, entitled "A Defence of the Illustration of the Hypothesis." We are sorry to find the same spirit of acrimony and



and personal abuse characterizing these pamphlets, which so largely deteriorated their precursors. We cannot with much nicety enter into the question, who in this respect is to be regarded as the aggressor; we regret that gentlemen on either side of the question, possessing the acuteness and extent of learning which both of them have evinced, should on any occasion be betrayed into a desire either of commencing or imitating so caustic a style. Overlooking as much as may be these gross imperfections, our object shall be in as few words as possible to state the real arguments of the dispute, as pourtrayed in the pamphlets now under consideration. The drift of the anonymous supplementist is to prove, first, that Mr. Marsh's hypothesis is improbable, and inconsistent with history; secondly, that it is inconsistent with itself, and inadequate to its own purpose; and thirdly, that it is hostile to "Justin Martyr's Citations from the Gospel." Mr. Marsh, in his rejoined "Defence," cuts off abruptly the entire force of the third of the above arguments, by observing that although the question whether Justin Martyr's *Απομνημονεύματα των Αποστόλων*, denote our four gospels, be an important one—it is wholly unconnected with the truth of the Hypothesis, as will appear from the minute examination he had previously given to this subject in the appendix to his Illustration; and that hence his *adversary* is at liberty to state and to argue as long as he pleases, upon this point, without danger of contradiction. In regard to the objections deducible from the other arguments, Mr. Marsh thinks them so loosely and confusedly advanced, that he is compelled to give them a new sort of arrangement, in or-

der to meet them in their distinct and separate force. He objects to the definition of the term *authentic*, as applied by his antagonist to the gospel of St. Matthew; and clearly demonstrates that if the idea of *originality*, the point aimed at by the former, were necessarily implied in this term, his antagonist has overshot his own mark, and proved too much for his own purpose—since admitting, as it is admitted on both sides, not only that the gospel of St. Matthew was written earliest, but written in Hebrew, it has lost all pretensions to *authenticity* as it has descended to us, since we have nothing but the Greek version of it remaining. He then undertakes to prove, that provided the document from which St. Matthew, in common with St. Mark and St. Luke, drew up his gospel, was itself a work of authority, the gospel of St. Matthew must in like manner be a work of authority; and more especially as St. Matthew was competent in his own person to determine whether the original document were entitled to this character or not. His argument he has thus introduced hypothetically: "If St. Matthew used any document, in composing his gospel, that document was a work of authority. But St. Matthew *did* use a document in composing his gospel. Therefore that document was a work of authority." The next point commented upon is that of the *credibility*, or at least an *equal* credibility, of the gospels, upon the hypothesis before us. This, though denied by the anonymous author, is ingeniously maintained by Mr. Marsh; who, in further prosecution of his argument, and once more in opposition to his antagonist, continues to maintain that there is no possible connexion between the hypothesis



itself and the *integrity* of the gospels—in the meaning of the term *integrity* in its common acceptation; and consequently, that no danger could accrue to the truth of the Christian scriptures from a general admission of the hypothesis, upon this score. It is with similar ingenuity he wards off all idea that the *inspiration* of the gospels is hereby affected; for thus explained “the hypothesis,” says Mr. Marsh, “afforded unlimited scope to the operation of divine inspiration, since it admitted a never-ceasing superintendence of the Holy Spirit to guard the evangelists from error.” These arguments, thus advanced and replied to, are positive, and proceed upon the supposition that the hypothesis must necessarily be false. There are others, both adverted and replied to, of a negative description, and whose design is to prove, that in case of the failure of the former, viz. that the hypothesis must necessarily be false,—there is no certainty that it is true; that others may be advanced of equal, if not superior probability; and that hence it can never exceed the character of a mere conjecture. In answer to all which Mr. Marsh exultingly repeats his inquiry, “Are the phenomena” (to which the hypothesis appeals) true? Will the proposed hypothesis solve them? Will any other solve them?” To which queries we confess that we do not think the present reply is much more satisfactory than that which was offered by the supplementist on a former occasion. Yet while we give this manifest proof of our impartiality, we cannot affirm that we are thoroughly convinced upon the subject. We have no hesitation in stating that as a controversialist Mr. Marsh has

a decided advantage over his opponent; but it is one thing to silence and another to satisfy. We have many lurking doubts at the present moment, which nothing indeed but want of space prohibits us from detailing, and at least *endeavouring* to support. To the logical glance of Mr. Marsh this too may appear evasion and nothing more; but we cannot help it; we can only assure him, that whatever may be the appearance, the fact is not so.

We have unfortunately been compelled to notice in our last two volumes the spirit of controversy which has of late years evinced and spread itself among the society of the people called quakers, and which, if not speedily suppressed, threatens, in a short time, a total dissolution to the brotherhood. We wish it were in our power to say that we had now any reason for supposing that such suppression is at hand. So far, however, from this being a fact, the internal dissension which we have been compelled to notice, seems to be advancing with a rapid progress, and to indicate an early and utter destruction to the sect. The seeds of subversion which we lately had occasion to animadvert upon, were chiefly derived from an undue conformity to the customs and habits of the rest of the world, in those very points which have hitherto seemed to constitute the essential distinctions between the quaker and his neighbour; and from a relaxation in the management and discipline of those provincial schools, from which alone, or very nearly so, the community can expect to derive future members and supports. We have now to observe, that a still more dangerous foe to its future welfare has



has of late very widely exhibited itself in the form of minute philosophy and speculative inquiry; which has already spread the ravages of internal hostility, and will probably sooner, or at least more powerfully than any other cause, contribute to extinguish the fraternity. Nothing has perhaps so much promoted that unanimity of life and manners, for which this people has been so conspicuous till of late, as the cautious avoidance of all questions of doubtful disputation in matters of religious inquiry. In the first formation of the society, the grand bond of union seems to have centred in a common belief that the Holy Spirit was in the same manner present in the existing period, and would be as long as the world endured, to guard from error, and guide in the way of all truth, as he was among the evangelists and primitive apostles. They took the Bible as a rule of general conduct, and understood its doctrines as they were generally understood and explained in the Christian community at large. But a spirit of what is called philosophical inquiry has of late gone abroad among all classes of this Christian community; some have denied the authenticity of individual verses in the Bible; others of individual books; some have questioned a variety of what have hitherto been commonly regarded as its doctrines; and others of what have as commonly been regarded as its precepts. This spirit of inquiry has at length reached the quakers; and the more inquisitive among them, fluctuating and agitated in consequence hereof, incapable of obtaining satisfaction from the *exterior light* of the written word, have betaken themselves (unquestionably in conformity with

their earliest and most essential tenets) to that *interior* and *personal light*, which they apprehend the Holy Ghost will always vouchsafe to them when seriously and earnestly applied to. It has so happened that in a variety of instances, after such earnest and serious consultation of what they imagine to be the internal light of truth, they have been conscientiously persuaded, that many points which have been regarded by the grand body of Christians, and even by the larger body of their own sect, as doctrines and precepts of the scriptures—we mean the doctrine of the Trinity, and various parts of the Hebrew moral law—are indefensible and erroneous: and whatever collateral assistance such doctrines and precepts may derive from the verbiage of the Scriptures themselves, is in such case of no avail, the Spirit of all truth being supposed to communicate a knowledge of what is right to such dissentients in the same manner, and to the same extent, as he did in the earliest periods of the church to its first and most zealous founders. Hence, what has been conceived truth by one friend has been of late conceived falsehood by another: different churches, provincial synods, and annual meetings have been appealed to, in Great Britain, Ireland, and America; and the result has been, to the great detriment of the fraternity, that numbers have voluntarily sent in their resignations, and others have forcibly been disowned. Pamphlets have hence followed upon pamphlets; recrimination upon recrimination; and the whole is at this moment, uproar, confusion, and dissolution. Among the pamphlets which have chiefly attracted our attention upon these and collateral points are: "A Nar-



rative of Events that have lately taken place in Ireland among the Society called Quakers; with corresponding Documents and occasional Observations.”—“A few Observations, tending to expose the Unfairness of some Censures on the Character of David Sands, in a Publication called a ‘Narrative of Events that have lately taken place in Ireland, &c.’—“A Narrative of the Proceedings in America of the Society called Quakers, in the Case of Hannah Barnard; with a brief Review of the previous Transactions in Great Britain and Ireland.”—“An Address to the Society of Friends,

commonly called Quakers, on their excommunicating such of their Members as marry those of other religious Professions.”—“A Letter to Joseph Gurney Bevan; containing Observations on the Ministry and Discipline of the People called Quakers.” It is unnecessary to enter into a detail of these separate complaints; and, in one or two instances, rejoinders: they all proceed from the general causes we have just depicted; and they all, and nearly equally, tend to the same conclusion,—that, we mean, of a total extinction of the community by an act of political suicide.

## CHAP. II.

### PHYSICAL AND MATHEMATICAL.

*Including Medicine and Surgery, Natural History, Experimental Philosophy, Agriculture, Navigation, Geography, Astronomy, Perspective, Architecture, Arithmetic, Naval and Military Tactics.*

IN examining the various subjects which have occupied the pens of our medical practitioners, and the pages of our medical journals, in the course of the period to which our attention is now circumscribed, we find no one has attracted so much general notice, or introduced so much general controversy, as the cow-pox. This new disorder, as a succedaneum for the inoculated small-pox, appears to have been advancing with a rapid progress, and a triumphant answer, founded upon the test of experience, to every doubt or objection which had been urged against it, on its first introduction by Dr. Jenner,—till, in an early part of the present year, a pamphlet appeared from the pen of

Mr. Goldson, a respectable practitioner in the vicinity of Portsmouth, entitled “Cases of Small-Pox subsequent to Vaccination, with Facts and Observations,” which excited a considerable alarm in the medical world; and induced several of the warmest adherents to vaccination minutely to examine into its contents. Amongst others Mr. Goldson received “An Answer” from Mr. Ring, who had previously published two octavo volumes upon the same subject. A second answer from Mr. Dunning, in the form of “Remarks on Mr. Goldson’s Pamphlet;” and a third, which is a far more valuable performance than either of the others, entitled “A Statement of Evidence



Evidence from Trials, by the Physicians of the Original Vaccine Pock Institution, established December 1799;" or rather, as we have since been informed, by Dr. Pearson, who presides over this establishment, in the name of the rest. There was some inaccuracy in Mr. Goldson's mode of reasoning, as well as in his description of the disorder itself; and his theory, grounded upon the cases he aduced, that vaccination when casually received by the hand was a *permanent* preventive, but, when introduced into the arm by inoculation, a *limited* preventive alone, whose efficacy did not perhaps exceed the period of two or three years, appeared so hostile to all analogy—and, what is of more consequence, so contradictory to not less than fifty experiments made by Dr. Pearson to ascertain this very point upon children who had been vaccinated from two to four years antecedently, and who were uniformly found incapable of receiving the small-pox—that the cause of vaccination seems very shortly afterward to have completely recovered from this attack: and Mr. Goldson's cases, like his reasoning, were supposed to be founded in fallacy and ignorance. At this period of the dispute, however, two children, who had been vaccinated about two years before, at the *Inoculation Hospital*, under the superintendence of the late Dr. Woodville himself, and upon the regularity of whose disorder no doubt whatever could attach, were discovered to be labouring under what *was supposed* to be small-pox; but which was at first denied to be so by several of our more zealous vaccinists. A committee of respectable medical practitioners was appointed to attend the progress of

these cases, and to draw up a report on their termination. The report decided that the cases were unquestionably small-pox, after vaccination; and a variety of others occurring about the same time in the metropolis, of equal perspicuity and decision, every unprejudiced practitioner found himself compelled to admit, that it was possible for small-pox to appear *occasionally* after vaccine inoculation. The fair result of these observations therefore, and of the history of the vaccina to the present moment, is, that vaccination, or inoculation from the cow-pox, will, *under certain and generally existing* circumstances, prevent the disorder of the small-pox; but that also, *under certain and less generally existing* circumstances, it has no power of preventing it whatever. And it is now, as it appears to us, become an imperative duty upon every medical practitioner, and especially upon those who have the superintendence of our public vaccine institutions, to endeavour to ascertain what are those *circumstances* which render vaccination available in the one instance, and unavailable in the other. The remark, by which the salutary fears of many inquirers are attempted to be suppressed, that even the *small-pox* itself has at times been found to recur a second time in the same person, and that therefore it is natural to expect that such effect will sometimes take place after vaccination, is, we grant, plausible, but by no means satisfactory. The cases of the former, *within any given period*, are too few in comparison with those of the latter, for both to originate from a similarity of cause: and it would be easy to show, if we had time, that the reasoning applicatory to the return



return of small-pox after small-pox, *so far as we are acquainted with the very few cases in which such return has been noticed*, is not applicatory to the appearance of *small-pox after cow-pox*. We have dwelt with an inappropriate length of detail upon this subject, as well because of its intrinsic importance to the public, as in consequence of the controversy which has hereby been excited in the professional world. Before we drop it altogether, we will just observe, that we have also seen another pamphlet in disfavour of vaccination by Dr. Squirrell, "tending to show that the cow-pox originates in scrophula, commonly called the king's evil:" but as the author has advanced no proof of such assertion, worthy of a moment's attention; and especially as his pamphlet betrays evident marks of sinister views, rather than of enlarged and liberal investigation, we cannot further enter into an examination of its contents.

We have been much instructed and entertained by Spallanzani's posthumous "*Memoirs on Respiration*:" incomplete as they are, in comparison with what the author designed they should be had his life been prolonged, they offer a very valuable collection of new facts and experiments, upon a still doubtful and contested subject. The grand point proved by them is that *all* animals absorb very considerable portions of oxygenous gas, by the skin as well as by the lungs; and that many animals absorb it by the skin alone. The memoirs consist of three in number, to which a fourth is to be added by the editor, M. Senebier of Geneva, in a short time, from an autograph of Spallanzani, now in his possession. We have also received a va-

luable work upon the same subject, by Dr. Bostock of Liverpool, the entire object of which, when completed, is to give an account of the process of respiration; to point out its direct effects, and different affections as produced by health and disease; and to ascertain the connexion which subsists between respiration and the other functions of the animal system. The scope is comprehensive, and will require the accession of many volumes to that which is immediately before us; and which is expressly declared to be merely preparatory to what are to ensue. From the present specimen, we shall hail the appearance of the author's subsequent labours. He has not, of course, been able, in the volume in question, to avail himself of the experiments of Spallanzani which we have just noticed.

We hail, with sincere gratitude of heart, a new edition, considerably enlarged and improved, of Dr. Currie's "*Medical Reports*," in 2 vols. 8vo. The additional matter relates chiefly to supplementary proofs of the advantage of cold water affused in cases of typhus, plague, scarlatina, which our author merely regards as a variety of cynanche maligna, and tetanus, of which last disease, two very curious and important instances, in which this remedy was successfully employed in conjunction with a liberal use of wine and opium, are now for the first time related. We are sorry to find, towards the close of the publication, that this valuable author is himself labouring under infirmities which threaten far too early a termination of his existence.

In connexion with the greater number of complaints treated of in Dr. Currie's "*Medical Reports*," we may



may be allowed to mention that through the labours of Mr. Neale, a regimental surgeon, we have received in an English dress the very valuable "Observations" of M. Assalini, one of the most able members of the medical staff that accompanied Bonaparte in his unsuccessful attempt upon Egypt. These "Observations" relate to the plague, the dysentery, and ophthalmy of the country; and with respect to accuracy of description, and clear, undisguised matter of fact, are entitled to very serious attention. We do not however very generally agree with this gentleman in his theoretic reasonings, nor always in his mode of treatment. He does not regard the plague as contagious, chiefly because a few decided instances occurred in which it did not follow upon actual communication, and because no assignable reason could be alleged upon this hypothesis, for its appearing so fatally at Jaffa; and he does not seem in the course of his practice to have tried, otherwise than merely accidentally, the remedy of repeated affusions of cold water. His reasoning and therapeutics in respect of the Egyptian ophthalmy and dysentery are entitled to still less attention: but we repeat it, the apparent accuracy of his descriptions, and the necessary assiduity with which he must have attended to the actual symptoms of his patients, render this writer an authority of considerable moment in these respects.—Upon the subject of the malignant contagion we have received a small pamphlet from the pen of Dr. R. Pearson, containing a plan for preventing the propagation of the disorder which lately raged with so much violence on the shores of the Mediterranean, provided it should ever, unfortunately, reach our own

coasts. The plan is avowedly topical, and, under the dire necessity to which it refers, might, we have no doubt, be employed with advantage.

Mr. M'Gregor, who accompanied, as superintending surgeon, our Indian army in its late passage to Egypt, has observed in his "Medical Sketches" of this expedition, that there is a very considerable resemblance between the symptoms of the plague and the yellow fever. He appears to believe both highly contagious; and in direct opposition to the testimony of M. Assalini, had adduced instances of mortality subsequent upon voluntary inoculation from the matter of the existing bubo. Contrary to the opinion of Dr. Currie, he attributes one cause of the recurrence of this fatal disease to the periodic dews which in this country are very heavy; and the remedy which he found most successful was an early and liberal use of mercury. He thinks little has been added to the knowledge or cure of the plague since the days of Russel. He is not perfectly satisfactory upon the ophthalmy, dysentery, endemic fever, and various other diseases which are enumerated in the course of his lucubrations.

Dr. Wilson has added a fourth volume to his "Treatise on Febrile Diseases," in which we perceive the same undeviating reverence for the system and opinions of Dr. Cullen that characterizes the three preceding; and the same disposition to fitter diseases into unnecessary varieties. In other respects the work is highly useful, from its minute and comprehensive attention to the class of which it treats.

Dr. Trotter's "Essay, Medical, Philosophical, and Chemical, on Drunkenness, and its Effects on the Human



Human Body," is rather full in its detail than precise in the experiments to which it appeals. Its general directions may unquestionably be followed with advantage, but it is by no means perspicuous in its theory and ratiocination. We have still less to say in favour of Dr. Rowley's "Treatise on Madness and Suicide:" we dare not contradict the appearances which he has personally witnessed on dissection; but we cannot avoid noticing that they are by no means corroborated by prior dissections of many of our most skilful and attentive anatomists. In his theory we perceive a tendency to the old *homœomeria* of Anaxagoras, or the convertible powers of more modern physiologists: and the curative department is peculiarly unsatisfactory and meagre.

In language the most turgid and sesquipedalian, loaded at the same time with the most peremptory assertions and inextricable reasonings, Dr. Kinglake has offered us a "Dissertation on Gout; exhibiting a new View of the Origin, Nature, Cause, Cure and Prevention of that afflicting Disease." According to this new and invaluable discovery, gout is nothing more than a simple inflammatory affection—a mere morbid accumulation of heat in the part attacked; and is of course to be removed alone by the application of simple frigid substances—of which cold water, as it is the most commodious, is by far the most effectual remedy.—Mr. Edlin, however, has since published a caveat against this very simple and successful practice of Dr. Kinglake, which relates more than one case in which it was succeeded by almost immediate death; and which he is induced to communicate, "in order to guard the unwary

against being led astray by Dr. Kinglake's plausible theory." Mr. Edlin, we think, need not be very much alarmed upon this subject; for neither the theory nor the practice will survive long enough to be chargeable with many additional proofs of having committed murder.

Upon the diseases of children Dr. Heberden, under the title of "*Morborum Puerilium Epitome*," has favoured us with a truly classical essay in the Latin tongue, which we take it for granted was the whole he aimed at; since it contains nothing of peculiar prominence in its remarks, or injunctions; and, from the very language in which it is written, is very effectually locked up from the general view of those who might otherwise chiefly profit by it.—Dr. Herdman, ascending to a still earlier period of life, has written "Discourses on the Management of Infants, and the Treatment of their Diseases:" in which, though we meet with occasional observations that are well entitled to attention, the author's chief aim seems to be to shine by novelty of conception, and a continual deviation from the beaten track, however wild and tangled may be the path into which he is thereby betrayed.

If in the departments of anatomy and practical surgery we have not, in the course of the present year, so large a catalogue of publications as we are occasionally favoured with, in point of merit we are not without some pretensions to a more than ordinary boast. In our last volume we stepped a little beyond the period to which we were strictly limited, to notice Mr. Astley Cooper's very excellent plates and observations on hernia. Mr. Abernethy has published a volume of



“Surgical Observations,” which are well worthy the attention of the professional world. They chiefly relate to a new history and classification of tumours; in neither of which, however, do we perceive any thing of very intrinsic importance: but the cases by which they are illustrated, and the practical observations that accompany them, are in many respects equally novel and valuable. He has followed Mr. J. Hunter in developing instances of what may be denominated spurious syphilis—a disease often without venereal origin, and demanding a difference in the mode of treatment: and upon this, and various other subjects of incidental notice, we have met with much useful information.—Mr. Charles Bell has at length, by the publication of a fourth volume, completed his “Anatomy of the Human Body;” and ably supplied a vacancy in medical science. The volume before us is devoted to the abdominal viscera, the male and female pelvis, and the lymphatic system; and evinces the same extent of acquaintance with the best writers of prior times, and the same personal application to the subjects discussed, which characterize our author’s preceding labours.—Mr. Ware has republished his valuable “Observations on the Cataract and Gutta Serena,” and has enriched them with several new and important cases and remarks.—Mr. Whately has attempted an “Improved Method of treating Strictures in the Urethra,” in a pamphlet which, on many occasions, seems to derogate very unnecessarily from the merit of Mr. Home’s practice in the same complaint. Instead of the lunar caustic, we here find the *kali purum* recommended, as possess of various

and decisive advantages over the former. We believe it occasionally to produce less pain: but we can by no means consent that it should uniformly supersede the lunar caustic in cases of obstinate stricture. In “A brief Essay on the peculiar Advantages of the flexible metallic Bougies in the Treatment of Strictures of the Urethra,” Mr. W. Smyth, the inventor and proprietor of these bougies, undertakes to anathematize the use of all caustics whatever.—Mr. Smyth’s bougies are unquestionably entitled to attention and general commendation: but the reproach thus inconsistently and unwarrantably offered upon a practice of the most decided advantage in the main, by this maker of bougies, is absurd, and altogether *ultra crepidam*.

The line of Materia Medica has offered us little to dwell upon. Swediaur, in his “Pharmacopœia Medici Practici Universalis,” has exhibited a manual of pharmacy that may occasionally be found useful. Mr. Murray has published, in 2 vols. 8vo. “Elements of Materia Medica and Pharmacy,” which evince a new classification, but too much founded upon individual and questionable system, to become permanent: and the younger Dr. Duncan has published a second edition of his “Edinburgh Dispensatory,” with a variety of additions from foreign pharmacopœias and natural historians, but none that are of very important value, or such as seem necessary to be especially detailed.

In the veterinary art we have received a truly valuable treatise from Dr. Harrison, of Horncastle, Lincolnshire, upon “The Rot in Sheep and other Animals.” In opposition to the general belief that this disorder is introduced in consequence



sequence of the entrance of the egglets of animalcules, called flukes, into the stomach of sheep, which thence penetrate, when hatched, into the liver, our author shrewdly observes, and upon indisputable authority, that sheep, even in the worst cases of this disease, do not exhibit upon dissection any proofs of the existence of these animalcules. He hence ascribes the complaint to marsh miasmata; and endeavours, in consequence hereof, to trace some analogy between the rot in sheep, and the intermittent fever, produced by the same cause, among mankind. The connexion, indeed, between this disorder and various maladies to which man and other animals are subject, is pushed to a much more considerable extent by some authors; and it is hence that the cow-pox, which is found so serviceable in annihilating the power of one of the most fatal diseases incident to mankind, is equally conceived by some writers to be a preventive against the rot. Dr. Harrison does not readily yield to this opinion: he nevertheless believes that the cow-pox may be serviceable in an eruptive and febrile affection, to which the sheep does not appear subject in this country, but which is well known and denominated on the continent, *claveau des moutons*, and which professor Vibourg seems to have confounded with the malady of the rot.

The freight of the year before us, in the article of natural history, is peculiarly rich and magnificent. The "Gramina Britannica, or Representations of British Grasses, by Mr. Knapp," is not a more splendid and costly work, than one of real utility and a curiosity well worthy of indulgence. Mr. Knapp is professedly a disciple of Dr. James

Edward Smith, and he seldom deviates from so excellent a guide. The grasses are for the most part admirably described, and accurately delineated from drawings made by himself from plants of his own gathering in their native stations. Many of the tints, however, vary in some degree from the appearances they have assumed in the districts in which we have beheld them: but the variation may depend upon district alone. We do not perceive the addition of *many* new species; yet even this, perhaps, was scarcely to be expected, after the voluminous investigations of Curtis, Withering, and our author's exemplar himself. We rather wish he had expunged several from the catalogue, as unquestionably not indigenous productions of our own country; such, for example, as the *phaleris canariensis*, the elegant pennated *stipa*, and probably the geniculated *lyme-grass*, which, although described as a native, and actually traced by Richardson, Lawson, and several others, is now no where to be met with, and was probably at the time of its appearance at large, an accidental wanderer from our cultivated gardens. Upon the whole, however, we have seldom met with a more correct and entertaining work than the present: it is not more superb in its ornaments than it deserves to be; and the dryness of its botanical discussions is, on many occasions, elegantly relieved by a variety of classical and appropriate allusions.

Dr. Smith has published the third volume of his very admirable "Flora Britannica;" and in so doing, he has excited in us a stronger desire than ever for the completion of this important national work; and it is not, therefore,



fore, without sincere condolence, we find, from public report, that he has of late been interrupted in his elegant pursuits by a painful affection of the eyes. It will give some idea to our readers of the diligence with which he has followed up his botanical investigations, in being informed that the genus *salix*, which, under Linnæus, offered no more than thirty-one species, and under the subsequent investigations of Withering, not more than twenty-two, he has extended to not less than *forty-five British* species alone. It is to the *Cryptogamia*, however, that we must look for our author's most important improvements: and here we perceive, that notwithstanding all his reluctance to deviate from the immortal Swede, he has been compelled to adopt the system of Hedwig in the genus of mosses. The class, however, still remains unfinished; and we have yet to wait for another volume, which we have no doubt will complete the work, for the president's arrangement of the *algæ* and *fungi*.

While Dr. Smith has thus *compulsorily* introduced the system of Hedwig into his *Flora*; his friend Mr. Turner has enthusiastically attached himself to this popular classification, and has voluntarily and with great spirit engaged in a work upon the mosses, for the express purpose of rendering it as generally received in our own country as it has been for some time upon the continent. He has for this purpose selected the mosses of Ireland, in which part of the united kingdom he lately spent a period of relaxation so pleasantly to his own feelings, that he adverts to it with the most rapturous exclamations; and has hence denominated his book "*Muscologiæ Hibernicæ Spicilegium*." His

genera are three: 1. *Capsulæ ore nullo*. 2. *Capsulæ ore nudo*. 3. *Capsulæ ore aucto peristomio*; under which last genus he enumerates five species. Yet we cannot say, that either in the present instance, or in any other that has occurred to us, the species are idly or unduly increased by an attention to minute and trifling distinctions.

Mr. Haworth in his "*Miscellanea Naturalia, sive Dissertationes variæ ad Historiam Naturalem spectantes*," has presented us with a very valuable sequel to his *Lepidoptera Britannica*, of which we have formerly spoken in terms of deserved approbation. The dissertations are six in number. The first, and by far the most extensive, is a new division of the genus *Mesembryanthemum*; and we believe that every one who studies it will infinitely prefer it to that which the author lately offered upon the same subject. He extends his divisions to thirteen, the sectional names of which, however, we can by no means approve, in every instance, as sufficiently distinctive. They are denominated, 1. *Minima*: 2. *Subacaulia*: 3. *Prostrata*: 4. *Capitata*: 5. *Planifolia*: 6. *Canaliculata*: 7. *Vesperiflora*: 8. *Rubicunda*: 9. *Flaviflora*: 10. *Adunca*: 11. *Perfoliata*: 12. *Aspericaulia*: 13. *Hispida*. The second dissertation, in its subject nearly connected with the first, is devoted to the genus *Tetragonia*; the third, to the genus *Portulaca*; the fourth, to the genus *Saxifraga*, so far as it is cultivated in British gardens, to which our author has also given a new arrangement. The fifth dissertation comprises an account of various non-descript species, amounting in the whole to twenty-four in number. And the sixth offers remarks on several of the obscurer



obscurer terms employed in the science of botany, as also terms which have been occasionally misapplied or confounded with others. We are pleased to perceive, that this accurate and ingenious naturalist is still industriously engaged in the pursuit of his favourite occupation, and that we have reason to expect various other opuscles from him in a short period.

Zoology has advanced with a gale nearly as propitious in the course of the current year as botany. Dr. Shaw has completed both parts of his fifth volume, and with it has concluded his department of ichthyology. In our last retrospect, containing an account of our author's entrance upon this comprehensive, and for the most part recondite, branch of natural history, we noticed an appearance of diminished spirit, from his not being so much at home as in various other departments. He now, however, gives evidence of having studied to considerable purpose. He is more familiar with his subject—pursues it with recovered alacrity—and is at once comprehensive and minute. In two or three instances only have we observed any omission of species advanced by prior writers, which we could wish to have seen introduced; while, from his own direct and valuable resources, our indefatigable naturalist had added many which are altogether new. Bloch, Gmelin, Latham, Pennant, La Cépède, are the quarters to which, as usual, he has chiefly applied for contributions, in conjunction with the original treasures afforded by Linnéus.—Mr. Donovan has at length completed his “Natural History of British Shells,” in 5 vols. 8vo.; and has hereby presented to us the most perfect work upon national

conchology which has been offered to the public. It is systematically arranged upon the Linnéan system, enriched with a variety of scientific and general observations upon every shell; and beautifully ornamented with figures and descriptions of all the species which have hitherto excited attention in our own country. The microscopic, however, are omitted: they would have extended our author's plan to a sphere more voluminous than his original proposals would have admitted.—In the division of national ornithology we have received from the hands of Mr. Bewick two octavo volumes, entitled “History of British Birds.” The work is decorated with figures engraved on wood with all our author's accustomed excellence and spirit, and accompanied with an accuracy of description far superior to any thing we had reason to expect from Mr. Bewick's want of education in an early period of his life. But real genius never beholds an obstacle too difficult for it to surmount: it triumphs from the moment it commences its contest. The present “History of Birds” forms a valuable accompaniment to our author's already published History of Quadrupeds: his engravings are equally admirable, and his style of composition, in which, as usual, he has been largely assisted by his friend Mr. Beilby, is considerably improved and polished.

In the department of experimental philosophy we have many articles to notice of genuine value and authority. We shall commence with observing that Mr. Nicholson, with indefatigable attention, has translated into our own tongue, in eleven volumes octavo, M. Fourcroy's “General System of chemical Knowledge, and its Application



caution to the Phenomena (*Phænomena*) of nature and art." There is no experimentalist whom the student in chemistry may follow with more implicit confidence than M. Fourcroy; there is no publication, within the whole scope of this extensive subject, of more intrinsic excellence than the "System" before us. We cannot therefore but be highly gratified at beholding it in a native dress, and especially when the version has been superintended by a philosopher so amply qualified to render justice to it as Mr. Nicholson. The synoptic tables, as in the original, are printed in the translation on large folio paper; and the last volume is entirely devoted to the very valuable purpose of an index, a labour in which French writers too seldom give themselves the trouble of engaging, and which the original of the work before us is not possessed of.

Those who are acquainted with the name of Fourcroy cannot be ignorant of that of Berthollet; and, scarcely estimating the value of the experiments and discoveries of the latter below those of the former, we cannot but be pleased at beholding the most important of his labours presented also to our own countrymen in our own tongue. M. Berthollet has met with two English interpreters in the course of the current year. His "Researches into the Laws of Chemical Affinity" has been translated into one volume octavo by Dr. Farrell, and his "Essay on Chemical Statics, with copious and explanatory Notes, and an Appendix on vegetable and animal Substances," has been rendered into two volumes of the same size by Mr. Lambert. The great object of the reasoning and expe-

1804.

riments offered us through both these works, of which, in reality, the second is merely a continuation of the first, is to oppose certain fundamental positions of M. Bergman, and more especially that which relates to the doctrine of elective attraction. It was conceived by Bergman, that when a simple substance of one description was added to a compound substance of another, towards one of the constituent parts of which it possessed a greater affinity than that which was united with it at the time, it would compel the component body in affinity with itself to forgo its total connexion with the other substance or substances with which it had hitherto been united, and induce a complete interjunction or combination with itself. The experiments of M. Berthollet, in both the publications before us, endeavour to prove, that although upon the premises here stated a chemical decomposition and recombination occur, yet they do not occur to the extent conceived by M. Bergman; that, in effect, whatever be the solvent operated upon by the old and the new menstrua, the solvent, far from reserving itself wholly for either, merely communicates to them its essential properties, in relation to the compound ratio of their respective force and quantity. The experiments to ascertain this result are for the most part curious and entertaining; and if the *whole* be not decisive in our author's favour, there are many parts which we do not perceive the possibility of rebutting with success. The "Essay," however, is the more elaborate as well as the more comprehensive publication of the two; and the observations which are communicated in the appendix,

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upon



upon animal and vegetable substances, are peculiarly striking and extraordinary. In point of fidelity of version, we have no reason to be dissatisfied with either work; yet, on this score, so far as we have examined, we feel disposed to give a preference to the former translator.

Dr. Thompson we perceive, and we perceive it with pleasure, has advanced his very valuable "System of Chemistry" to a second edition; affording hereby an equal proof of the merit of his work, and that the discernment of the public will not suffer a work of real merit to pass without its reward. The present edition is not however a mere re-impression of the former: for its variations are numerous; and its general arrangement considerably more perfect than in the first attempt. Among other changes, we may observe that the second division "of unconfineable bodies" is detailed at a far greater length, that the earth denominated *augustinum* is omitted, and the metal lately discovered by M. Ekeberg of Sweden introduced and described. This metal is by the Swedish mineralogist denominated *tantalium*: he traced it as a component part of two minerals; to the one of which, possessing a blueish or blackish gray colour, crystallized confusedly, with a metallic lustre and compact fracture, he gave the name of *tantalite*; and to the other, found in small kidney-form masses, of a deep-gray colour, metallic lustre and granular fracture, *yttrotalite*. It was the insolubility of the oxyd of this metal in acids that induced M. Ekeberg to give it the name of *tantalium*.

Galvanism is now become an important branch of aerial or gaseous chemistry; and is of equal

consequence in its relation to animal physiology: it produces or excites muscular contraction; its intensity alternates with relaxation; and is recruited by repose: it is unquestionably a cause, probably a chief cause, of animal heat, and constitutes the union between the soul and the body,—perhaps, as has lately been conceived by Mr. Good, in his elaborate examination of the Epicurean hypothesis, prefixed to his Translation of Lucretius, the essence of the soul itself. We are gratified therefore at the appearance of Mr., now Dr., Wilkinson's "Elements of Galvanism in Theory and Practice;" extending to two volumes octavo, and illustrated with a variety of useful and explanatory plates. This work may fairly pretend to offer a comprehensive view of the history of the science (if science it may yet be called), from the first experiments of Galvani to the present time. It also contains a series of practical directions, which may enable the student to construct a commodious apparatus, and entertain himself with nearly all the various experiments which have hitherto been exhibited. The diction is not however in general such as we could have wished. Dr. Wilkinson has taken for his model Dr. Priestley's History of Electricity; but he is less easy and familiar in his style, though equally careless and unornamented. Yet his history is full and comprehensive; his facts are faithfully and precisely detailed; his remarks are judicious and original: and we have no doubt that the work will be long sought after as an important *thesaurus* of Galvanic philosophy.

Yet we must not be too bold in our predictions; for Dr. Harrington, we perceive, has just condemn-



ed to instant annihilation not merely the best experiments of Galvanism, but almost every branch of science connected with it, and even every philosopher who has been peculiarly attentive to their study. The title of this egotic and vain-glorious publication is as follows: "The Death-warrant of the French Theory of Chemistry, signed by Truth, Reason, Common-sense, Honour and Science: With a Theory, fully, clearly, and rationally accounting for all the Phenomena (phænomena) of Galvanism, and Strictures upon the Chemical Opinions of Messrs. Weigleb, Cruickshanks, Davy, Leslie, Count Rumford, and Dr. Thompson." It is possible that none of the gentlemen here proscribed ever heard of the name of Robert Harrington, *M. D.* in the whole course of their lives: and yet Robert Harrington, *M. D.* here roundly accuses them of a general conspiracy to rob him of the fair fame of discoveries of which he pretends to be the sole and original author; and upon various hypotheses, long since advanced by himself, and equally founded upon reason and experiment, to build the wildest and absurdest theories imaginable. "Modern chemical philosophy," says he, "*I* call puerile vanity and folly: modern chemical philosophical integrity *I* call injustice: modern chemical philosophical candour *I* call deceit: modern chemical philosophical esprit de corps of their junto, the basest persecution of true science: modern philosophical combination the base assassins of truth and its friends: modern chemical philosophical reviewers and journalists the prostituted agents of this combination." The doctor may in this elegant manner

proceed in calling what names he likes; but in our opinion, whenever truth, reason, common-sense, honour, and science are disposed to sign a death-warrant against chemistry or any other liberal research whatever, they will never employ Robert Harrington, *M. D.* in executing their intention—no, not even as their *hangman*.

But we turn from such trash to a work of real merit, and open, as next before us, Mr. Howard's very ingenious treatise "On the Modifications of Clouds; and on the Principles of their Production, Suspension and Destruction." The substance of a former essay is here new arranged and considerably augmented. Mr. Howard has given a classification of clouds from their various and distinct appearances, which is extremely neat and classical; and, so far as our judgment will serve us on the present occasion, sufficiently correct. His generic terms, instead of being derived, as is common in cases of this kind, from the Greek tongue, he has derived from the Latin, to which alone he has uniformly and classically adhered: yet we think, in one or two instances, he would have been more successful and illustrative of his ideas if he had not departed from the general custom. Believing the theory of the solution of water in the atmosphere by chemical affinity, and even the modification of this theory proposed by Dr. Hutton, incapable of fairly accounting for the phænomena, of the formation of clouds, he has totally discarded it for the very ingenious hypothesis of Mr. Dalton, first communicated in the last volume of the *Memoirs of the Manchester Society*; prosecuting the principles of which, he



conceives that aqueous vapour is produced by the union of water and caloric ; and that its formation is regulated by the temperature of the water, the portion of surface exposed, and the pre-existing vapour in the atmosphere. The vapour, when generated, he supposes to diffuse itself by its own elasticity ; and conjectures that the formation of clouds is the consequence of the decomposition of vapour ; the caloric combining with the adjoining gasses while the water is precipitated. We regard the present admirable essay as opening a new field of investigation ; and as it cannot be beaten without entertainment, we trust it will not be beaten without success.

In plain and easy language, and with suitable condescension to the capacities of the younger classes of students, Mr. Webster has published in one volume octavo his "Elements of Natural Philosophy, explaining the Laws and Principles of Attraction, Gravitation, Mechanics, Pneumatics, Hydrostatics, Hydraulics, Electricity and Optics, with a general View of the Solar System." The length of his title renders it unnecessary for us to expatiate any further upon the volume, than to observe that the more op-erose of the machines and experiments referred to are simply and ably explained by a variety of neat wooden cuts : and that the author, in no instance which has fallen beneath our inspection, oversteps the modesty of his office by pretending to any thing beyond the powers of an able compiler. In the process of vegetation we perceive the phænomena of increment altogether accounted for upon the doctrine of capillary attraction : yet, as it is uncertain whether vege-

tables possess a vascular structure of any description, it would have been as well to have hinted at the uncertainty which still subsists upon this subject, and to have glanced at the other theories by which the same phænomena are illustrated.

Upon the curious and recondite subject of mineralogy, we have no hesitation in affirming that in the English version now presented to us of the second volume of M. Klaproth's "Alalytical Essays towards promoting the Chemical Knowlege of Mineral Substances," we possess a work upon which too much praise cannot well be lavished. The object of the first volume, which has long ago fallen within the scope of our consideration, was of high value as explaining the best and most efficacious mode of employing chemical agents in the analysis of compound bodies, and consequently the means of obtaining, with the greatest accuracy, the constituent parts of metallic and other precipitates. The volume before us is of equal importance with the former : it abounds with facts and experiments subserving the most useful purposes. In examining the auriferous ores of Transylvania, our author detected a new metal, which he has denominated tellurium ; and which constitutes 92.5 per cent. of the aurum problematicum. He has latterly employed acetate of lead as a precipitate for arsenic, instead of the more questionable and troublesome process described in the preceding volume. In the resolution of minerals which contain soda, potash, or both together, he now with infinite advantage makes use of barytes in the stead of caustic alkali ; which we believe, however, may be still most successfully had recourse



recourse to in the subduction of gems, and many similar substances.

In Mr. Parkinson's "Organic Remains of a former World" we also possess a work that is not unworthy of attracting our attention. It is designed, when completed, for we have hitherto only received the first volume, to exhibit a statement of the mineralized remains of the vegetables and animals of the antediluvian ages, so far as the author has been able to ascertain from extensive reading, and a frequent recurrence to many valuable cabinets of curious fossils, of what they may have consisted. Of these organic remains of a former world the most important, as well as the most general which he notices in the volume before us, is coal, all the existing strata of which he supposes to have been produced at the deluge: yet if he should not be more fortunate in the substances he means to adduce in his future volumes than in the present instance, we are afraid we shall not obtain any very extensive peep into the fossils or organic remains of the antediluvian æra. It is doubtful whether the coal of modern times were in any instance produced by the Noachic deluge: and granting that in some cases it may have been so, the proofs of the formation of different strata at different and very distant periods are so strong and obvious as to destroy his entire theory as a general principle. The work is drawn up in the form of epistles; a form, however, of which we can by no means approve for the present purpose, and still less of the desultory and unscientific diction in which these epistles are communicated. Mr. Parkinson has studied his subject rather as a dilettante than as a philosopher: he may hence perhaps

have collected a greater portion of amusement for the general reader than if his views had been more recondite and definite: but his book will not be so intrinsically valuable, nor its merit so extensively substantiated. The annexed plates, which are coloured, are interesting and accurate; highly beautiful, and sometimes superb.

We have met with no book devoted to the *substrata* of the earth independently of this of Mr. Parkinson's, which is in any way entitled to our attention;—appropriated to its *surface*, however, we have met with several of considerable importance, and well worthy of distinction. Of these the first that we shall notice, as perhaps the first in real merit, is Mr. Marshall's "Elementary and practical Treatise on the landed Property of England; containing the Purchase, the Improvement and the Management of landed Estates." Mr. Marshall has not a name to acquire by this publication: he has long been well known, and highly valued for his agricultural surveys of separate counties; and in the volume before us he appears anxious to offer us the general result of his antecedent labours. The division of the work follows the order expressed in the title, and is consequently allotted—1st, to the purchase, 2dly, to the improvement, and 3dly, to the management of landed property. On the second of these three divisions he is most copious, we had almost said most *tediously* so; for although both this and the general section on "management," contain a variety of very valuable observations, they are so diffusely related, and with so quaint a partiality for partitions, segments, and subsegments, that we have often yawned while we have been gathering improvement;



and seemed, from the arrangement, to have been recalled to some old sermon-book, which consisted of scarcely any thing but general and particular heads. Upon the superiority of large farms over small the author is undecided; and, as pretending to judge fairly between landlord and tenant, he thinks leases should always be granted, but that they should not exceed the term of six or nine years. We have formed an opinion upon both points, and in the latter instance completely in opposition to the present writer. Without a lease we are confident that no tenant would be mad enough to engage in any permanent improvement; and without a much longer lease than Mr. Marshall recommends, he might almost as well have none at all.

Dr. Dickson, in his "Practical Agriculture," has given us, as he professes to do, a complete system of modern husbandry, with the different methods of planting, and management of live stock. The work extends to *two quarto* volumes, of considerable bulk and magnitude of page; yet it was not perhaps easy, upon the plan he has pursued, to have compressed it within a much narrower compass, as it contains the result, and may nearly be regarded as an abstract, of the almost innumerable publications in different forms and sizes which have previously been presented upon this fertile subject. In general this plan has been conducted with judgment, and the diction is neat and intelligible. The accompanying engravings are executed with spirit and fidelity; and the whole will be found a useful book of reference in the library of the practical agriculturist.

Dr. Hunter is still continuing his

"Georgical Essays;" we have already received the fifth and sixth volumes, and we are glad to find that so judicious an observer and able a compiler has obtained sufficient success to induce him to persevere in his valuable undertaking. The volumes before us possess the same portion of merit as their predecessors.

Of provincial surveys, the chief that have attracted our regard are; Mr. Young's "View of the Agriculture of Hertfordshire;" and Mr. Plymley's "Agriculture of Shropshire;" both of which are expressly drawn up "for the consideration of the Board of Agriculture and internal Improvement:" they are both able researches. In the former we perceive that the drill husbandry is already on the wane throughout the county of Herts; and that Mr. Young himself seems disposed to think less favourably of it than in his earlier publications: we also perceive that the late corn-bill, or some regulation of similar import, was, in his estimation, become perfectly necessary to the growth of such a quantity of grain as should secure us from the prospect of repeated scarcities. With the latter survey we have been peculiarly pleased; as we apprehend every one of our readers will be also who may have the good fortune to possess an opportunity of perusing it. Mr. Plymley, who is archdeacon of Salop, thinks it expedient to offer some prefatory apology for having dedicated some portion of his time to agricultural inquiries. The apology may be received as a token of this excellent writer's modesty; but is in other respects a work of supererogation. We believe he is hereby appropriating his leisure hours *at least* as beneficially for his country,



country, as if he had devoted them to the quorum; and we are *confident* he is *far more* patriotically engaged than if he had been compiling a *sporting directory*. In truth, the worthy archdeacon, in the book before us, has offered a model of what county reports of agriculture should contain; and it is impossible, on a variety of important occasions, not to be struck with the difference between the present, and the multitudes of volumes on the shelves before us professing the same intention, and offering a similar title. We have been particularly pleased with the account communicated in the fifteenth chapter, of the interior navigation of the county, which appears to have been highly benefited by the canals projected and executed by Mr. Telford, an engineer, as it should seem, of great merit and ingenuity. The canals are illustrated by five clear and descriptive drawings. Whilst we are upon the important subject of inland navigation, we ought not to forget to notice that Mr. Phillips's "General History" of this science both foreign and domestic has obtained a new edition in its abridged form, by which all that relates to it is brought down to the close of the last year (1803). It is a valuable book; and well qualified to communicate the leading ideas of the parent and more voluminous work.

From inland navigation we proceed to the department of general and practical navigation, unconnected with any minute description of the interior of the countries coasted along; and shall commence with Mr. Broughton's "Voyage of Discovery to the North Pacific Ocean," in one 4to volume, illustrated by nine plates and charts. This voyage was undertaken at the command of

the board of admiralty, with a view of obtaining further information relative to the southern coast of the south-west part of South America, and in order to assist capt. Vancouver in his survey of the same latitudes: but as captain Broughton, on his reaching the American shores, received satisfactory intelligence that capt. Vancouver had completed the entire object of his voyage anterior to his arrival, he felt himself at liberty to depart from the exact line of service chalked out for him, with a view of exploring such latitudes as had not hitherto been satisfactorily reported; in consequence of which he trended towards the coast of Asia; and in the volume before us gives an account of, from lat.  $35^{\circ}$  to that of  $52^{\circ}$  north, the island of Insu, or, as it is more commonly called, the land of Jesso; the north, south, and eastern coasts of Japan, the Lieuchieux, and adjacent isles, as well as the coast of Corea. The voyage was performed in his majesty's sloop Providence, accompanied by her tender, commanded by captain Broughton, and occupied from February 1795 to November 1798. The Providence, however, was lost, May 17, 1797, by striking on a reef of coral rocks in the midst of the Madjicosemat isles; and in consequence of this accident captain Broughton was unable to complete the whole of the plan he had determined upon. We lament this misfortune extremely, as from the survey he actually accomplished, he has proved himself highly qualified for the task he had allotted himself.

New South Wales has furnished us with two voyages; and each of them circum-navigatory, or nearly so, of the globe. The first was in many respects an adventurous one,



intended chiefly, if we mistake not, to determine the benefit of captain Shanks's very ingenious project of sliding keels. It was undertaken by lieutenant Grant, at the command of government, in the *Lady Nelson*, a sloop of war of not more than sixty tons burden, and a complement of not more than fifteen men. Lieutenant Grant, however, reached the settlement in New South Wales; and, agreeably to an order received while at the Cape of Good Hope, sought for, and succeeded in exploring, the strait which separates Van Diemen's Land from New Holland; this he afterwards tracked a second time, we believe in 1801, being the first who ever passed through Bass's Strait from the west. From some unaccountable neglect on the part of government he was now deprived of his command, and compelled to work his way home as well as he could, which he accomplished in an old Spanish prize ship as far as the Cape of Good Hope; whence he embarked for England by the permission of sir Roger Curtis, which he reached in 1802, after an absence of two years and a half. The second voyage to which we refer seems to have been a consequence of the preceding; for its object was to determine upon the propriety of opening a settlement in Bass's Strait, which separates Van Diemen's Land from the main body of New South Wales, at a spot pointed out by government, from which several advantages appeared likely to result. It was performed by lieutenant Tuckey, in the *Calcutta*, a king's ship, originally built for the East India company's service, accompanied by the *Ocean*, a hired merchant ship. The channel was cleared towards the end of April

1803: The point of destination was reached after about six months sailing, but the spot was found by no means appropriate to the object conceived by government: it was hence immediately relinquished, and Mr. Tuckey reached Rio de Janeiro on his return home, with a cargo of ship-timber taken in at Port Jackson, about ten months only after he had quitted it in pursuit of his voyage. These adventures are by no means without interest, although they cannot be expected to add largely to our stock of geographic information. The maps and charts, so far as they extend, will be found useful, and we have no reason to question their accuracy.

The sciences of geography and astronomy have furnished us with but little that is entitled to particular specification. Mr. Gleig, who has on several occasions been successfully employed on elementary treatises, has published a brief "Introduction to the Use of the Globes," which may be advantageously had recourse to, and has the merit of offering a variety of easy and instructive problems. Mr. Friend, we are pleased to see, has continued, and means to continue, his very admirable explanations of the variable appearances of the heavens, under the modest title of "Evening Amusements:" they are calculated for different evenings in the course of the current year, and are restrained to this period. The plan is able, the solutions easy, and the whole is interspersed with a multitude of collateral and important remarks. We have also seen a strange and confusedly written pamphlet, intitled "Newton refuted: a geographical, nautical, mechanical, and mathematical View of the Universe," by W. Parkes.

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This writer has studied his subject, but unfortunately without the smallest knowledge of the mathematics; he is hence perpetually falling into errors, of which he himself is not aware. It was this pretender to a subversion of the Newtonian principles, if we mistake not, who, a few months ago, nearly frightened several of our citizen wharfingers out of their senses, by undertaking to calculate and predict an enormous tide which was to overflow London Bridge. The same cause deceived him in this expectation as is for ever leading him astray in the book before us.

“Elements and Practice of Mensuration and Land-Surveying, adapted both to public and private Instruction; with an Appendix, containing Rules for measuring Hay-stacks, Marl-pits, and Canals; by Joseph Becket.” A book contrived to be manufactured out of preceding books on the same subjects, with little addition of useful matter, and the omission of much that ought to have been inserted. In this measurement of hay-stacks, our author has exchanged the *steel-yard* for the *mercier's-yard*; and consequently given directions for the purchase of hay in the same manner we have been hitherto accustomed to buy cloth. There may be *novelty* in this; but we see nothing else to recommend it. There is through the whole work too much of the *cant* of science; of definitions, theorems, and problems; of trigonometry, circular segments, and equidistant ordinates; and too little of the spirit of practical application and utility.

In the department of perspective and architecture, we shall first notice, that Mr. Atwood, who lately published a very valuable “Dissertation on the Construction and Property of Arches,” has

now added “A Supplement” to this tract, which appears chiefly designed to afford answers to several of the queries drawn up and transmitted by the committee of the house of commons, appointed to consider of the propriety of constructing an iron bridge over the Thames at London. There is much ingenuity in a variety of these answers; but we think this able mathematician completely fails in his efforts to restore the old and exploded doctrines of the *wedge-system* instead of the *vertical system*.

We have largely feasted on the banquet prepared for the public by Mr. Alexander in his “Costume of China, illustrated by forty-eight coloured Engravings.” Mr. Alexander was an attendant upon lord Macartney in his late embassy to the court of Pekin, and had consequently peculiar advantages, of which he has not failed to avail himself while pursuing his favourite profession. We have hence presented to us delineations of almost every object that is worthy of notice in this singular country; and at all times exhibited with high spirit and feeling: we behold what progress it has made in naval architecture, which, by the way, appears to have been but little for several centuries past: we notice its public monuments, its pagodas, its palaces, its mansions of more modest dimensions. We have also many highly entertaining representations of its inhabitants, in different dresses, and engaged in different occupations. The plates are accompanied with a verbal description, which proves that Mr. Alexander, if not so complete a master of his pen as of his pencil, needs never be afraid to employ it when occasion requires.

From



From Mr. Gilpin we have received a few "Essays," accompanied with drawings, tending to elucidate the author's mode of executing rough sketches, and the principles on which they are composed, which may be examined by the student, for whom they are chiefly designed, with much pleasure and profit. And Mr. London and Mr. Bartell have offered us, in their respective works upon ornamental plantation, various hints that are worthy of attentive consideration. Many of the remarks, by the former, on gaining and embanking land from rivers or the sea, may be very advantageously carried into execution; and the plans and proposed scenery of the latter for ornamental cottages, together with his observations calculated to afford comfort and convenience to the labourer and his family, display an elegant taste and a feeling heart.

Numerical arithmetic has been almost barren of production during the period to which our labours are circumscribed. In connexion, however, with many subjects of which we have just taken a cursory survey, we ought not to forbear noticing Mr. Phillips's new edition of "Crosby's Builder's new Price Book," which, though too much and too slavishly a copy of one or two preceding publications upon the same subject, is nevertheless a valuable work, and possesses several useful additions. Mr. Taylor has also published a little volume upon "The most necessary Parts of the Science of Numbers," which he has endeavoured to adapt, and not without success, to the capacities of the learner, and the lower orders of artisans and tradesmen.

We advance to the departments of nautical and military tactics. In

the first of which we have received an easy and familiar guide in Dr. Mackay's "Complete Navigator;" a work which we can honestly recommend to all who are desirous of acquiring a general knowledge of the praxis of naval science, and are already in some measure acquainted with its technical terms. It commences with the principles and questions respecting latitude and longitude; in succession follows an account of the log, of the compass, the art of sounding, the tides, Gunter's scale, and an illustration of the more general principles of geometry. We afterwards meet with an explanation of the different modes of calculating, in reference to the plane, traverse, parallel, middle latitude, Mercator's, oblique, and current sailing. To these subjects is subjoined an easy explanation of the construction of charts, and of the instruments employed for this purpose.

In the present soldier-like era it is not to be wondered at that military tactics should prove the source of a multiplicity of publications in a great variety of forms; and we have hence met with books of this character under the changeful names of "Essays," "Views," "Reflections," "Memoirs," and "Mentors." To examine them all would be totally out of our power, and equally inconsistent with our plan. The "Instructions by Gen. Wimpfen," translated by lieutenant-col. Macdonald, appears to us one of the most valuable works, as issuing originally from a hand of high professional character and extensive experience, and as naturalized into our own language, by a gentleman in every respect qualified to do justice to it. To an equal, or nearly an equal praise is major Cuninghame's pamphlet entitled,



titled, which he has denominated "The Tactic of the British Army reduced to detail." It is designed to offer an epitome of the science and principles of war, and to unite in one view the various evolutions of the battalion, brigade, and line; and to point out their mutual combinations and advantages when on actual service. The different manœuvres are here satisfactorily explained, and the explanations are assisted by a variety, we had almost said a profusion, of copper-plates. Major Aldington's "Essay on the Construction and Advantages of Light Artillery acting with Infantry," though embracing a more limited scale than the two preceding publications, is entitled, so far as it extends, to a proportionate share of approbation. His proposal of arming the rear-rank with pikes, or, as he denominates them, "loaded spears," of fourteen pounds weight, and "a sufficient length to fall three feet beyond the charged bayonet of the front rank, supposing the line formed three

deep," is well worthy of consideration. A weapon of this sort would unquestionably render the powers of the rear-rank infinitely more available than upon the common plan; yet the spear, as here directed, seems to indicate a weight which would render it cumbersome and fatiguing. But all these volumes pre-suppose some knowledge of the first principles of manual exercise, and consequently are only to be consulted by those who are trained for the ranks. Of humbler capacity, but by no means devoid of real utility, are the "Observations," by serjeant Wedderburne, on the "Exercise of Riflemen, and the Movement of Light Troops in general;" a little treatise well worthy of perusal: as is the "Exercise of Great Guns, as practised by the Royal Artillery:" an elementary manual composed by a "Volunteer," and satisfactorily evincing that he has been no defaulter in the service he has patriotically imposed upon himself.

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### C H A P. III.

#### MORAL AND POLITICAL.

*Containing History, Travels, Politics, Ethics, Education.*

IN the general class of publications to which we are now advancing, the reader will find, more than in any other, that under the various ties which at present connect one part of the world with another, and the prevailing taste and fashion for literary pursuits, it is not in the power of warfare, with all its restrictions and vindictive

rage, its actual miseries, and more numerous alarms, to blockade and seal up the history of any country from the keen eye of political observation, or break in pieces those magic types by which such history is rendered palpable and universal, is propagated to every age and every climate. Literature is unquestionably a luxury, and mankind



kind may exist without it; and, like every other luxury, it has been heavily taxed and burdened for the maintenance and continuation of war: but whoever will take the trouble to examine the list of our annual publications during the course of the last two, or the last ten years, and compare them with the annual catalogues of any preceding years of peace, will find that it is a luxury which has still flourished, notwithstanding all the burdens which have been imposed upon it: and whoever will distinctly notice such of the books in the chapter upon which we are now entering, as relate to the transactions of foreign countries and climates, will perceive, at the same time, that, notwithstanding the perseverance of hostilities, the commerce of literature has suffered but little diminution, and has been conducted upon a scale at least equal to any other description of commerce, however fortunate or privileged.

We hail the appearance of the trusty and venerable Froissart, in a new and splendid version from the pen of colonel Johnes, of which, however, the first is the only volume which can lay claim to our present notice. It is published in quarto, and, when completed, is to extend to four volumes of perhaps not less than eight hundred pages each, the book before us exceeding this number. We lament this part of our translator's plan, because at the price of four guineas for each volume, it is impossible that the work can ever obtain so extensive a circulation as we wish it should, or as its intrinsic merit entitles it to demand. Froissart, as a chronicler, has been long regaining a reputation which he ought never to have lost; and

the immediate subjects of his chronicles, as well as the immediate period they comprise, must ever render him a most welcome companion in the house of every true-born Englishman. Where is the breast that is not fired by the mere recollection of that wonderful series of princes, and their marvellous, as well as courteous achievements, which constitute the history of the house of Lancaster? Froissart was a contemporary with a great part of them, and, though a foreigner, a warm admirer of their virtues and gallantry. His work, which embraces the transactions of England, France, and various adjacent countries, extends from the latter part of the reign of Edward II. to the coronation of Henry IV., forming in many points one of the most important, as well as one of the most interesting epochs in English history. The version before us is in every respect new, and in some respects rather *too new*, we mean particularly in those instances in which the terms of antient civility and complimentary address, which can only be correctly rendered into antique English, are modernized into the new-fangled phraseology of the novels and drawing-rooms of the present day. How far, on this and various other accounts, it might have been more advantageous, upon the whole, for our editor to have given a revisal of lord Berners' earlier version of the "Chronicles," than to have taken the trouble of a translation in every respect his own, we will not undertake to determine. We have been too much entertained with the work as it is, to be disposed to offer a single objection of any consequence, and have found that, while the corrections introduced into the common



mon copies from manuscripts of unquestionable authority are, in many instances, important; the additions now introduced for the first time, from similar resources, are equally curious and valuable.

Mr. Maurice is still persevering indefatigably in his "History of Hindustan;" of which the first part of the second volume of its modern epoch is now before us. As the history approaches our own times it advances progressively in interest, and the author is enabled to relinquish fable for fact; or, where he is still obliged to have recourse to conjecture, to support his conceptions by testimonies and authorities that few will be inclined to dispute. We have here the same dignity of style, the same force of observation, and morality of induction which characterize the earlier volumes, and which cannot but induce us to long ardently for the completion of this bold and comprehensive undertaking, and to wish that the learned historian may reap all the reward to which his erudite labours entitle him. It has been objected to him, that he pretends not to be acquainted with the autochthonous *languages* of the country he describes: it is enough for us, however, that he is acquainted with its *literature*; and that he has studied it in sources of information far less suspicious than a few indigested and unconnected fragments of Parsi or Sanscrit; whose accuracy has long been questioned by the ablest critics, and in whose expounders, and especially in relation to the latter, no man of sense has for one moment thought of confiding, since the knowledge of their various attempts to deceive such recondite scholars as Sir William Jones and Mr. Wilkins, and the success with

which we now know that their efforts were occasionally accompanied. Where, however, it has been necessary to consult the vernacular historians of junior languages and more modern times, Mr. Maurice has discovered no disinclination to avail himself of their narrations, through the medium of the best and most established Latin, French, and English versions; by which the reader is put into possession of all the benefit that could possibly have resulted from the profoundest personal acquaintance with Persic and Arabic. The part now before us extends from the irruption of Timur into Hindustan in 1398, to the death of Selim, who assumed the surname of Jehanquaire, or conqueror of the world, in October 1627; and consequently embraces the first duplicature of the Cape of Good Hope, by Vasco de Gama, and his important discovery of the passage to Asia by the Eastern Ocean.

Whilst thus briefly surveying the political history of India in its general outline, we ought not to forbear noticing, that the late war between the English East India Company, and Dowlut Rao Scindia has been ably elucidated, and circumstantially, as well as authoritatively detailed in a quarto volume, intitled "Notes relative to the late Transactions in the Marhatta Empire." It is dated from Fort-William, Dec. 15, 1803; and, from its appendix of official documents, and several well executed engravings of the different battles in which the English forces were engaged, is possessed of equal value for future research and immediate perusal. The wisdom of the British Indian government in the commencement and prosecution of the Mahratta war is here more convincingly



vincingly detailed than we have seen in any other publication upon the same subject. We have only to regret that the account of the two French leaders De Boigne and Du Perron is so extremely circumscribed in respect to their first connexion with the family of Madajee Seindia, and the high degree of internal influence and authority they were enabled to possess in consequence of this event. This suppression is in some measure supplied, however, by a small pamphlet upon the same subject, but we apprehend by another hand, intitled "Brief Remarks on the Mahratta War, and on the Rise and Progress of the French Establishment in Hindustan;" in which the adventurous history of these successful chiefs is detailed at some length, and apparently from good authority.

Numerous as have been of late our publications upon the subject of Malta, the current year has furnished us with two additional histories; the one, a voluminous work in three quarto volumes, intitled "Antient and Modern Malta," from the pen of M. Louis de Boisgelin, a knight of the order of St. John; and the other a mere "Epitome" of the general history of the island; and so denominated by Mr. Wilkinson. As a compressed statement of the most material facts that relate to the island, regularly digested in plain intelligible language, the latter may conveniently be resorted to by those who have neither money to purchase, nor opportunity to study the more comprehensive narrative of M. Boisgelin. But for those who are not thus unfortunately circumscribed, and who at the same time do not happen to possess M. Veret's previous history of the island,

M. Boisgelin has formed by far the best book upon the subject in question. He is, nevertheless, too desirous of exculpating his brother knights from the heavy charges which we are still afraid have been but too justly advanced against them—those, we mean, of gross avarice and speculation when in the possession of supreme power, and of treachery to the Maltese themselves upon the surrender of the government to Buonaparte. Whether the continuance of this island in the hands of the British administration may, or may not, be of high moment towards the future security and peace of Europe, is a question which we cannot at present stay to discuss; but it requires no discussion to believe that the resumption of the Maltese government by its former sovereigns, subject more especially, as they must be, to the capricious interference, or rather perhaps to the perpetual influence of France, would be the heaviest evil that could happen to the inhabitants themselves; who, in reality, appear to contemplate such an event in the very same point of view. The work before us is divided into two parts; of which the former presents us with an account of the various ports and cities both of Malta and Goza, their monuments of antiquity, the present state of their trade and finances, and the different governments to which they have been progressively subject; and the latter, with a history of the Knights of St. John of Jerusalem, from their first establishment in Malta till the beginning of the nineteenth century; together with a minute statement of the events which preceded and accompanied the capture of the island by the French, and its conquest by the English.

Whilst



Whilst voyaging upon the shores of the Mediterranean, it becomes us to notice the "History of Athens," furnished us by Sir William Young; a publication that rather aims at distilling the spirit of events, than offering the full flow of detailed circumstances in their regular order and succession. The learned baronet effectually proves himself sufficiently versed in the transactions of this elegant and high-spirited people for the task he has undertaken; and in the volume before us he has made a valuable addition to the vast pile of English literature.

In relation to the same quarter of the world, but to a different period of its history, we have received a very interesting, and in some respects a very valuable publication in an anonymous volume, entitled "An inaccurate Account of the Fall of the Republic of Venice, and of the Circumstances attending that Event." This "accurate account" pretends to be a translation from an Italian work which was printed, and on the point of being published, at the period of the victory of Marengo; in consequence of which catastrophe the whole impression fell into the hands of the conqueror, who instantly and tyrannically suppressed it. We cannot answer for the truth of this assertion; but we cannot avoid perceiving that, whether true or not, the author has furnished us with a very animated and authentic history of the republic it is his object to celebrate—and a history which cannot be too generally perused by our own countrymen at the present period, when the ferocious, but too successful trampler upon the liberties of the Venetian territories, is still menacing the British islands with the same fetters of ignominy

and degradation with which he has so ably contrived to subjugate the islands of the Adriatic sea. Venice might have saved herself, and with a small exertion, in the first instance, if she had not been cursed with the most timid, temporizing, cowardly administration that perhaps ever disgraced any nation on the face of the earth. She had an Aloys Querini, but she had not an Aloys R  ding: she had a people who valued the constitution and liberties of their forefathers, and who, like the hardy inhabitants of Switzerland, were forward to shed their blood in defence of their native rights; but she had old women, in the shape of men, for her cabinet or council of Savi, and the country fell a sacrifice to their weakness and pusillanimity. The absurd system of an *unarmed* neutrality was obstinately persevered in, and even the offer of a Russian alliance rejected without hesitation.—Still lingering in the same unfortunate regions, we have next to notice, from the pen of Mr. Card, "Historical Outlines of the Rise and Establishment of the Papal Power." Upon this subject, however, we have lately had so large a flow of publications, that we perceive nothing peculiarly new or interesting. The intention of the author is to exhibit to the Roman Catholic priests of Ireland, to whom the work is expressly addressed, a series of intolerable abuses and tyrannies, as perpetrated at different times by the tiara. To such a history, however, we apprehend that neither the Irish, nor any other Catholic priests can be strangers: they have too often felt their galling burden not to know them, as well as not to pant ardently for emancipation. To the honour, however, of the Irish clergy, and of the Irish Catholics



in general, it should be stated, a fact which does not seem sufficiently adverted to by our author, that from them the Roman pontiff has been seldom able to obtain as abject a submission as from the members of most other Catholic churches; and that with all its exertions, the Vatican has never been capable of exciting civil hostilities for the mere purpose of the religion they profess. Mr. Card, we perceive, has been induced to publish a second edition of his "History of the Revolutions of Russia," upon the merits of which we enlarged in a prior volume. We notice some few variations, but none of any essential moment; the chief that has occurred to us is the greater compression of the entire work.

"A compendious View of Universal History, from the Year 1753 to the Treaty of Amiens in 1802, by Charles Mayo, LL.B." This is a bulky and comprehensive work, extending to not less than four large quarto volumes. It is a chronicle rather than a history; and the very numerous, and, at times, unnecessary divisions into which it is broken, destroy all the interest which would otherwise result from events that are perhaps begun to be related, but which are abruptly broken off, because unfortunately the period to which the author limits himself is expired; and we are consequently compelled to circumnavigate the world, and sail over not less than a hundred, or a hundred and fifty pages, whose intermingling occurrences effectually drive the preceding narration from our recollections, before we recover the country from which we first started, and re-enter upon the thread of its history. As a book of reference, however, the present work will be found highly useful. The transactions are given impar-

tially; and the dates, so far as we have examined them, are correct. Our principal objection is to the plan, which we think might be easily improved.

From the labours of Mr. Heriot we have received a "History of Canada, from its first Discovery," which seems to combine as much instruction and entertainment as a province thus remotely situated from us, and thus barren in political events, can afford to the investigator of its climate, its soil, and colonial establishment. Perhaps the most extraordinary feature that characterizes it is its steady attachment to the British throne, at a period when every other province had confederated to throw off its dependence; more especially when it is considered that, from the variation both of its religion and language from those of the parent country, it was possessed of less natural sources of attachment than were exhibited throughout every other part of British America.

We have received a work of more importance, as well as originality, from the hands of M. Volney, now translated into our own tongue, intitled "A View of the Climate and Soil of the United States of America," which, as proceeding for the most part from actual inspection of the country, falls rather within the classification of tours or travels than of closet history. The force and spirit, the individuated remark and boldness of conception, which characterize M. Volney's writings in general, are common to the volume before us; and we have also to observe, which we do with pleasure, that it is less depraved by atheistic dogmata and allusions than many of his prior productions. Whether the author will ever possess leisure or inclination to carry into effect the



the whole of his plan, as at first projected, we know not: the present volume, however, only contains a part of it. Originally it "embraced the soil and climate of the country, the number of its inhabitants, their distribution over the territory, their division into different kinds of labour, the habits or manners resulting from their occupations, and the combination of those habits with the ideas and prejudices derived from the parent stock; the causes and incidents which led to the independence of the present United States; the changes produced by that great revolution; the consequences which, in the natural course of things, may be justly expected from it; and the reasons which induce him to discourage Frenchmen in particular from settling in America." Of this comprehensive system, the first part only is attempted in the present volume, in conjunction with such multifarious and incidental remarks as seemed naturally to arise from the subject. Of these, some of the most important are the dissuasions from emigrating to America; and they are such as will, in the main, apply to our own countrymen as well as to those of France. The chief inconvenience in the volume appears to us to be its minute partitions, which renders almost every page independent of every page, and destroys the concord and harmony of the whole.

We have been entertained with Mr. M'Kinnen's "Tour through the British West Indies." It is a lively, cheerful book of travel, describing the various islands, and the occupations conducted amongst them, as they actually occur, without launching out into speculative opinions either political or agricultural. Barbadoes, according to

this account, and indeed most of the first cultivated colonies, appear to be less fertile than formerly; they have been worked with too little fallow. In some few parts of this and several other islands the plough has been introduced, and is highly welcomed by the negroes. The Antigua planters seem to be possessed of the greatest portion of humanity; or, in other words, to regulate their conduct by the most liberal policy. The turkey-buzzard, or native carrion-crow, is, as much honoured in Jamaica, as was ever the white goose in antient Rome. It is found of the utmost consequence in cleansing the country from putrefying animal substances, and its existence is hence protected by an express law of the island.

The traveller, however, to whom we are most indebted for literary contributions during the current year is Mr. Barrow, who has favoured us with the best account we yet possess of the interior of the Chinese empire; and a volume, of equal merit with his former, on the Cape of Good Hope, and the adjoining country. We must be allowed a few lines to descant as briefly as possible on the merits of each.—It is not long ago that we had to notice this very accurate and ingenious writer's first volume, containing an account of his travels into the interior of Southern Africa, and many of our readers may perhaps recollect that it received from us all the approbation to which its great share of intrinsic merit entitles it. That volume, however, was published at a period when the important possession of the Cape was, by the unfortunate treaty of Amiens, about to be transferred to the hands of the Batavian republic. It was then re-



signed without a murmur; yet fearful that some symptoms of disapprobation might ensue as soon as the general gratulation had subsided upon the restoration of the common blessing of peace, it was the object of the existing ministry to depreciate the real value of the Cape of Good Hope as largely as of the island of Malta. On the renovation of the war, however, and especially upon the return of Mr. Pitt and lord Melville to the ministry, the possession of the Cape began to be differently estimated, and a plan was early projected for its recapture. The motives which influenced our author to be silent upon the subject of the actual value of this colony to the security of our Indian trade at the period of publishing his first volume, now no longer existed; he was left at full liberty to unbosom the real feelings of his heart; and one principal object, therefore, of the book before us, is to demonstrate the importance of this station to the different European powers as a naval and military dépôt; as a point of security to our own East Indian commerce and settlements during the continuance of warfare, and as a territorial acquisition and commercial emporium in times of peace. From this account it should seem that the Dutch settlers themselves were by no means anxious that it should be restored to their native country; and what is far more surprising, that our own East India company expressed no desire to Mr. Addington, to retain it in their possession. Our author describes the race of Hottentots as by nature extremely benevolent and gentle, and the Caffres as plain in their diet and honest in their dealings.

Mr. Barrow's "Travels in Chi-

na" are designed to notice chiefly those subjects which have been entirely omitted, or but slightly adverted to, by sir George Staunton, but which are nevertheless well worthy of record. Mr. Barrow was in employment in the same embassy, having been private secretary to lord Macartney. His appointed post of residence, during the continuance of the embassy at Peking, was in the imperial palace of Yuen-min-Yuen; his apartments were mean and uncomfortable, but the liberty he was allowed of quitting them for the purpose of visiting any part of the capital whenever he chose, abundantly compensated for the want of interior accommodations. The information collected by our traveller is for the most part of considerable importance, and the anecdotes with which he has tessellated his pages are equally entertaining and instructive. Among the curiosities communicated by the embassy, as presents from his Britannic majesty to the emperor, was a collection of portraits of the most illustrious or distinguished of our own countrymen; and of these one was a print of the late duke of Bedford, from a picture by sir Joshua Reynolds, taken when the duke was a boy. The emperor, highly pleased with this present of portraits, had given express orders that the names, titles, and other distinctive marks should be expressed in Chinese respectively under every individual; but nothing could exceed the surprise of the Chinese secretary, when, coming to the portrait of the duke of Bedford, he was told to describe him as a *Ta-gin*, or *great man*, and hereditary legislator of his country; that a *boy* could be a *great man*, and be *born a legislator*, were propositions so paradoxical



radoxical to the secretary—while reflecting on the number of years of the closest application that is requisite in his own country to qualify a man to pass his examination for the very lowest order of state officers—that he could by no means enter into any explanation offered him; and positively refused, even at last, to give him the title of *Ta-gin*, or great man, asking if the English thought the emperor of China was so stupid as not to know the impossibility of a *little boy* having attained the rank of a *great man*. In China nothing is social; they neither associate for friendship, for pastime, or for religion: the women are bought and sold for wives without any option of their own, and are afterwards condemned to the most menial offices, and the severest drudgery; and infants are exposed, at the will of their fathers, and of course perish in prodigious multitudes. It is tacitly considered as a part of the duty of the police of Pekin to employ certain persons to go their rounds, at an early hour in the morning, with carts, in order to pick up such bodies of infants as may have been thrown out into the streets in the course of the night. “No inquiries are made; but the bodies are carried to a common pit without the city walls, into which all those that may be living, as well as those that are dead, are said to be thrown promiscuously.” Not less than two dozen, upon the average, are thus removed from the streets of Pekin alone, and interred every morning. It is wonderful that a disposition not naturally ferocious, or cruel, can be thus totally divested of the common feelings of nature, and rendered worse than brutalized by the force of depraved habit alone. The Chinese appear to have made

little proficiency in arts and sciences during the last two or three centuries, and in some respects to be less generally informed now than in earlier æras. They are a far less adventurous and colonising people than their ancestors, who probably founded settlements at Ceylon, and even at the Cape of Good Hope; traded up the Persian gulf as far inland as Egypt; and, in the opinion of M. de Guignes, extended their commerce to the north-west coast of America. Their language, though simple in its roots or keys, in consequence of the complexity of its combinations, is by no means well calculated for the printing press; and yet, from this same fact of the simplicity, or rather paucity, of its keys, so many different ideas, sufficiently distinguished by writing, are expressed by the same sounds, that they are obliged to have perpetual recourse to their literal characters, to explain their own meaning. At a very early period they were acquainted with the mariner’s compass, as they were also with the art of making gunpowder; the former of which, if not the latter, was probably received into Europe from this quarter. Their religion, at least that of Confucius (*Cong-foo-tse*), is simple pantheism: the court religion, however, is that of the Tartar Lama. Their knowledge of geography and astronomy is trifling and childish; but their power of imitating whatever is presented to them in mechanics and handicraft is wonderful, and peculiarly characteristic. A Chinese at Canton succeeded in making a watch, as soon as ever he saw one, being furnished with nothing more than the spring, which he admitted he could not imitate: and a clergyman of the embassy, whose cas-



sock was so extremely patched and darned that he could no longer wear it with decency, having applied to a tailor of the same place for a new one, received shortly afterwards the new cassock, with every darn and patch so accurately true to the old pattern, that nothing but the greater strength of the new cloth could determine the one from the other: the tailor having, unluckily, conceived that the darns and patches were so many emblems of the clergyman's profession. The population of the Chinese empire is calculated, and perhaps correctly, by our author at three hundred and thirty-three millions; yet nearly a fourth part of the territory still remains to be cultivated.

Embracing a considerable range and variety of climate, over a part of which we have already travelled with the preceding author, we have next to notice the "Transactions of the Missionary Society" in one volume, octavo: *transactions* which, notwithstanding the religious information they communicate, are, with regard to all purposes of real utility, more replete with an account of the customs and manners of the tribes to which they occasionally relate; and, of course, more appropriately arrange themselves under the present chapter than under that which is immediately devoted to theology and theological concerns. In this last chapter our readers will find that we have already adverted to the transactions of another society assuming nearly the same denomination; we mean the society for missions to Africa and the East. Yet these associations, though professing a similar object, are altogether distinct in their foundations and discipline: the latter being supported by members of the

established church alone, and the former by dissenters of different denominations in conjunction with a large body of such members of the established church as are denominated evangelical or methodistic. The methodistic institution is by far the elder of the two, and probably, by a laudable and beneficial stimulus, gave birth to that of the established church. We have formerly noticed its earlier transactions in the islands of the South Sea: the volume before us is a continuation of its history in that quarter, and commences a most interesting account of its mission to Southern Africa. The Otaheitan mission, however, we almost regard as at an end: there are no people, perhaps, so indisposed to imbibe any kind of knowledge that may chance to be offered them by foreigners: and provided the terrible and progressive depopulation which has been exhibited among them for the last thirty or forty years should continue in an equal proportion, if the missionaries themselves should remain for twenty years longer, there will be scarcely an Otaheitan to instruct. During capt. Cook's visit they were calculated at two hundred thousand: in 1797 Mr. Wilson estimated them at less than one hundred thousand; the transactions before us reduce the census to eight thousand; and Mr. Turnbull, whose work will not regularly fall within the scope of our notice till next year, computes them at a still inferior number. For this gradual reduction various reasons are assigned, of which a few only are enumerated in the volume before us; the principal we believe to be wars between themselves and the neighbouring tribes; a tremendous epidemic, which not long since



since raged with peculiar mortality; the abominable crime of infanticide, and the paucity of females to males; a paucity so extreme as that the latter are supposed to exceed the former in the proportion of ten to one. Whence we may naturally infer that infanticide is far more frequently perpetrated upon female than male children. The only chance of producing actual benefit among the natives, of destroying this infamous practice, and extending the blessings of civilization, is by the exercise of compulsion. A fort and a few cannon would do more real service in a month than all the preaching and exhortation of the missionaries in an age. Whether government may think it right to enter into such a project we know not: but we well know that the project is at this moment before it, and we believe the projector himself to be in every respect qualified for the superintendence of such an experiment. The apparent heaviness and inaptitude of the Otaheitan proceeds from habitual idleness alone: we have seen individuals of this nation who, having once resolved to become active and alert, have made an easy, as well as considerable proficiency in many of the most useful branches of the arts; and there are not wanting at this moment one or two Otaheitans of this character within the boundaries of our own metropolis.—The mission at the back of the Cape of Good Hope has been considerably more successful than that at Otaheite: it is headed by a Dr. Vanderkemp, a Dutchman by birth, whose life and fortunes are as singular as any we have of late met with. In the earlier part of his life he was an infidel and a debauchee: but at all times a man of ardent disposition and inflexible fortitude. Upon his

conversion, therefore, which is quaintly related, it is not to be wondered at, that he should be as resolute in the profession of his new faith, as he had previously been in exposing what he conceived to be its absurdities. He is singularly qualified for the task he has undertaken, and has been fortunate enough to obtain, in several of his coadjutors, men of the same zeal and energy as his own. The privations to which they have voluntarily subjected themselves, and the dignified offers which, in consequence of their virtuous and disinterested deportment, they have received and have refused, as conceiving the acceptance of them incompatible with the line of duty to which they have devoted themselves, would have done honour to the proto-martyrs. Here, however, as well as in Otaheite we find nothing but the passion of terror capable of producing any effect. Vanderkemp, like the missionaries at the former station, seems, in the first instance, to have been desirous of operating by the force of the gentler affections. But the idea that God is love appears to have had no effect whatever in either case. Vanderkemp, whose comprehension is superior to that of his Otaheitan colleagues, was determined to change the theme; he introduced the criminality of original sin, the guilt and infamy of every man out of a state of regeneration, the certainty and excruciating agony of the eternal torments which are prepared for mankind, and which nothing but the salvation of the gospel can free them from. This had such an effect that Hottentots, Caffres, Boschermans, all, from a variety of places, sent the most pressing messages for instructors to teach them their duty, and inform



them in what manner they might flee from the wrath to come. "What I am about to relate," says Kircherer, one of the missionaries at the present station, "will probably appear to some readers perfectly ridiculous, but it is a fact that we were always obliged to have a bottle of vinegar on the table for the relief of those who, actually, fainted under alarms of conscience, and powerful convictions." The whole population of Caffraria, supposing it to be equally inhabited with the parts surveyed by the South-African missionaries, they calculate at thirty-eight thousand souls: but the present writers differ in some measure in describing the character of the Caffres from their character as reported by Mr. Barrow: for while the latter tells us that in their deportment they are open and manly, hospitable, good-humoured, and benevolent; the former decidedly represent them as arbitrary, selfish, and cruel, from the king to the most despicable subject: that they rob, and often murder all strangers, and uniformly destroy their own sick and infirm: that when one of their own females is in labour every one hastens away, and the poor woman is left without assistance; and that the moment they perceive a person in danger of being drowned, they rather run from him or throw stones at him, than press forward to assist him. It is difficult to reconcile accounts thus glaringly contradictory.

The Cape of Good Hope has also furnished us with another and a valuable description in capt. Robert Percival's "Account" of this colony. To captain Percival we are already indebted for the best history at this time in our possession of the island of Ceylon; and in our last retrospect we paid him

the tribute of gratitude which is most justly his due. The volume before us is the result of a two months' residence at this settlement in the course of his passage to India, and of an equal period upon his return. It does not pretend to penetrate deeply into the interior of the settlement, being chiefly devoted to a description of Cape Town itself, and the country immediately adjacent, the customs and manners of the Dutch settlers, and a statement of the real importance of this position to the eastern commerce of Great Britain. In all these points our author is well worth consulting. His account of the regular and soldierlike conduct of the Hottentot corps, so wisely employed in our service while the colony appertained to Great Britain, is highly to their credit, and perfectly concurs with the representation of Mr. Barrow in rescuing them from the character of a brutalized and besotted race. A few incidental strokes of natural history introduced into the same volume, will also be found of real benefit to the zoologist.

France, in hostility as she is with us, and perhaps is long likely to be, has still furnished us, and, if we have not been misinformed, is still likely to furnish us, with a variety of descriptions, in different styles, and relating to different subjects. The current year alone has offered us, in translation or original English, not less than four separate works: Dr. Maclean's "Excursion," Mr. Yorke's "Letters," and "Travels," by Mr. Holcroft and Mr. Kotzebue. Of these the first includes the period between 1801, and the latter part of 1803, and extends to some other parts of the continent as well as France. It offers us also a succinct narrative of the unjustifiable detention of our countrymen



countrymen as prisoners of war. The descriptions presented to us in the course of this excursion are rather spirited outlines than finished pictures: and they are multifariously interspersed with the author's opinions upon medicine as well as upon politics. With respect to the former he seems to have little belief in the existence of contagion in any case; and so firmly persuaded was he of the contrary in the instances of the Malaga fever and the plague, that he made an earnest and voluntary offer of his personal services, first of all to the court of Spain, to determine whether he could not expose himself to the Malagense without infection; and when this could not be accepted, to the French and English governments for an opportunity of trying the same experiment in relation to the plague, either directly in Egypt, or, by importation, in the Levant. In regard to his politics Dr. Maclean tells us what, if we could believe it, would be a heart-reviving consolation indeed, that there is no prospect that Buonaparte can much longer continue to sway the government of France: that he is unpopular in every class of society, and that his downfall must take place shortly, which, though we have too little reason to hope it, may God of his infinite mercy grant, &c. &c.

Mr. Yorke's "Letters" are confined almost exclusively to the French capital. They offer little that is new either in description or speculative opinion: and appear chiefly written to prove that the author, having at length become as great a truant to Jacobinism, as he was a few years ago to monarchy, has now returned to principles of sound and just policy, and would be glad to accept of some

employment under government, to which, by his re-conversion, he thinks he is amply entitled.—The "Travels" of Mr. Holcroft and M. Kotzebue are of a different description, and far more instructive as well as entertaining. Paris, however, is here also the chief, in reality almost the only, object of attention, although the first writer professes to give an account of his journey through Westphalia, Holland, and the Netherlands, and the second of his journey from Berlin through Switzerland. They also exhibit a similar tint of sentimentality—though we perceive far more of the copyist of Sterne's manner in Mr. Holcroft than in M. Kotzebue, and on this account we prefer the latter, as the more original writer of the two. There is also in Mr. Holcroft a sort of settled and uniform pre-determination to deteriorate every thing he meets with, as though he were anxious hereby to compensate, in some measure, for the different light in which he surveyed every revolutionary object and procedure a few years ago. He may in this manner perhaps reconcile himself to his *own conscience*; but it will never, we apprehend, be admitted as an indemnification of vicious opinions or practices *in foro humano*, that the man who was in one extreme yesterday has run into an opposite extreme today. In M. Kotzebue we trace no such preconceived plan of a perpetual set-off, and he is hence far more correct and easy in his delineations: yet the remarks of Mr. Holcroft are often well worthy of attention; and if the descriptions of the former be most sprightly and natural; the reflections of the latter are most brilliant as well as most important.



The "views," "walks," and "descriptions" which have been published, relative to our own country, within the scope of the current year, are many of them rather local or county histories and archæologies than regular tours or travels; a class of productions which more naturally arranges itself under the ensuing than the present chapter. There are several however of the comprehensive character, which more properly appertain to the section before us, and which we now proceed to enumerate.

The principality of Wales has occupied by far the greatest and most successful proportion of attention from our domestic tourists and travellers: and hence we have, 1. the "Scenery, Antiquities, and Biography of South Wales, from Materials collected during two Excursions in the Year 1803," by Mr. Malkin; an elegant and well-written quarto volume, in which the author seems to have accomplished the greater part, though not *quite the whole*, that he has undertaken; for his *biography* is just as imperfect as the term itself is incorrectly employed in the title-page. He has, moreover, enriched his publication with a variety of excellent, accurate, and highly-spirited plates. 2. "Journey into South Wales; through the counties of Oxford, Warwick, Worcester, Hereford, Salop, Stafford, Buckingham, and Hertford, in the year 1799, by George Lyscomb, esq.:" an octavo volume, written in an affected style, and more conspicuous for the abuse it bestows on one or two societies of reviewers who have been unfortunate enough to dispraise some earlier production of the author in the same walk, than for any pecu-

liarity of interest in the different descriptions of which the work consists. 3. "North Wales: including its Scenery, Antiquities, Customs, and some Sketches of its Natural History; delineated from two Excursions through all the interesting Parts of that Country during the Summers of 1798 and 1801," by the Rev. Mr. Bingley. Mr. Bingley was a pedestrian tourist, and, from the frequent incorrectness of his style, we should suspect not only that the greater part of the two octavos before us were written during his excursions, but that he occasionally *over-walked* himself, and wrote beneath the influence of fatigue. He has, nevertheless, contrived, with the casual assistance of antecedent tourists, whose services are only acknowledged in the lump, to furnish us with an entertaining and agreeable book. He chiefly fails in his natural history: and is unquestionably mistaken with respect to the literal characters of the Cymri. We do not find that either of these writers has been fortunate enough to meet with any branch of the original Druid hierarchy, which we remember Mr. Davies affirms, in his Celtic Researches, to be still in existence in the more concealed and central of the Welch fastnesses, still employing their old Gomerian alphabet of sprigs of trees. 4. "Letters written during a Tour through South Wales in the Year 1803, and at other Times." This epistolary description is from the pen of the Rev. Mr. Evans, formerly of Jesus College Oxon, to whom we have been already indebted for a valuable delineation of the northern half of the principality, communicated, also, in an epistolary fashion. Mr. Evans has ably executed a task  
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for which he appears peculiarly qualified, if classical learning, elegance of taste, animation of style, and a competent knowledge of national antiquities can constitute qualification.

Scotland has been considerably less fortunate in literary and scientific travellers than Wales. Though several who have made excursions towards this part of Great Britain have pretended to communicate their thoughts to the press, the only publication which is any way worthy of our notice is the "Sporting Tour" of colonel Thornton, a gentleman better known on the turf than in the regions of literature; yet who, in the quarto we now allude to, comprising an excursion through the northern parts of England, and great part of the Highlands of Scotland, has, in his own language, contrived to *sport* a book which cannot be glanced at without amusement by any person, and which may perhaps become a *favourite amusement* with many. Col. Thornton is no indifferent delineator of picturesque scenery,—and if not learned enough for the *professional*, he is at least learned enough for the *gentleman writer*. But when recounting the success of his beloved diversions—of fishing and hawking, of sailing and horsemanship—he is highly instructive and animated; it is impossible not to partake of his sports, nor to enter into his own spirit and gratification.

Of the trips, tours, or excursions to different parts of South Britain, the chief that require our notice are, an anonymous "Tour in Teesdale;" Mr. Hutton's "Tour to Scarborough;" Mr. Pennant's "from Alston-Moor to Harrogate and Brimham Craggs;" Mrs. Wakefield's "Family Tour;" and Mr. Evans's "Picture of Worthing." The first, though in most

respects inoffensive, is entitled to little praise or commendation of any kind: the second is as free and easy, as garrulous and diffuse, as Mr. Hutton's preceding efforts in the same line of authorship: the third, though presented to the world, by an *anonymous* editor, as a posthumous production of our late excellent naturalist and antiquarian, has no pretensions to his general merit, and offers various internal proofs that it never proceeded from his pen: the third, which is designed for children, is an useful and entertaining compilation, and extends its inquiries over England, Scotland, and part of Ireland: and the fourth, which is a mere guide to Worthing, Arundel, and Shoreham, may be a pleasant piece of furniture in the parlour window-seats of these places, but has no pretensions to travel further.

In the department of politics Ireland has claimed and obtained the largest share of public attention; and we shall hence notice first of all those productions which are devoted to an indagation of this part of the united kingdom. We have formerly spoken in terms of general approbation of Mr. Plowden's "Historical Review of the State of Ireland," although we could not but perceive that a part of his argument was open to attack, and that his personal feelings had occasionally hurried him beyond the line of moderation—as his system had surpassed that of political expediency. The severest assault which he seems to have sustained, proceeded from one of the writers in the British Critic, who was so much pleased with his own performance, or so much flattered by his friends upon its merit, as to reprint the observations which he had introduced into  
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this journal, in a separate form, and offer them to the public under the title of "Strictures" upon Mr. Plowden's work on "A Justification of the Conduct of the English Government in that Country from the reign of Henry the Second to the Union of Great Britain and Ireland." These strictures are ably written, as well in point of diction as of a profound and masterly knowledge of the subject; yet, though we have been highly gratified by perusing them, we have by no means been convinced. The author may perhaps attribute our un-conversion to the force of prejudice and predetermined opinion; for our own parts, however, we ascribe it to the intractability of the cause in which he is engaged:—as we have already observed, he is a dexterous artist in his own profession; but his subject is neither manageable nor malleable; handle it how he may, it still continues rough and stubborn—still destitute of ductility and polish. Liberal concession was never found injurious to the Irish people in a separate state, and never will be found so now that they are united with Great Britain. There are some personal asperities in these strictures which we cannot but wish had been omitted: they evince a spirit of party rather than a desire of cool and rational investigation.

"Correspondence between the Right Hon. Lord Redesdale, Lord High Chancellor of Ireland, and the Right Hon. the Earl of Fingall." Conducted as this correspondence has been, we are sorry that it ever commenced: and consequently we are still more sorry that it was ever published. How it came to be published it is useless now to inquire—Report that

is so often apt to err, and which we, therefore, trust *does* err in the present instance, has offered a clue to unravel this mystery which is not the most honourable to one of the parties. The appointment of Lord Redesdale to the very high official situation which he at present fills, was, we believe, productive of great satisfaction, in the first instance, to the catholics of Ireland; and we believe it was with the liberal view of producing satisfaction that his appointment was determined upon. It should seem, however, from every thing that has occurred since, that a man may be a most excellent lawyer and profoundly versed in jurisprudence, without being an excellent theologian, or deeply instructed in controversial divinity; that the knowledge of statutes and reports does not make a statesman, or liberality of heart necessarily generate perspicacity or comprehension of mind. Lord Redesdale has drawn his acquaintance with the Roman catholic religion from impure and partial sources: sir Richard Musgrave has been studied instead of lord Petre or sir John Thockmorton: his lordship knows of no distinction between catholics and papists; he has not sufficiently adverted to the solemn protest and declaration which were some years ago accepted by the English government on the part of the English catholics as a fair and satisfactory profession of their faith, and has since, with scarcely any alteration, been tendered, but unsuccessfully as to the object immediately in view, by the catholics of Ireland to the imperial parliament. It is hence that lord Fingall has by far the advantage, in the correspondence before us, over the lord chancellor:—and an advantage which, we regret to behold,



hold; has been productive not of *conviction*, but of irritation, and unfriendly asperity of style. The situation of lord Redesdale has by no means answered his own expectation or that of the Irish community: he is, in truth, altogether isolated, being as little supported in his opinions by the lord lieutenant (Hardwicke) as he is by the catholic clergy—and his recal has been more than once on the point of taking place upon his own application. We lament that a man so truly excellent should have been thus peculiarly unfortunate. The grand question, however, is for the present, we apprehend, at rest: and we trust that if his lordship still consent to remain in office, he will for the future experience less disquietude than he has hitherto experienced.

M. Plowden, whose late work, though warmly controverted by some, was zealously espoused by the many, and who has too much ardour of heart to remain a silent spectator either of the political events that have since occurred, or of the personal attacks which, as we have already noticed, have been levelled against him, has brought forwards a fresh justification both of himself and the cause in which he has engaged; under the title of “A Postliminious Preface to the Historical Review of the State of Ireland;” in which he severely criticises not only the author of the “*Strictures*” upon his Review, who had reason to expect a few hard blows, but the conduct and correspondence of lord Redesdale; the remarks upon which last, however, are not of any great importance. The postscript, if not of more value, is, at least, of more curiosity, as containing some singular communications between

the writer himself and lord Sidmouth, when chancellor of the exchequer, upon the subject in question.

The chief pamphlets which we have noticed upon the same topic are; “*Reflections on the Policy and Justice of an immediate Emancipation of the Catholics, by the late Lord Petre.*” “*Considerations upon the Necessity of discussing the State of the Irish Catholics in the ensuing Parliament, by James Mason, Esq.*” “*Thoughts on the Present State of Ireland,*” published anonymously. “*Observations and Reflections, by Robert Stearne Tighe, Esq.*” “*A Description of the Condition and Manners of the Peasantry of Ireland, such as they were between the Years 1780 and 1790, by Robert Bell, L. L. B.*” “*An Inquiry into the Causes of popular Discontents in Ireland, by an Irish Country Gentleman.*” And a “*Letter to the Earl of Wycombe, from Mr. Miles, on the present State of Ireland.*” These different pamphlets relate to various grievances, and, in great diversity of style and merit, point out as various modes of relief. The emancipation of the Irish catholics, from the disabilities they yet lie under, would not, from any thing that is here offered to us, benefit the poorer, and consequently the more numerous classes, in the smallest degree imaginable. From laws which have been progressively passed in their favour, they already possess by far the greater number of the rights of citizenship in common with their other fellow-subjects: and, if they be debarred from the exercise of the legislative function, they possess the right of suffrage, and election, and a power of accepting any office of emolument that does not exceed the value  
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of 300%. a year. It is hence expressly admitted by lord Petre, in the pamphlet before us, that the lower and middle orders of catholics "could scarcely derive any further immediate or personal benefit from more ample concessions, or even a complete emancipation. Places of higher emolument," continues he, "than 300%. a year, or the exercise of legislative functions, seldom, without the intervention of extraordinary qualities, or uncommon good fortune, fall to the lot of those persons who, in the humble walks of life, constitute the bulk and physical force of every nation." Out of the entire body of Irish catholics, he informs us that there does not appear to be more than about *a hundred and fifty or two hundred* persons possessed of landed or moneyed property sufficient to qualify them to become candidates for honours, rank, and places of superior emolument; and that there are not more than *six or seven* Roman catholic peers whom an emancipation would render eligible amongst the twenty-eight admitted by the act of Union to be elected into the imperial house of lords: and of these *six or seven*, the most sanguine amongst them could scarcely conceive that more than *one* would at any time be selected as a member of the chosen body. It should seem, therefore, from such a survey, that the actual evils which would be removed by an emancipation are few and trivial. The opponents of emancipation may hence say with some degree of reason, What necessity is there then for your being so extremely warm and indefatigable in your application? Why exercise such great pains to obtain so little? The catholic, however, derives an equal advantage, in the course of his argument, by thus

estimating at a low rate the benefits that would result to him from emancipation. It is, says he in reply, but a little that we ask: and if it be but little to ask, it is but little to give: why refuse us this little?—Whatever, therefore, be the miseries and the wretchedness of Ireland, it does not appear from any of the pamphlets before us to result in any great degree from the present established system of religion; and consequently that this general wretchedness would not be much, if in any degree, remedied by emancipation. Mr. Bell, and Mr. Tighe concur in attributing this general wretchedness to the ignorant and degraded state of the peasantry; and the former has entered into an extensive and able examination of the present state of public instruction amongst them, resulting from the variety of chartered schools instituted and endowed for this laudable purpose; and has pointed out a variety of gross abuses which demand extensive and immediate correction. A liberal and judicious attention of the legislature to this department might do something: but the grand evil, as it appears to us, is one which the legislature cannot remedy: we mean a defect in population and wealth. This is an evil which time alone can radically cure, and which we have every reason for believing that it is actually curing. Ireland can grow a vast abundance and surplus of grain and other commodities; but she has no roads, in many of her most fertile provinces, by which her harvests can travel to market, and no markets for them even if she had roads. As her population increases, she will be rich in towns and accommodated with highways; her productions will rise in value; and the



the means of disposing of them will be multiplied and facilitated. The author of the "Inquiry into the Causes of popular Discontents in Ireland" enumerates, as one of these causes, the union which has lately taken place: but most unjustly in our opinion, and if there be any solidity in the remarks we have just offered. In the "Thoughts on the present State of Ireland," a suggestion is thrown out, which perhaps, under the existing circumstances of the case, it might be advantageous to attend to: and that is, to exempt from the oppression of tithes all those of the *catholic* peasantry (and why not of the *protestant* as well?) who from extreme poverty are deemed proper subjects of relief from the hearth tax. The Christian religion, which is not of this world, has less pretensions to the pocket of the public for its support than civil governments: and if these miserable indigents, these wretched labourers in uncultivated bogs, be admitted to be too poor to contribute towards the expenses of the latter, there seems great reason for exempting them for the present from the charges of the former.

The subjects of *invasion* and *national defence* have still attracted some portion of public attention. Colonel Hanger has hence published "Reflections on the menaced Invasion; and the Means of protecting the Capital." An anonymous author, "Thoughts on the National Defence:" in neither of which, however, do we perceive any thing that needs to detain us. Dr. Dickson's "Hints to the People of the United Kingdom," which are devoted to the same topic, may be comprehended under the same remark. Mr. Friend's "Patriotism; or the Love of our Country," de-

icated to the volunteers of the united kingdom, is a useful little book, containing examples of the most distinguished acts of patriotism furnished us by antient or modern history, interspersed with remarks that often give them a forcible and ingenious application to the present period.

"Egeria; or Elementary Studies on the Progress of Nations in Political Economy, Legislation, and Government." The title of this book and much of its contents should claim for it the arrangement it here possesses; but the style in which it is written, the dramatic character at which it aims, and the lofty visions it unfolds, might demand for it an introduction into our next chapter. It is published anonymously; and consists of sixteen dialogues, or *studies* as they are denominated, between real characters now no longer in existence; and in this respect is an imitation of lord Lyttelton's Fontenelle's, or Wieland's Dialogues of the Dead. The subjects discussed are those enumerated in the title-page; and the ideas communicated are often bold and forcible, impressive and novel. But there is a sort of studied obscurity, a mysticism both of language and manner; which too frequently pervades the thread of conversation, and produces so much delay and perplexity, as to render it scarcely worth the trouble of unravelling.

"Strictures on the Necessity of inviolably maintaining the Navigation and Colonial System of Great Britain, by lord Sheffield." His lordship is rather a powerful reasoner than a luminous and accurate writer: yet the pamphlet before us is entitled to much attention; although, in many respects, it evinces too close an attachment to  
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the old navigation law projected and partially enforced as early as the reign of Richard II., but not completed till the 12th of Charles II., and which his lordship regards as the trident of the British Neptune, as the chief if not the sole cause of our naval superiority. That this superiority may be ever maintained is the warmest wish of our hearts; but whether in reality it be the result of the legislative interference here referred to, or of the insular shape of the country, in connexion with the spirit of maritime adventure which it has almost immemorably evinced, is a question upon which so much may be said on both sides, that we will not venture upon a decision in the present place. The arguments advanced in justification of the practice by M. Gentz we felt incontrovertible at the time of reading his very able and elaborate examination: yet that some relaxations might take place in the navigation act, which would be highly favourable to our own system of colonization is, we think, sufficiently proved by two pamphlets which have been written in answer to lord Sheffield, and are entitled to the most respectable attention: the one by Mr. Jordan colonial agent for Barbadoes, and the other by Mr. Cork commercial agent to the corporation of Liverpool.

The war still continues to be a fruitful supply of the press. "The Justice and Policy of the War with Spain," has been attempted to be demonstrated by one anonymous writer, who does not employ the whole or even, in every instance, the chief of the arguments which might serve his purpose, had they occurred to him: while the author of "Cursory Remarks" has given us a "Brief Appeal to the

Honour and Conscience of the Nation upon the Necessity of an immediate Restitution of the Spanish Plate-ships;" an appeal warmly and eloquently urged, but in opposition to the opinions of the best writers on the law of nations; whether Gentz, Grotius, Vattel, Puffendorf, or Barbeyrac. It is in fact, a question rather of generosity than of strict political justice; of national magnanimity than of moral equity. Sir Robert Wilson, in relation to the internal defence of our own country, has published an address to Mr. Pitt that is well entitled to attention. It is denominated "An Enquiry into the present State of the Military Force of the British Empire, with a View to its Organization." The author is a decided enemy to every system that does not favour the *thorough-bred* soldier: the militia is possessed of but little potency; our volunteers of none at all: and consequently the only part of our armament on which we ought to place any dependence is the *regular* army. "An Englishman," in a "Letter addressed to sir Robert," has observed; that his regulations in respect to the volunteers differ but little, notwithstanding all he has urged against them, from the arrangements that actually exist: while "A British Yeoman" in other "Remarks on Sir Robert Wilson's Enquiry," thinks that the volunteers have been too severely handled by the gallant knight, and their abilities far too much depreciated. The system which has since been introduced by Mr. Pitt so closely approximates the plan proposed by the first of these writers, as to render it unnecessary to enter further into the subject.

The department of finance has been by no means overlooked or neglected.



neglected. Lord Lauderdale, in his "Enquiry into the Nature and Origin of public Wealth," has exhibited a volume which contains many wholesome truths and much practicable wisdom: he evinces, however, too much attachment to the French speculatists, and, in his zeal to point out Mr. Pitt's defects, is incapable of discriminating his unquestionable abilities. The disparity of exchange between London and Dublin has given rise to various publications. Mr. Foster of Lincoln's-inn has examined it with much shrewdness of conception and perspicuity of language, in an essay intitled "On the Principle of Commercial Exchange," to which he has subjoined an "Enquiry into the practical Effects of the Bank Restrictions," which are conceived to be equally injurious to the property of the public and the independence of the bank itself: while Mr. Boase in a "Letter to the right honourable Lord King," has undertaken to defend the conduct of the directors of the banks of England and Ireland; while he at the same time offers many useful, but some highly problematical remarks on the cause of the great rise of the exchange between Dublin and London; and his own system of equalising it. This system we would expatiate upon if it were not rendered in a very considerable degree nugatory by the excellent regulations which have of late been proposed by that truly comprehensive patriot and perspicuous statesman the chancellor of the Irish exchequer (may we yet thus denominate Mr. Foster?); and which, as they have been for some time legally adopted and acted upon, bid fair to annihilate much of the difference complained of, in a short period. An anonymous au-

thor of "Desultory Observations on the Property Tax" has exhibited more of special pleading than of comprehensive finance. His complaints concerning it *generally* are for the most part irrelevant, but he has succeeded in pointing out several defects and extraordinary flaws which might perhaps pose and puzzle our commissioners, but would scarcely be allowed available to the objectors. Mr. Friend and Mr. Coad have endeavoured to supersede the use of this unpopular impost, as well as of every other part of our present system of taxation by schemes of their own, which we are afraid would give us the exchange of a less for a greater evil; and consequently leave us rather to lament than congratulate ourselves.

"A concise Statement of the Question regarding the Abolition of the Slave Trade." While this important question is still occasionally introduced before the British legislature, it is but just to all parties that the various arguments which continued inquiry and conversation may multiply on the one side and on the other should be condensed and offered in a collected form to the public. The writer before us, professedly adhering to the views of those who would promote the abolition of the slave trade, has well and forcibly arranged, in his statement, the facts and reasonings that may best subserve the general purpose. We cannot but wish success to the cause he has so ably advocated.

"An Attempt to remove Prejudices concerning the Jewish Nation, by Thomas Witherby." This volume is rather political or ethical than theological; though it largely partakes of the last. It is universally an apology, and in many cases



cases a vindication, of the Jews. It examines the conduct they have evinced, and the sufferings they have sustained from the period of the destruction of the temple. It palliates the charge of usury, which has so often, and at times so absurdly, been urged against this people: and it exhibits them as free from the vices of lukewarmness in the religion they profess, of hypocrisy, dishonesty, idolatry, idleness, and debauchery. It affirms, in consequence, that they are entitled to far more political favour than they have hitherto possessed in any Christian country; and, lastly, that the Christian church itself will ultimately become in a very considerable degree judaized, and that its professors will esteem it an honour to make pilgrimages once more to Jerusalem, which will re-ascend it all its pristine glory. The work is written in the dialogue form; it exhibits much candour and good intention; but a variety of untenable arguments, a diction unornamented, and a style diffuse and desultory. The Jewish community have now no reason to complain: the asylum and equality of privileges offered and secured to them by law in the Russian empire, will render it for the future their own fault if they submit to undue degradation and extortion in any other countries.

In noticing the bishop of Landaff's sermon preached before the Society for the Suppression of Vice, we entered in some measure into a survey of the conduct of this institution; and asserted that we had some hopes that in the course of the present winter it intended to direct its anathemas towards the great and the fashionable, as well as the poor and the miserable. On perusing the "Address to the Pub-

lic" which it has presented in the course of the current year, we have more reason than ever to wish that such intention may be realized. For amidst the *six hundred and twenty persons* whom we are here told it has brought to conviction for profanation of the sabbath-day, we do not find a single instance of persons of this description; although it is well known that the higher orders are quite *as guilty* as the lower, the characters punished exclusively consisting of publicans, and petty shopkeepers.

As the system of reward is generally as influential, and infinitely more beneficial than that of terror, we have far more pleasure, we confess, in accompanying in their transactions, the "Society for bettering the Conditions of the Poor," whose fourth volume of Reports is now before us. We perceive in these reports some small degree of unnecessary deviation from their professed object, but nevertheless many valuable communications, and a steady and ardent desire to communicate comfort and happiness.

Education, considered as a science, has been less lavish of productions in the course of the year before us, than in the course of several that immediately preceded it. The most valuable and impressive volume we have met with, and which we recommend to be put into the hands of every boy who is designed for public or polished life, is "The late Lord Chatham's Letters to his Nephew, the Father of the late Lord Camelford." These letters display the skill of a master; of one well versed in human life; and who knew how to prize what is truly estimable before what is merely glittering and brilliant. There is in them a soundness of judgment, a purity of heart, a man-

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ness of piety, a familiarity, but at the same time an elegance, of style which we have seldom met with in the same equality of union; and which were well entitled to the success with which they were originally attended. They are edited by Lord Grenville, dedicated to Mr. Pitt, and introduced by an excellent and highly finished preface. — Mrs. Charlotte Smith has published, in two small volumes octavo, “Conversations for the use of Children and Young Persons;”

which may be perused with pleasure and profit: they are chiefly devoted to subjects of natural history, and are occasionally enlivened by specimens of beautiful poetry. Miss Edgeworth, in three volumes duodecimo, has also made an acceptable present to the public in her “Popular Tales” intended principally for the benefit of persons in middle life, and hence consisting of characters drawn almost solely from that class of society.

## C H A P. IV.

## LITERATURE AND POLITE ARTS.

*Containing the Transactions of Literary Societies, Biography, Antiquities, Philology, Classics, Poetry, Drama, Novels, Tales, and Romances.*

WE begin, as usual, with a notice of the current volume of Philosophical Transactions published by the Royal Society of London: and feel peculiarly happy in having to repeat every part of the encomium upon the aggregate articles before us, which we advanced from a sense of duty in our last retrospect. The spirit of the preceding year has extended, in its full quintessence, to the present: there is an ardour of pursuit, a depth and comprehension of inquiry, an importance of matter, and a success of result exhibited in both parts of the volume before us, which have never, to our knowledge, been surpassed, and seldom equalled by any similar institution. Like the volume of the past year, the present consists of seventeen articles including the Bakerian or opening lecture: of these, eight are contained in its first part, independently of the Meteorologic Journal, 1804.

and the remaining nine in the second part. 1. The Bakerian lecture is the production of Dr. Young, and as usual, is highly ingenious and recondite. It consists of experiments and calculations relative to physical objects: the writer's aim is to confirm, from additional experiments and observations on the fringes of colours accompanying shadows, his prior law of the interference of two portions of light. We do not think that sir Isaac Newton receives in this paper all the respect to which he is entitled, nor that the experiments of Mr. Ritt are sufficiently consulted or referred to. And still less do we believe that, admitting the facts here advanced in their fullest extent, the specific aura of light falls necessarily to Euler's system of an undulating medium. II. Continuation of an Account of a peculiar Arrangement in the Arteries distributed on the Muscles of slow-moving



ing Animals, &c.; in a Letter from Mr. Anthony Carlisle to John Symmons, esq. F.R.S.; a prosecution of a former paper by the same ingenious writer. The arteries instanced are the seminal, intercostal, and diaphragmatic, together with those of the swimming bladder in certain fishes of a peculiarity of construction. III. An Account of a curious Phænomenon observed on the Glacieres of Chamouny; together with some occasional Observations concerning the Propagation of Heat in Fluids; by Benjamin Count of Rumford, V.P.R.S. The author's object is to corroborate a former assertion—that fluids are not conductors of heat or caloric: and he appears a little incensed as well as surprised that this assertion has not been generally admitted by modern chemists. It does not strike us that the present appeal is by any means decisive; or that the phænomenon is satisfactorily explained by the proposed system. IV. Description of a triple Sulphuret, of Lead, Antimony, and Copper, from Cornwall: with some Observations upon the various Modes of Attraction which influence the Formation of Mineral Substances, and upon the different Kinds of Sulphuret of Copper; by the Count de Bournon, F.R.S. This paper is of great importance in the science of mineralogy, and we regret that we cannot pay it the detailed attention it deserves. The author's inquiry is ably and perspicuously pursued: the sulphuret to which he refers, however, is rare, and in the whole extent of Cornwall has only been found in the Huel Boys, a mine which has never been regularly worked, though we have just learned that it is now on the point of being so. V. Analysis of a triple Sulphuret of Lead, Antimony, and

Copper, from Cornwall; by Charles Hatchett, esq. F.R.S. The sulphuret is that described in the preceding article: its analysis, which was carefully conducted, discovered it to consist of antimony, lead, copper, a small quantity of iron, and a still smaller of sulphur. VI. Observations on the Orifices found in certain poisonous Snakes, situated between the Nostril and the Eye; by Patrick Russell, M.D. F.R.S.: with some Remarks on the Structure of those Orifices and the Description of a Bag connected with the Eye, met with in the same Snakes; by Everard Home, esq. F.R.S. The direct object of these orifices and bags is by no means clearly ascertained. In snakes they seem to be peculiar to those that are poisonous; and have been actually traced in the rattle-snake, in fifteen or sixteen species of coluber, and in three boxæ. But they are also found in several deer and antelopes, probably in all of them. VII. An Inquiry concerning the nature of Heat, and the Mode of its Communication; by Benjamin Count of Rumford, V.P. F.R.S. This inquiry is ingeniously and operosely conducted. Its object is to prove the existence of frigorific as well as calorific rays; the former of which are supposed to proceed from the heavens, to produce the extreme chill on the summits of lofty mountains, and to regulate the temperature of the earth. In this case, the old doctrine of the Greek schools, that cold as well as heat is a body *sui generis*, would be completely re-established. The subject is to be pursued; and we shall hence have an opportunity of examining it more fully hereafter. VIII. Experiments and Observations on the Motion of the Sap in Trees. In a letter from Thomas Andrew Knight, esq. to Sir Joseph Banks,



Banks, Bart. &c. &c. Some additional facts are here adduced in support of an opinion antecedently advanced by Mr. Knight—that the vessels of the bark which pass from the leaves to the extremities of the roots are, from their organization, better calculated to convey the fluids they contain towards the roots, than in any other direction. The first part of the volume here concludes with the Meteorological Journal, by which we perceive that the rain was not more than 17.922. Part II. opens with IX. Analytical Experiments and Observations on Lac; by Charles Hatchett, Esq. The different nature and kinds of lac are here minutely investigated; as also the best method of dissolving it, which Mr. Hatchett, pursuing the mode in common use among the Hindûs, found to be water with which a small quantity of borax has been previously commixed. X. On the Integration of certain differential Expressions with which Problems in Physical Astronomy are connected; by R. Woodhouse, M.A. F.R.S. From the recondite nature of this paper we cannot enter into the idea intended to be conveyed. XI. Observations on Basalt, and on the Transition from the vitreous to the stony Texture which occurs in the Refrigeration of melted Basalt; in a Letter from Gregory Watt, Esq. This elaborate paper contains experiments of very considerable importance, and which amply confirm those of sir James Hall, designed to prove the conversion of basalt from a vitreous to a stony texture, by the operation of slow cooling alone. We are sincerely concerned to find that the ingenious author of this excellent article has some time since paid the debt of nature, and fallen in

the full maturity of life. XII. An Analysis of the magnetical Pyrites, with Remarks on some of the other Sulphurets of Iron; by Charles Hatchett, Esq. F.R.S. The pyrites analysed was brought from the base of Mount Moel Celia, in Carnarvonshire; and the result of the experiments was, that sulphur and carbon appear to have an equal, or at least a similar power in rendering iron magnetic: the magnetic saturation, when sulphur is employed, lies between metallic iron with forty-six per cent. of sulphur and fifty-two of carbon. XIII. Account of the voluntary Expansion of the Skin in the Neck of the Cobra de Capello, or Hooded Snake of the East Indies; by Patrick Russell, M.D. F.R.S.: with a Description of the Structure of the Parts that perform that Office; by Everard Home, Esq. F.R.S. We cannot explain this singular apparatus of nature without the plate: its use is not yet accounted for. XIV. Continuation of an Account of the Changes that have happened in the relative Situation of double Stars; by William Herschell, LL.D. F.R.S. This paper, which is truly curious and valuable, exhibits the changes which have occurred in a variety of stars. These changes extend from an angle of ten degrees in some, to an angle of not less than a hundred and thirty degrees in others. The observations must soon be productive of various important conclusions; at present they are rather too much accompanied with hypothetical reasoning. XV. Observations on the change of some of the proximate Principles of Vegetables into Bitumen; with analytical Experiments on a peculiar Substance, which is found with the Bovey Coal; by Charles Hatchett, Esq. F.R.S. These ob-



servations are decisive in proving the transmutation of vegetable matter to a mineral substance, through the medium of the coal referred to. XVI. On two Metals found in the black Powder remaining after the Solution of Platina; by S. Tennant, Esq. F.R.S. This black powder was at first supposed to be plumbago: Descotils and Vauquelin detected in it a new metallic substance: and Mr. Tennant has discovered that this metallic substance is composed of two distinct metals, each obtained by a different process; to the one, from the variations of its hues, he has given the name of *iridium*; to the other, from its peculiar odour, *osmium*. XVII. On a new Metal found in crude Platina, by William Hyde Wollaston, M.D. F.R.S. This metal bears much affinity to the *iridium* of Mr. Tennant; and is perhaps the same. Dr. Wollaston, however, denominates it *rhodium*. It is probable also that both are the same substance as the palladium of Mr. Chevenix, which we noticed in our last year's retrospect.

We announced in our last year's retrospect, also, that an "Abridgment" of the truly valuable labours of the Royal Society had been commenced, in a form, and under the auspices of talents, that promised a most desirable issue. This Abridgment is so far persevered in, that the current year has produced vols. 2 and 3, which extend to the close of the thirteenth volume of the original. We have no reason to complain of any relaxation in the powers or spirit of the compilers.

The Society of Antiquaries of London have published the fourteenth volume of their "Archæologia, or Miscellaneous Tracts relating to Antiquity." The tracts

are in number thirty-four, the engravings are fifty-eight, and in an appendix are subjoined a list of presents to the society, a catalogue of the works it has published, and an useful index. The articles are introduced without any pretension to arrangement, and it is hence impossible to follow them with any kind of specific epitome or character. In several instances we trace papers scarcely worthy of admission; but, upon the whole, the *fourteenth* volume is the best of the series. There is much ingenuity and learning in the seventh article, by Mr. Western, offering an illustration of the second Arundelian marble; in the twenty-third, by Mr. Lysons, on some of the tombs in the abbey church of Tewkesbury, in Gloucestershire; in the twenty-sixth and twenty-seventh, by Mr. Sharon Turner, on the early use of rime; and in the twenty-eighth, by Mr. Henley, on the inscription found on certain bricks asserted by Dr. Hulme, in article ten, to be of Babylonian construction.

The ninth volume of the "Transactions of the Royal Irish Academy," which we expected in the course of 1803, has at length reached us. It consists of twelve articles, of which the most important are two mathematical papers, by the professor in the Dublin University, Mr. Brinkley. Mr. Preston, the translator of the *Argonautics*, has contributed three papers, of which the last only is entitled to individual notice. It offers considerations on ancient amatory writers, and on the comparative merit of Ovid, Tibullus, and Propertius. Mr. Dunne has presented some valuable notices relative to several of the native tribes of North America; and Dr. Richardson



Richardson a recondite account of the Whynn Dykes, in the neighbourhood of the Giant's Causeway, Bally-Castle, and Belfast.

Of the "Asiatic Researches, or Transactions of the Literary Society of Bengal," no volume has reached us since the seventh, which arrived just in time for a notice in our last year's retrospect.

Of the lives which have been published in the course of the current year, that of sir William Jones, by Lord Teignmouth, is by far the most interesting and the best written. Prefixed to the splendid edition of this excellent and unrivalled scholar's works, in eight volumes quarto, including the supplement, and without which no gentleman's library can be complete, we have an elegant *éloge*, or, as it is now denominated in France, a *notice*, from the pen of the same biographer, in the form of a discourse delivered before the Asiatic Society in Calcutta, May 22, 1794; but the few and sparing hints here communicated, the character and literary pursuits to a development of which *alone*, this prefatory discourse is devoted, do not constitute all the tribute which is due to the taste, the talents, the accomplishments, the virtues, of so extraordinary a personage; and though an interval of ten years has elapsed between the publication of the original *éloge* and the present *memoirs*, the memory of sir William Jones is still sufficiently strong in the mind and feelings of the public to render the biography now offered highly interesting and welcome. As we have enriched another department of our Register with extracts from some of its most important pages, we shall only add, in the present place, that lord Teignmouth has executed his

task with feeling, elegance, and spirit. The volume is too much crowded, however, with private letters of little consequence or importance; and there are some few passages both of defence and apology, for which sir William, we believe, would not have thanked his friend.

In pompous and inflated language, for ever hunting after brilliances and sublimities, which it is destined seldom or never to attain, Miss Seward has written "Memoirs of the Life of Dr. Darwin, chiefly during his Residence at Lichfield." Such is the writer's intention as expressed in the *title*; in the *volume itself*, however, we are directly told that the period of time passed by doctor Darwin at Derby, and not the "*moiety of his professional existence* formed by his residence at Lichfield" is the chief object of his biographer; and such in fact it appears to have been. We cannot compliment Miss Seward upon her powers of writing prose: we have often admired and felt the beauties of her poetry; and nothing is now more obvious than the line in which she ought to walk, without deviating either to the right hand or the left. The first forty, and nearly the first forty-eight verses with which doctor Darwin's Botanic Garden commences, Miss Seward here claims as her own: we believe the claim to be most justly founded, and are by no means surprised that she should thus strenuously endeavour to appropriate them: with the exception of a single passage or two, they are the most beautiful in the entire poem. It is truly extraordinary that doctor Darwin should not have acknowledged, as he ought to have done, the source to which he was indebted for them, and which



which appears, indeed, to have given him the first idea of writing the poem itself, in some subjoined note. We understand from the volume before us that another biography of the doctor may shortly be expected from his friend Mr. Bilsborrow.

“An Account of the Life of James Beattie, LL.D. Professor of Moral Philosophy and Logic at Aberdeen. By Alexander Bower.” The smooth and unruffled tenour of the life of Dr. Beattie does not offer much to the pen of biography; and hence the volume before us, though small in size, and thin in number of pages, is eked out by a vast quantity of collateral matter, of which great part has no more to do with its immediate subject than he had with the Grand Mogul. Dr. Beattie was a better poet than a philosopher; yet, as his claim to philosophy seemed best calculated to advance him, he abided by it, and it proved his high road to royal patronage.

“Memoirs of the Life of Gilbert Wakefield, B.A.”—2d edition, 2 vols. 8vo. The first edition consisted of one volume only, and was written and published by Mr. Wakefield himself. The present retains his own memoirs, and continues his history from the period at which he terminated it himself till his decease. The posthumous part is the joint product of two of his most intimate friends, whose attachment, we had almost said *partiality*, is conspicuous in every page. Mr. Wakefield was a man of a high independent spirit, and sound extensive learning. There was, unquestionably, no small degree of imprudence in publishing the pamphlet for which he suffered a criminal prosecution; and there was still more imprudence in pub-

lishing a second edition of it, after this prosecution had commenced; yet, we believe he fell a victim rather to the peculiarity of the times in which he wrote, than to any real or at least extensive danger which, from the recondite and scholastic manner in which it was worded, could reasonably be expected to arise from it. Much of his conduct and pursuits in prison are honourable to human nature at large.

“Life of Joseph Priestley, LL.D. F.R.S. &c. with critical Observations on his Works.” The biography of a philosopher and politician, who, for not less than forty years, occupied the attention of Europe or America, and often of both, and “Critical Observations” on works that extend to nearly a hundred volumes of different sizes, all closely packed up and pressed into a small duodecimo pamphlet of only a hundred-and-twelve pages, as though bound with a fair wind and tide for the regions of Lilliput! Surely the friends of this renowned theologian, philosopher, and politician, cannot think that they have fulfilled their duty to his manes by so light and trivial a memento. In the expectation that memoirs upon a larger and more comprehensive scale will yet make their appearance, we have deferred making any extracts from the book before us.

“The Historie and Life of King James the Sext, written towards the latter end of the sixteenth Century.” Of the authenticity and consequent value of this publication there can be no doubt. The original manuscript is in the possession of Lord Belhaven: it has been several times referred to by former historiographers, and particularly by David Crawford, of Drumsey. Its range is from 1566 to 1580; and its present



sent imprint was superintended by Malcolm Laing, esq.

Mrs. Barbauld has edited, in six volumes octavo, "The Correspondence of Samuel Richardson.—To which are prefixed a biographical Account of that Author, and Observations on his Writings." The letters comprising this correspondence are selected from original manuscripts bequeathed by Richardson to his family. In one respect Richardson, in the collection before us, has an advantage over his correspondents, but it is an advantage which ought never to be taken—all his own letters were written from the first with the express view of publication, and hence copies of them were preserved as they were composed. There is in truth a studied formality in them, which renders this intention perfectly obvious; and which, though it have made them more finished compositions, deducts in a very considerable degree from that ingenuousness and open exposure of the heart which perhaps otherwise would have been exhibited much more considerably, and which actually is more considerably exhibited in the letters of several of his correspondents. Nothing can justify the preservation of confidential letters with a view to their publication, but the consent of the correspondents themselves. Should such letters be *accidentally* found afterwards by surviving relatives, and nothing be exhibited in them injurious to the character of the respective writers, the case is materially altered, and there seems no moral prohibition to their publication. The epistles we have been chiefly pleased with in this voluminous assemblage, are those of the warm and animated lady Bradshaigh, and madame Klopstock, the

excellent and amiable wife of the author of the Messiah. Those of Richardson's own writing contain many admirable and pious sentiments; but in his replies to the ladies, as well as in the rejoinders from the latter, there is compliment almost to caricature. Such a warehouse of ready-made flattery we have seldom witnessed; flattery too so highly seasoned as sometimes to border on impiety. The best part of the work before us is the editor's biographical account of her hero; it evinces taste, judgment, liberality, and learning; it is equally entertaining and instructive.

"The Life and Letters of the late John Wilkes" have been introduced before the world by a duplicate of authors or editors; the one set published in five volumes duodecimo, by his friend Mr. Almon; and the other in four volumes of the same size, by an anonymous hand. It does not appear to us that the letters or the lives, as exhibited in either of these works, are destined for immortality. The web of Mr. Wilkes's life was spun of very mingled yarn indeed; and neither of his biographers have been *blameably* desirous of concealing his vices. He has had his day—it was, in its earlier part, stormy and pestilential, but the atmosphere grew less hazy and more wholesome as his sun descended. His name will occasionally appear in history, connected with certain events to which he gave birth, or in which he was chief actor, but there was a self-interest in his motives, a simulation in his conduct, which must ever prevent him from obtaining a niche among honest and upright statesmen. Several of the letters to his daughter, published in the anonymous edition, ought unquestion-



ably to have been suppress; if not from a regard to the characters of the addresser and the addressed, at least from a deference to public modesty and decorum.

“Memoirs of Charles Macklin, Comedian.” This too is an anonymous performance, but agreeably and ably executed, and by a friend who appears to have been equally well acquainted with the variable life of Mr. Macklin, and competent to appreciate his professional talents. Interspersed throughout the volume we meet with many entertaining anecdotes, and one or two full drawn sketches of Mr. Macklin’s friends. The book, indeed, is intended as a sort of history of the stage during nearly the whole of the last century, and it is not without pretensions to such a character.

“The Lives of the Scottish Poets; with preliminary Dissertations on the literary History of Scotland, and the early Scottish Drama. By David Irving, A.M.” 2 vols. 8vo. A compilation carefully and attentively selected from antecedent pioneers in the same path; to whose researches little is added either important or novel. In the dissertations, which are ably drawn up, Mr. Irving is under very considerable obligations to Mr. Walter Scott and Mr. Pinkerton. In this list of poets we meet with the name of Dr. Geddes; who seems rather dragged out of his proper department, in consequence of his extensive erudition. His life is chiefly an abstract from Mr. Good’s Memoirs.

Mr. Maugin has translated from the French a short “Life of Lamignon Malesherbes,” which we wish was much longer, and more fully detailed; in which form we trust we shall soon meet with it,

when we shall pay it the honour of a due notice. Few more excellent men than Malesherbes ever existed: his mind was highly cultivated, his judgment correct, his heart liberal. He was almost, if not altogether, the only real friend of the unfortunate Louis XVI.; yet he rejoiced in the commencement of the revolution, because he was also a real friend to his country. His warm and admirable defence of his beloved sovereign is well known, and will never be forgotten: Malesherbes soon followed him, and in the same way; himself and his children were alike massacred by that terrestrial pandemonium the Revolutionary Tribunal.

Mr. Hayley has added a third volume to the “Life and Posthumous Writings of William Cowper, Esq.” and should he meet with materials enough of the same stirring value we shall be happy in attending him to a *thirtieth*. The letters, which amount in number to a hundred-and-sixty-three, are for the most part addressed to the Rev. John Unwin, and the Rev. William Newton, with both which names our readers must already be familiarized from many of his preceding epistles. They possess the same character of simplicity, ingenuousness, elegance, and ease, which so remarkably distinguish the whole of this excellent and extraordinary man’s epistolary compositions; and subjoined to them is a fragment of an original poem in blank verse, entitled Yardley Oak, fortunately discovered in a heap of old manuscripts, but not till after the anterior two volumes had been published. It is an exquisite morsel, extending to a hundred and sixty one lines, and forms the commencement of a poem which was to have been modelled after



after the plan of the Task, and would in all probability have been of considerably greater length. The turn and genius of the Task are here preserved in their full spirit and peculiarity. Mr. Hayley has prefixed to this volume some remarks of his own on epistolary composition; but we perceive nothing in them of prominent interest or merit.

In the department of archæology we have to notice that Mr. King is still persevering in his "*Munimenta Antiqua*," of which the third volume is now before us. Its defects and merits are of the same description as those we have already pointed out in glancing at the antecedent parts of the work. His researches are still as recondite, and his illustrations as accurate when he chooses, and his perambulations into foreign and unconnected domains as random and desultory. We doubt much whether he will be able to make good his promise, by completing his intention in four volumes: if he should, the last must be of a very different texture in point of compression from those already before the public.

"*Scotia depicta; or the Antiquities, Castles, Public Buildings, &c. of Scotland; illustrated in a Series of finished Engravings.* By James Fittler, A.R.A. and Engraver to his Majesty, from accurate Drawings made on the Spot, by John Claude Nattes. With Descriptions antiquarian, historical, and picturesque." Long folio, 6l. 6s. The history of this volume is given so fully in the title-page, that we have little more to do than to present its title-page to our readers. It consists of fifty prints, many of which should have been drawn something *more accurately*, and etched in a *more finished* style,

before the artists had ventured to arrogate these proud epithets to their productions. Who favoured them with the descriptions, which also extend to fifty pages, we know not; they are as neatly and as satisfactorily introduced as the brevity, to which the writer was probably compelled, would allow.

Of equal splendour and expense Mr. Lysons has published his "*Collection of Gloucester Antiquities.*" It consists of a hundred-and-ten prints, from drawings of his own, which, though not so expressly denominated in the title-page, appear to be for the most part strictly accurate and interesting. The plates he plainly tells us, which he has also etched from his own drawings; do not pretend to the character of *finished* engravings: "I nevertheless flatter myself," continues he, "that the manner in which they are executed will not be thought wholly inadequate to the subject." Mr. Lysons is entitled to a belief without any flattery whatever. We have only to wish that an antiquarian so well qualified for the task had entered more at length into a *literal* description of the places he has so well and picturesquely designed. This, however, has been in some measure accomplished, within the course of the current year, by Mr. Rudge, who, in his "*History of the County of Gloucester*," in 2 vols. 8vo. has entered with some detail into its antiquities. Mr. Rudge professes indeed to do little more than present an abridgment of sir Robert Atkyns's *History*, which extends to a thick folio volume; but he has compiled with so much taste, has abridged with so much judgment, and written with so much elegance that we cannot but be indebted to him for his undertaking.



It is well known, we apprehend, to many of our readers, that the late Rev. Owen Manning had been long engaged, prior to his decease, in preparing materials for the "History and Antiquities of the County of Surrey." He died, however, when he had done little more than the making a collection of such materials. These have, nevertheless, been arranged by the kindness of his friend Mr. Bray; and the first part of his History is now offered to the public, in a splendid folio volume, for the benefit of his family. To what extent the entire work is to reach we are not informed. The volume before us gives evident proofs of patient and elaborate research, and is introduced by a long list of respectable subscribers.

Miss Watt, who some few years ago attempted to supplant Mr. Hoole's version of Tasso's "Jerusalem Delivered," has given us a "Walk through Leicester;" which falls within the precincts of our present class, in consequence of the remarks which it professedly offers upon the antiquities of this town. Some of these *remarks* are ingenious, and do credit to the writer's diligence of research: yet, we honestly confess that we do not wish to meet with ladies in the guise of *antiquaries*: much less ladies who have been accustomed to wait upon the toilet of the Muses. We do not perceive that Miss Watt has reaped any solid advantage by a *change of place* and occupation.

Mr. Herbert has furnished us with an useful compendium of sir William Dugdale in his "Antiquities of the Inns of Court and of Chancery." Following his admirable model, he enters, though briefly, into the foundations, customs, ceremonies, buildings and

government of the greater part of them; and appends a concise history of the English law: in truth so concise as to afford no satisfaction to any party; being too superficial for the student, and too much of an abstract to communicate any useful information to the unprofessional. No notice is taken of one or two establishments which no antiquary formerly would have thought himself at liberty to overlook. It should hence seem that Inns of Court, like inns on the road, may become unfashionable, be forgotten and deserted for others.

Dr. Hill has made an acceptable addition to the philological shelves of our library by his "Synonyms of the Latin Language, alphabetically arranged; with critical dissertations upon the force of its prepositions both in a simple and a compounded state." The shades of meaning in the same word introduced into different phraseologies vary like the *shades* of the same *light* or *colours* in different situations, and are equally difficult to be followed up and defined. But if this be a fact with respect to the same words—how variable must necessarily be the difference which results from the introduction into unconnected or dissimilar phraseologies, of words which are not literally the same, but in an enlarged sense of the term are called synonymous, because in one or two phrases, although derived from separate roots, they may chance to mean the same thing. Nothing perhaps requires more sound critical judgment, or keen sensible taste, than to perceive and point out all these ramifications of difference. By the vulgar they are not perceived, and seldom by the popular orator, who, for the purpose of enriching his harangue, and more especially



especially for that of avoiding tautology, is in the habit of treasuring up in his mind, a multiplicity of *similar* terms expressing somewhat of the same meaning, upon which, as upon a bank, he draws at option, without giving himself the trouble to examine very minutely in what peculiar kind of cash he is paid, provided the sum total amounts to the same thing. We believe however there are words in most, perhaps in all languages which are truly synonymous, or in other terms, that have a precise identity of meaning: and, on this account, much as we approve of the work before us in the main, and admire the indefatigable patience with which the learned writer has hunted a variety of terms through all their radical and compound bearings, we cannot avoid conceiving that in many instances the chase is continued too far; and that the shades of difference are fanciful and evanescent. we see by the papers, for a copy has not fallen into our hands, that an introductory vocabulary for the use of our under schools, has been formed from this more recondite work of Dr. Hill, which, if selected with due discrimination, cannot fail of being highly serviceable in the academies for which it is designed.

“The Topography of Troy and its Vicinity illustrated and explained, by Drawings and Descriptions. By W. Gell, Esq. of Jesus College; M.A. F.R.S. folio, price 10l 10s. The recent doubts of Mr. Bryant, and the previous hesitation of earlier scholars, have occasioned much commotion concerning the existence both of the town of Troy, and the plain of Ilium. The labours of Mr. Morrit, Mr. Dalzel, Dr. Chandler, and M. Chevalier, have been ably directed to

this point in favour of their existence; and the most sceptical seem to have been disposed to conviction. Some few, however, have still rejected the evidence and arguments offered; and to those we recommend an attentive examination of the work before us: a work compiled on the spot; enriched with not less than five-and-forty very excellent engravings from views, and remains yet in existence, all tending to corroborate the topography of the Iliad, and to augment the interest of this immortal epic by demonstrating its geographical veracity, and hence fortifying our faith in the truth of its narratives. The plain of Troy is here sufficiently ascertained to be the whole line of coast extending from Gargarus to Sigeum; while the city of the same name occupied, with even less question still, the site of the village now denominated by the Turks Bounarbashi. The lineaments in both instances marvellously correspond and their unity is confirmed by a variety of incidental and collateral facts and features upon which it is impossible for us to enlarge. We cannot but conceive the dispute at rest in consequence of this very able and accurate indagation.

“The works of Plato, by Thomas Taylor,” 5 vol. 4to. The works of Plato have always been esteemed and always will be, whatever system of physics or metaphysics be most fashionable in succession to each other. Wrong as is almost the whole of his fundamental points, his reasoning is most admirably correct and excellent; and allowing him his fulcrum, he cannot fail to move the world. The greater part of his expositors yet extant, studied him however in connexion or with a view to the christian religion: they studied him at Alexandria,



Alexandria, where *eclectism*, or the amalgamation of different systems or certain principles of those systems were all the *rage*.—Judaism, Gymnosophism, Pythagorism, Aristotelism, Platonism, Christianity; whence a medley or patchwork theory was educed more incongruous than the most incongruous of them, yet pretending to the beauties and excellencies of the whole. It was from this heterogeneous fountain that Jamblichus, Plotinus, and Porphyry drew their first draughts of what they called Platonism; but which in truth no more resemble the doctrines or conceptions of Plato, than those of Mahomet resemble those of Moses. It is to be lamented that Mr. Taylor has studied Plato through these unintelligible jargonists: who have debased and obscured him, till scarcely any thing remains but “darkness palpable” or absurdities too visionary to excite any thing but laughter or indignation. Plato, in himself, is an intellectual sun; but like the sun he has spots of vast and fathomless profundity: the scholars we now refer to, however, instead of being satellites and illuminating his maculæ from other and more brilliant orbs, are dark and interposing powers that eclipse him with their own shadows. To this general character and description we are compelled to add that Mr. Taylor has in the version before us evinced an unexpected deficiency in his knowledge of the Greek tongue, has misunderstood his author in passages where his meaning was easily intelligible, and has imbibed not merely the most inconsistent of his own principles, but the most absurd of those of his eclectic expositors. The works of Plato, as here arranged, consist of fifty-five dialogues, and twelve epistles: nine

of the former of which are reprinted from the previous version of Floyer Sydenham. The whole of the remainder, together with all the epistles, are originally translated by Mr. Taylor; whose indefatigable spirit in collating a vast multiplicity of copies we cannot sufficiently commend, how much soever we may be disposed to disapprove of his execution. The publication has been generously patronized by his grace of Norfolk, to whom it is handsomely dedicated.

Mr. Taylor has also been concerned in a small octavo volume entitled “Translations from the Greek.” These include a synopsis of the virtues and the vices by Aristotle; the similitudes of Demophilus, from Gale’s *Opuscula*; the golden sentences of Democritus, from the same; the Pythagoric symbols, introduced by Jamblichus into his *Protreption*, together with the illustrations of this last philosopher—all translated by Mr. W. Bridgeman: to which is added a version of the Pythagoric sentences of Demophilus, by Mr. Taylor. To the mystagogues in philosophy this book may be a treat—it is none, we honestly confess, to ourselves.

From the pen of the Rev. W. H. Marsh we have received another version of the *Satires* of Juvenal. Perhaps there is no author more difficult to render into English with a due preservation of his spirit, his terseness, his compression: and hence it is no unpardonable fault in those who have so lately attempted this severe task, that they have left the road open to subsequent adventurers. Of the exertions of Mr. Giffard and Mr. Rhodes we have already spoken in our Register for 1802 and 1803: the latter has preserved most of the letter,



letter, the former most of the animated and declamatory power of this exquisite and forcible satirist. Mr. Marsh must, in our judgment, be admitted betwixt the two. Upon the whole he is sufficiently veracious as to the text, but there is an almost perpetual want of that energy which seldom or never flags in his original. There is also a strange want of taste in the translator before us, which suffers half his sentences to close in the middle of his verses, so that all the power and beauty of the rhythm is completely lost; and his rimes, to the hearer, must frequently seem as perplexed and difficult to be traced as those in various Spanish or Italian canzone.

The new editions or re-imprinted copies of the classical writers of Greece and Rome, consist of Mr. Elmsley's Thucydides, chiefly from Duker's previous labours, and containing, in the last volume, both his indices. The work in its present shape extends to six octavos; to which, another of annotations and various readings is to be added at some future time.—The Memorabilia of Xenophon, printed at Oxford:—the first three books, as far as the sixth chapter, from the edition of the late Mr. Benwell, of Trinity college Oxford, who died when he had advanced thus far in his collation: the remainder of the third and the whole of the fourth book are copied from Schneider, whose notes and various lections are also added. Prefixed to the work is an able dissertation by Mr. Benwell respecting the author's plan and object in its original composition; in which Edwards's belief that it was formed from the first upon a regular and systematic arrangement is completely subverted.—The *Ἰλίου Ἀλωσις*, or, "Capture of Troy," by

Tryphiodorus, republished by Mr. Northmore from an edition published by him in 1791, but enlarged and considerably improved by new criticisms and critical dissertations: of these, the more extensive are thrown into an appendix under the name of *excursus*: they consist of five in number, and discover much ingenious and philological indagation.—An Abridgment of Hensinger's edition of Cicero's Offices, printed in Germany in 1783. The notes which are suffered to remain are those of chief importance, and will be found sufficient for every ordinary purpose.

"Essays Literary, Political, and Economical, by John Gardiner, M.D. 2 vols. 8vo." The writer has engaged in an extensive farm, without having the means of *stocking* one half of it: the soil for the most part remains, in consequence, barren; and it will be well if the adventurer does not become bankrupt. The origin of man, the origin of language, the origin of civil government, the chief causes of population, jacobinism, philosophy, illuminism, all in their turn occupy Dr. Gardiner's attention, including a period of time that extends from the day of original sin to the present moment. We scarcely know upon which subject the writer is most at home: but to us he appears at least *as clear* in describing the different progenitors, the original Adams and Eves, from whom he conceives the various tribes of man to have descended in distinct quarters of the world, as on any other topic of less remote antiquity.

"Dissertations, Essays, and Parallels, by John Robert Scott, D.D." The subjects are the following: The influence of religion on civil society: The expulsion of the Moors



Moors from Spain—and other similar events: The first peopling of America: The progress of the fine arts: National population: The art of writing history: Whether eloquence were beneficial to Athens: Whether taste be unfavourable to morals. There are some good observations in most of these essays, together with a clear and perspicuous arrangement: yet they contain little that has not been observed before; and often observed with much more force and impression.

“Indian Recreations, by the Rev. William Tennant, D. D. 2 vols. 8vo.” These lucubrations contain the result of personal observations and inquiries made upon the spot during a residence of several years in different parts of India; and many of them are possessed of intrinsic value. They chiefly relate to the character, policy, manners, and customs of the Hindûs. They furnish us with cases upon the institutes of Menu, sometimes to be applauded, but more generally to be blamed and detested. They enter also, with considerable minuteness, into the mode of Indian agriculture, together with the seeds and plants chiefly cultivated: by which we learn, and with great pleasure, that the sugar-cane may be made to thrive far more successfully in Hindûstan than in the West Indies: that the potatoe has been most beneficially introduced, and fairly promises to be a sufficient safeguard against those dreadful famines which have occasionally been produced upon a failure of the rice-crops. Indigo seems also to succeed, and the cochineal insect has been attempted to be reared with some hopes of a beneficial result. It is not unlikely, however;

from various experiments that have lately been made in other regions, that the dye of the cochineal plant may be found capable of being communicated to other substances than the insect in question: but we are anticipating, by such an observation, a subject which we shall have to notice more fully in a future retrospect.

“Selections from the Works of Taylor, Hooker, Hall, and Lord Bacon; with an Analysis of the Advancement of Learning. By Basil Montagu, Esq. A.M.” It was to such authors as are here in part re-edited, that we referred in our notice of Mr. Clapham’s Sermons. Mr. Montagu has presented so valuable a selection from works of which several are become scarce, that we cannot but wish him to persevere in the plan he has pursued, and to add volume to volume from other writers of equal antiquity and ability, till he has run through the course of English literature. His Analysis discovers him to have studied in the school from which he has copied with considerable attention.

The success which has attended Dr. Drake’s “Literary Hours,” has induced him to add a third volume to a third edition of the former two which has been published in the course of the current year. We perceive in it the same richness of research, purity of style, and elegance of taste, which have so peculiarly characterized his preceding efforts, and have rendered them a valuable addition to our classical and philological libraries. The neglected Herrick is much indebted to him: he has rescued him, in a considerable degree, from the undue oblivion into which he had fallen; and has fairly advanced his pretensions to the character of a poet



poet beyond those of his contemporaries Waller and Carew; especially in the amatory and anacreontic styles. Dr. Drake has also adduced specimens from Sylvester's *Du Bartas* in proof of his having possessed a truly poetic vein. Sylvester has, indeed, been peculiarly fortunate: for it was but a short time since that we had to notice a variety of exquisite selections from the same translator, by Mr. Dunster, in proof that Milton had not only been acquainted with him, but had derived from him several of his most elegant and most admired descriptions. It was in consequence of Mr. Dunster's publication that Dr. Drake was induced to turn his attention to this quarter: and in the excerpitions he has made, he has been studious to glean such passages alone as Mr. Dunster has either omitted or pretermitted.

The poetry of the year has been peculiarly barren in its higher classes: not a single epic poem of any description having made its appearance; while, in the dramatic department, the whole that is really worth perusing has been offered to us in an additional volume of Miss Bailey's *Miscellaneous Plays*, upon the great merit of which we have formerly expatiated, though we do not think that the volume before us is quite equal to the two preceding. It consists of two tragedies and a comedy: of the former, *Constantine* is far superior to *Rayner*, though by no means so impressive as *Ethwald*: of the latter, we cannot avoid asserting, that it is the feeblest effort of our author's comic muse.

But though, within the course of the year, we have had to boast of no regular epic, nor of any dramatic undertaking worthy of parti-

cular notice, save the above plays of Miss Bailey,—in Mr. Scott's "*Lay of the Last Minstrel*," we have received an ample atonement and compensation for this general neglect and sterility. It is the most exquisite poem we have long met with, the most melodious, the most impressive and forcible. Its model is that of the old metrical romance; varying its measure as the change of subject, or even, at times, the fancy of the poet himself may suggest;—a liberty consistent with the costume of ancient minstrelsy, but sternly prohibited by the more regular and classic muse. Its tale is simple, and, though obvious, still interesting to the conclusion: it is also conducted with fewer digressions and tautologies than the old romance is in the habit of presenting to us—is more scientifically arranged, and picturesquely adorned. The machinery, however, seems to be but of little use to the progress of the entire piece, and might be suppressed without being missed, or deteriorating from its general merit. The poem peculiarly excels in description and pathos; it seems to combine all the excellencies of the old metrical ballad with the omission of its defects and incongruities; and to be enriched with as ample an intertexture of true epic composition as the nature of its style and structure would admit of.

Mr. Scott has also been laudably engaged in dragging from the dust of the "*North Countree*" libraries, a most interesting metrical romance of the thirteenth century, intitled "*Sir Tristram*," composed by Thomas of Ercildoune, commonly called Thomas the Rhymer. The poem is splendidly edited from the Auchinleck manuscript, in an octavo volume of five hundred pages,  
at



at the price of two guineas; and not more than a hundred and fifty copies have been struck off. It is preceded by an elaborate and valuable preliminary dissertation on the subject of the poem, and the long agitated question, Whether, since the story of Trystan or Tristram refers to a period of very remote antiquity, and various French metrical romances have been founded upon it, Ercildoune translated his poem from some pre-existing type in the romance language, or wrote it as an original piece, from which the French poems upon the same subject have considerably copied. The result is, that Ercildoune collected the materials for his romance in the country which gave him his name, and which is still represented in our maps as situated on the borders of the antient British kingdom of Strathclyd, comprehending the border districts of England and Scotland: that the poem before us was published anterior to any similar romance in the French tongue: and that the name of Ercildoune, as the original writer, is actually referred to in one or two French fragments.

Mr. Hayley has written a poem in six cantos, intitled "The Triumph of Music," upon an Italian love-story, which is equally improbable and uninteresting. It appears to be designedly a mere vehicle for communicating, in a connected form, a variety of love-songs, devotional hymns, sentimental sonnets, and moral rhapsodies, which the author has penned on particular occasions, and carefully preserved in his *escritoir*. We have not heard that the fame of the poet has been much augmented; nor can we conceive that it is likely to be augmented by this patchwork performance. There are

some good, and forcible, and elegant lines in it: but in the main, it is feeble, desultory, irrelevant.

From captain Elton we have received a small volume of occasional poems possessed of considerable spirit and harmony. He has pleasantly employed the leisure which is not unfrequently to be found in a camp. Robert Bloomfield has again mounted his rural Pegasus, and in "Good Tidings; or News from the Farm," has produced a panegyric poem upon the cow-pox, of no ordinary merit. We have only to hope, that all the good it ardently proclaims and prophecies may be accomplished without any draw-back. Mr. Spencer has offered an elegiac poem, entitled "The Year of Sorrow, written in the Spring of 1803." It appears, indeed, to have been a year of severe affliction and loss of valuable and esteemed connexions to the writer, who laments in strains so truly pathetic, as to render it impossible for his readers not to condole with him. We wish him years of more felicity, and poems founded upon happier subjects. "Poems: by George Richards, M.A. late Fellow of Oriel College, 2 vols." Mr. Richards has been peculiarly fortunate in having received permission to have these poems printed at the university press, Oxford. They are a medley of dramas, odes, epistles, prize-poems, and war-whoops. We have not heard that Mr. Richards has any chance of being a successor to Dr. Hurdis.

Of poetical contributions republished either in whole or part, we have to notice "The Wiccamical Chaplet;" edited by Mr. Huddesford; and consisting of a selection of poetry chiefly original, comprising smaller poems serious and comic;



comic ; classical trifles, sonnets, inscriptions and epitaphs, songs and ballads ; mock-heroic poems, epigrams, and fragments of poems. The name of Huddesford has seldom accompanied the antecedent productions of this writer ; but there has been too much *mérit* in all of them to suffer public curiosity to rest satisfied beneath an anonymous title-page. For the same reason, the editor needed not to have published his name with the present volume : there are too many characteristic marks both in the humorous and sentimental pieces to have rendered it possible that any degree of doubt should have attached to the name of at least *one* of the largest and ablest contributors to this selection.—Dr. Crowe has published a new and enlarged, and, we may add, an improved edition of his very excellent “*Lewesdon Hill*.” He has also subjoined to it various other poems, possessed of proportionate merit. A new edition, anonymously introduced, but attributed to Mr. W. Tooke, of Gray’s-Inn Square, has been published of “*The Poetical Works of Charles Churchill*,” in 2 vols. 8vo. Its value, to those who are fond of Mr. Churchill’s caustic verses, is largely enhanced by a variety of very useful explanatory notes, and an authentic account of the author’s life, drawn up by the editor with an equal portion of industry and spirit.—Falconer’s “*Shipwreck*” has also been re-edited, and enriched with additional notes, and a life of the author by Mr. James Stanier Clarke, we believe, a brother of Dr. Clarke of Cambridge. It is an elegant octavo volume, beautifully ornamented with drawings from Mr. Gell, and ably illustrated by the voluntary contributions of several literary and nautical friends of the

editor. A new edition of colonel Mercer’s *Poems* has been likewise presented to the world, with some additional effusions of equal elegance and polish with those that are already in the possession of the public.

Of the rest, it becomes us to state that Mr. J. Belfour has presented to us a small volume of “*Fables on Subjects connected with Literature* ;” which, we are told in the title-page, are imitated from the Spanish of Don Tomas de Yriarte ; but which, from an accurate comparison with the original, we can truly aver have at times an imitation so slight and evanescent that we can scarcely trace it. “*Love-Letters to my Wife ; written in the Year 1789, by James Woodhouse* :” which rather evince that the writer has been a good and a happy husband, than a good or a happy poet ; and which is meant to be followed by other volumes of “*Love-Letters*,” in reserve, if the present should meet with the success the author fondly anticipates. “*Blickley Vale, with other Poems, by Nathaniel Howard* ;” a little volume, with frequent gleanings of the genuine rays of Apollo. “*Wallace, or the Vale of Ellerslie, with other Poems, by John Finlay* ;” who seems to be so deeply immersed in the shades of the vale of Ellerslie, as to find “no light, but rather darkness visible ;” excepting, indeed, the *borrowed* lustre which, without any acknowledgment, he freely makes use of from the labours of more radiant bards. “*Poems by Thomas Brown, M. D.* 2 vols. 12mo,” evincing a strange intermixture of sense and nonsense ; of power occasionally to excel, and occasionally to become worthless and insignificant ; a warmth and



energy of imagination, and a want of taste and modulation. "The Shepherd's Boy; being Pastoral Tales: by William Day."—Pastoral tales fit for shepherds' boys alone. "British Purity; or, The World we live in: a Poetic Tale of two Centuries." A satirical attack upon modern times and modern politics, in easy rhyme, but not always allowing us to understand with ease the side of the question that is meant to be ridiculed. "Invasion; a Descriptive and Satirical Poem, by J. Amphlet," who has been induced to anticipate his subject, lest, in the event of its actually taking place, he should "fall in the field of honour unknown and unsung." "The Reign of Fancy, by the author of the Pleasures of Nature;" whom we understand to be Mr. Carey, and who has executed the poem before us upon the same scale of excellence as his past production. And "The Grampians Desolate, by Alexander Campbell;" to which we cannot but wish success, as its profits are to be appropriated to a most useful and benevolent institution for the cultivation of waste land in the Highlands.

Our dramatic productions for the year are altogether ephemeral—and are scarcely designed, we should suppose, even by the authors themselves for a longer term of existence. They are, in almost every instance, moreover, written for particular characters; a degradation to which the muse never should submit, and which, in times of greater energy and dignity, she never has done, nor ever will do. The only piece of this description which is entitled to particular notice is Mr. Cumberland's "Sailor's Daughter;" a comedy in five acts; in which, if we have few of the higher excellencies of the comic

muse, we have less mummary and extravagance than pervade the general efforts of the day. The rest it is sufficient to enumerate in a mere catalogue. "Almahide and Hamet, a Tragedy, by Benjamin Heath Malkin, Esq." altered (*alterée*) from Dryden's "Conquest of Grenada." "The Recal of Momus: by Benjamin Thompson, Esq." appropriately denominated by the writer himself, *a bagatelle*. "The Paragraph; a Musical Entertainment in two Acts: by Prince Hoare:" a *Paragraph* scarcely worth inserting. "Guilty or not Guilty: by Thomas Dibdin:" designed altogether for the stage, and filled with jokes, puns, and temporary allusions. "The Sea-side Hero; a Drama in three Acts: by John Carr, Esq." "The Hunter of the Alps; a Drama interspersed with Music: by Mr. Dimond, Jun."—Pieces which prove that the authors are possessed of better powers than they have actually chosen to evince. "The Soldier's Daughter; a Comedy in five Acts: by A. Cherry, of the Theatre Royal, Drury-Lane:"—evincing that the writer has not been an unobservant student in his own profession: that he knows what comedy should consist of, and can occasionally draw characters with success." "The Counterfeit; a Farce in two Acts: by Andrew Macklin." "Twenty-One; an Operatic Afterpiece, in one Act: by James Wild." "Foul Deeds will Rise; a Musical Drama: by S. J. Arnold:" of all which it is sufficient to observe, that *such things are*.

In our tales and novels we have been far more fortunate. M. Jauffret's "Travels of Rolando" have been translated from the French in 4 vols. 12mo.; and through the



the history of this fictitious character engages the reader in a tour round the world, it cannot fail to communicate to him knowledge of real utility, as well as of considerable variety, in a manner at once entertaining and impressive. Of a description not widely dissimilar is Miss Hamilton's "Memoirs of the Life of Agrippina," which are designed, through the union of fiction and fact, to lead the young or the idle to a general knowledge of Roman history, customs, and characters during the æra of Tiberius. We cannot, however, very cordially approve of this ingraft of imagination upon historic truth; being persuaded that the impression hence produced upon the juvenile mind will be so considerable, that it will be difficult afterwards, even upon a recurrence to real history, to separate from the memory the details of fact from those of fancy: and still less do we approve of the personage Miss Hamilton has chosen for her heroine, whose real character, so far from corresponding, even in the main, with the account of her in the Memoirs before us, was in many instances in direct opposition to it.—M. Lantier's "Travellers in Switzerland," which we have formerly noticed with approbation in our department of Foreign Literature, has been translated into our own tongue; and ranks under the present description of publications. It agreeably developes, in an epistolary form, and by means of imaginary adventures, the history, picturesque scenery, customs and manners of the country to which it refers; and cannot fail to impart much useful instruction. To the same class we may refer "The Duchess of La Valliere; an Historical Romance," translated from

the French of Madame de Genlis, designed to delineate many of the transactions that characterized the age and court of Louis XIV.; and concerning which the author tells us, in the words of her interpreter, that "history is very faithfully followed;" since "though we have added much, we have omitted nothing." Much indeed is added which, in our judgment, ought not to have been; and far too much to allow the writer's assertion—that "history is here very faithfully followed." But we have already noticed this work in its original form.

Of tales or novels indebted solely to the imagination of the writer, we have to enumerate "Heliodora; or the Grecian Minstrel:" translated from the German of Baron Goethe, which, if less impressive than "The Sorrows of Werter," produced by the same writer, is certainly of a less dangerous tendency. The work evinces the hand of a master; has a vast portion of bustle, involution, and soul-harrowing terror; but is spun out to too great a length, and hence becomes tedious towards the close. "The Modern Griselda: a Tale, by Miss Edgeworth."—A tale designed to prove how easily it is possible for a woman who possesses the entire affections of her husband, to lose them by degrees in consequence of her own abuse of the power she has acquired; and how difficult it is to recover what she has thus absurdly thrown away. Miss Edgeworth writes with her usual spirit and attention to real life.—"Aubrey: a Novel, by R. C. Dallas, Esq."—a novel well written, and, saving a few inconsistencies, replete with good moral instruction. It is addressed to M. Bertrand de Moleville, of whose political labours,



bours, our readers may remember an English version to have been made a few years since from M. Bertrand's manuscripts; and it is designed in some measure, as he tells us himself, to exhibit "the wonderful resignation and prudence of every class of the emigrants from France. In descri-

bing," continues he, "the difficulty of submitting to the reverses of fortune, I recollected their accommodating their desires and wants to their means." A striking portraiture of the late unfortunate Mr. Cowper is introduced into the body of the work, and not without considerable effect.

## A P P E N D I X.

### GERMANY, ITALY, &c.

"**A** GEOGRAPHICAL, Historical, and Political Description of the Empire of Germany, Holland, the Netherlands, Switzerland, Prussia, Italy, Sicily, Corsica, and Sardinia. With a Gazetteer of reference to the principal places in those Countries. Compiled and translated from the German. To which are added, Statistical Tables of all the States of Europe. Translated from the German of J. G. Boetticher, of Königsberg. With a Supplementary Table, showing the changes since the commencement of the present War. Dedicated to their Majesties and Royal Family." 24 Plans, and a three-sheet Map; Royal 4to. 500 pages; 2l. 12s. 6d.; or together with Capt. Chauchard's Maps of the above Countries, on twenty-seven sheets folio, half bound, 8l. 8s. Stockdale, 1800.

An apology may seem necessary for inserting at this time a critique on a book published in 1800. But although this publication of Chauchard's Maps has acquired such well-merited and great celebrity in England, yet we had hitherto omitted to observe that it was accompanied by the volume now un-

der our consideration; and maps in general do not come within the meaning of our Register. At the present time, however, that the continental affairs of Europe attract the notice of the universe, by the tremendous positions of the combined and French armies, our review of this performance will not, late as the period is, be altogether out of time.

The book commences with Germany, its situation, boundaries, extent, soil, and productions, which, being so well known, occupy a very small portion. The history which follows is also concise, but extremely satisfactory, and the arrangement is then continued in the following order:—Population, language, commerce, universities, arts, sciences, &c.; form of government, and religions; division of the country into circles, and an account of each circle separately; Bohemia, Moravia, Lusatia, and Silesia are succinctly described; and the German history concludes with the independent districts belonging to none of the circles.

Upon a similar plan of arrangement the other countries are next sketched in outline, which, however



ever, is rendered interesting by the occasional record of historic facts, yet recent in the recollection of us all, and which tend in a material degree to enliven the dullness of geographical nicety. In this part of the work is a most capital three-sheet map of Germany, Italy, &c. from the North Sea to the Mediterranean. The mention in the title-page that this work was compiled and translated from the German excited some degree of surprise, at least, if not of doubt; but when we had perused a few pages of the geographical reference or gazetteer of such places as appear upon the map, in letters of a moderately large size, all doubt was done away. We certainly had expected to have found this part of the work, in particular, little better than a servile copy of the errors which disgrace every gazetteer extant, in England. Here indeed very great praise is due. We assuredly have no work in this part of Europe that contains so accurate an account of the different districts, cities, towns, &c. of Germany and Italy; or, more correctly speaking, within the compass of the London edition of Chauchard's maps, as this. The inaccuracies of former compilers here seem to have been all rectified; nor could it have been done without intense labour. We do not indeed profess to have actually referred to the map, to compare the longitude and latitude of every place enumerated in the gazetteer, but we have referred to a very great number, and find that the reference uniformly agrees with the map, which must, in some respect, be considered as a corroboration, if not a test, of the accuracy of both.

With such a guide before them, it is by no means creditable to our modern gazetteerists, that they daily issue new editions, equally incorrect with those which have gone before, when, inasmuch as this book is concerned, they need only compare to correct. Interspersed throughout the "geographical reference," which is a term much too modest for the best gazetteer that we have of the countries it comprehends, are twenty-three plans of the principal cities and fortifications of the continent. That of the almost impregnable fortress of Mantua, though small, is by far the best that we have met with in this country. They are all on a sufficient scale to convey satisfactory information to the mass of politicians who lay siege to forts in their closets, and manœuvre armies at their breakfast tables.

We now come to the statistical tables\*, which form a valuable addition, and, to use the words of the translator, who seems thoroughly to understand the subject before him, "suggest a few observations, which, as they might not at first sight occur to every reader, the translator thinks himself justified in laying before the public.

"The population, commerce, and wealth of most countries, are continually either on the increase or the decline. The nature of things precludes the possibility of their being permanent or long stationary at any one point.

"The boundaries and forms of government are not subject to that imperceptible and constant change which takes place in commerce, population, &c.: but on the other hand they are liable to sudden and

\* These are sold separately, price 1*l.* 1*s.*



violent revolutions; and, in fact, such is the mutability of human affairs, that the most perfect and accurate statistical tables must, in the course of a very short space of time, become incorrect.

“Our German author fixed on such a fortunate period for his compilation as may not probably occur again for many years, in consequence of the unexampled revolutions which, since that time, have taken place on the continent.

“With respect to the present situation of Europe, it must be regarded as a temporary one; and as it has been the uniform practice of nations not to consider any augmentation or diminution of territory as durable, until stipulated for or guaranteed by a treaty of peace; upon the same principle it is impossible to have any statistical account posterior to the commencement of the French revolution.

“For the above reasons these statistical tables may be considered as the latest that could be composed; at the same time aware of the surprising changes which have happened since they were compiled: and with a view to give in one publication every possible information, a table has been annexed, containing accurate statements of the losses or acquisitions of Great Britain, France, Germany, Holland, the Swiss cantons, and Sardinia; the Papal territory, and other states of Italy; including Malta, Naples, Poland, Russia, Spain, and the Turkish dominions in Africa; the changes in their government, revenues, forces, commerce, &c., till the commencement of the campaign of 1799. So that, without making any alteration in the excellent tables of the German author, the present state of Europe is exhibited as precisely as the fluctuating and confused situation of

affairs will admit of, or as the uncertain nature of the durability of such tables requires.

“Should Europe return to something like its former situation, these statistical tables will be found an excellent guide in calculating the immense expense, devastation, and bloodshed, incurred by this horrible war; for by their means Europe, before and after it, may be compared and determined. But on the other hand, should it never return to a state similar to its former one, it must be esteemed a fortunate circumstance that these tables were published previous to the destruction of that system which has prevailed for so many centuries, concerning which it will always be important to possess accurate information.

“As to the present state of European nations, though very changeable, it is extremely interesting. Great Britain, in particular, appears as the most conspicuous figure in the grand picture of European politics. For her was reserved the glory of preserving Europe, and all civilized society, from the impious and fanatic attacks of furious anarchists; or, at least, of having almost singly, and unsupported, made an attempt for that purpose, at an expense exceeded only by her resources, her fortitude, and magnanimity. Thus, in the additional table, the increasing commerce, the great naval and military armaments of Britain, &c. &c. are given with that accuracy which the importance of the subject deserves.”

An analysis has now been given of the contents of a book of great and general interest to this country, wherein every inhabitant not only possesses, but exercises, the right of



of freely commenting upon the transactions, foreign or domestic, in which those who direct its government, take, or are supposed to take, any part. We do not hesitate to recommend it to the perusal of our readers, the greater part of whom most probably already have it in their possession; as a necessary appendage to the library of a political reasoner.

Although the title might be thought to comprehend the utmost extent of what the work contains, that is by no means the fact. No inconsiderable portion of France is included in the alphabetical reference, as well as an account of the interesting island of Malta, &c.

To sum up the whole merits of this work, the title promises nothing that it does not perform most fully; and so accurate, extensive, laborious, useful, and minute a map of those vast territories was never before completed in the British dominions.

Were any thing yet requisite to stamp the authority and reputation of the maps, for accuracy; it was done most unequivocally by the ARCHDUKE CHARLES of AUSTRIA, and GENERAL MOREAU, when they concluded the armistice which preceded the treaty of Luneville, made on the 9th of February, 1801. In one of the articles of

that armistice it was agreed that, should any dispute occur respecting the line of demarcation, it should be settled by a reference to Chaudard's Maps, which were thereby clearly held up to Europe as those upon which the greatest reliance might be placed.

HIS BRITANNIC MAJESTY indeed seems to have been impressed with a sense of the magnitude of the undertaking, for the subscription is not only honoured by HIS GRACIOUS SANCTION, but also by that of HIS ROYAL CONSORT, BROTHER, SISTER, and indeed ALL THE ROYAL FAMILY, amounting to twenty-four. The number of the other subscribers, amongst whom we observe the Archduke Charles, is about 3000. The preface thus, with much propriety, concludes—"Great, indeed, beyond all example has been the countenance given to this undertaking, and equal to such encouragement is the publisher's desire to evince that it has not been bestowed on an object unworthy of it."

As this publication seems equally to belong to the domestic and foreign department of literature, and yet somewhat distinct from both, we have preferred to introduce it under a separate head, rather than to infringe the uniformity of the other classes.



# FOREIGN LITERATURE

Of the Year 1804.

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## CHAPTER I.

### BIBLICAL AND THEOLOGICAL.

**W**E shall adhere to the plan pursued in our Register for last year, and commence this department with the literature of Germany. Professor Paulus has not only published the fourth volume of his "Commentar über des Neuen Testaments," "Commentary on the New Testament;" but has begun a second edition of the earlier volumes; so considerable has been the demand for this work. M. Paulus has been lately, also, advanced to a professional chair in the University of Wirtzburg. M. Schweitzer of Zürich is engaged in a new version of the New Testament; which, from the specimen he has offered to the world, is likely to be a masterly performance: we think, however, from a casual glance, that he will be found too much dependent upon Dathe. Professor Justi of Marburg has given a new translation of what he denominates the "National Songs of the Hebrews:"—an attempt which bears no inconsiderable resemblance to Mr. Green's version of the "Poetical Parts of the Old Testament," both in manner and merit, excepting that it is less comprehensive. M. Schuster, in

imitation of Niemeyer, has published a work intitled "Aeltesten Sagen der Hebräer nach ihren Historischen und Praktischen Gehalte," "The most Ancient Traditions of the Hebrews in an Historical and Practical Point of View." The traditions referred to extend from Gen. i. to Gen. xi. inclusively; and several doubtful points are here followed up with no inconsiderable portion of critical acumen. M. Jahn of Vienna has republished, with various additions and improvements, his "Einleitung in die Schriften des Alten Testaments," "Introduction to the Books of the Old Testament:" while professor Schmidt of Giessen has brought forwards his "Introduction to the New Testament." This last has been acceptably received, and is worthy of the abilities we have ascribed to this industrious theologian in our last retrospect. Professor Thiess has also published, in his retirement at Holstein, the first part of a new Commentary on the Old Testament, of which we shall give a more detailed account when the work has made a further progress.

The inspiration of the sacred scriptures



scriptures is not very fully contended for by the generality of the German divines. They are for the most part, and especially the scriptures of the Old Testament, regarded as national songs, dithyrambic effusions, and fragments of national history, in which fable is often blended with fact, and mythology with real religion. Eichhorn, Rosenmüller, and Paulus, overflow with this idea; and hence the *Hebräische Mythologie des Alten und Neuen Testaments* of professor Bauer of Altdorf, "The Hebrew *Mythology* of the Old and New Testaments:" as also the "Excursen zum Buche Jonas," "Remarks on the Book of Jonas," by M. Goldhorn of Leipsic, designed to disprove the reality of the narrative, and to regard the whole as tradition. The high road to this sort of fancy was led by Mendelssohn and other infidel Jews, who denied the truth of the first two chapters of the history, containing the miracle of the prophet's having been swallowed by an immense fish, and, upon his repentance, released from it uninjured; and was perfected by Geddes and Eichhorn, who abandoned the whole as fictitious. In the same manner we have a "Sammlung abweichender Vorstellungen der Neu-Testamentalischen Schriftsteller über einen und denselben gegenstand," "Collection of Passages in which the Evangelists have given various Representations of the same Event;" a book which surpasses Mr. Evanson's "Dissonance of the Evangelists," and seems to glory in every casual discrepancy, without any fair attempt at reconciliation. Tending, or in our opinion tending, towards the same effect, M. Rosenmüller has been engaged in disseminating Mr. Marsh's hypothesis respecting a common and

original gospel anterior to those now in existence, and from which the present were drawn as from a primitive fountain: and as Mr. Marsh did M. Eichhorn the honour to translate his Introduction to the New Testament into English, M. Rosenmüller has returned the compliment by translating Mr. Marsh's Notes and Additions into German. But it would be an endless labour to designate all the publications in the German and more northern tongues which converge to the same point of diminishing, if not the *authenticity*, at least the *credibility*, of the sacred Scriptures.

That we may not have to return to the subject, we will here state that M. Matthæi of Moscow has published a second edition of his "*Novum Testamentum Græcum*;" in which he has laboured with some success, but with far too much acrimony, to prove that Griesbach has admitted considerably too lax an emendation, and in some measure dangerous to the common text, into his celebrated edition. Griesbach, nevertheless, had obtained success enough to have had the honour of a second edition; as has also his very excellent and classical antagonist, the latter published by Göschen of Leipsic: while Angusti, the coadjutor of Griesbach at Jena, has ventured even beyond the footsteps of his colleague, and has presented to the world the Greek text of the Apocryphal books of the New Testament: another divine having previously printed the first fascicle of his "Sammlung aller bis auf uns gekommenen Apokryphischen Bücher die sich nicht in der Bibel befinden," "Collection of all the Apocryphal Books which have been preserved down to our own times, though rejected from the Bible." We remember having seen a part of Josephus, and an-  
other



other writer or two of the same date, added to these apocryphal books in one or two of the earlier catholic versions, but the translator before us does not push his labours to so considerable an extent, though he might with as much reason engage in the one part of the plan as in the other. We forgot to mention in our last retrospect that M. Birch of Copenhagen has lately offered a new Latin version of the New Testament; which has the general character of being a respectable performance. We have now to state that, smitten with the same passion for unauthenticated records, he has added to his edition a *Codex Apocryphus Novi Testamenti*.

Among the works which pretend to *theological* rather than to *biblical* criticism, properly so called, we should not forbear to notice the following:—"Syst. Einleitung in die Religions-Philosophie," "Systematic Introduction to the Philosophy of Religion," by M. Stützmann of Göttingen—a work of some research, and which has acquired for the author no inconsiderable portion of reputation. "Handbuch der Kirchengeschichte," "Compendium of Ecclesiastical History," by M. Schmid of Giessen whose abilities we have had former occasions of adverting to. Professor Plank's "Geschichte der Entstehung und Ausbildung der Christlichen Gesellschaft's verfassung im Römischen Staate," "History of the Origin and Progressive Formation of the Constitution of the Christian Church in the Roman Empire," exhibiting an investigation extensively indagated, and liberally conducted. "Vates's Synchronic Tables of Church History;" "Scherer's New Magazine for Biblical Literature," printed at

Hesse Darmstadt, and generally approved by theological critics; and "Ammon's Geschichte der Praktischen Theologie" "History of Practical Theology," from the Göttingen press; of which the first volume only has hitherto been published, and contains the history of Homiletics from the period of Huss to that of Luther. M. Sinsenis of Zerbst has also published a small volume entitled "Des Menschen im umkreise seiner Pflichten" "Concerning Man in the Circle of his Duties," in which the morality of the christian religion is accurately and perspicuously displayed: M. Bauer of Altdorf has presented his "Bibliche Moral," or, "Bible Morality;" and a relation of the late M. Schmid of Jena, a posthumous volume of this justly celebrated professor, denominated "Christliche Ascetics," "Christian Ascetics"—both tending to the same effect as M. Sinsenis's work, and both possessed of considerable merit.

The list of Sermons, whether in volumes or published singly, is very numerous; but few of them are entitled to distinct notice from their intrinsic merit. The relations of the late excellent Zollikofer, taking advantage of the popularity which is still attached to his name, have brought forth two additional volumes, making the *fourteenth* and *fifteenth*, of his discourses. We trust they will here pause: for the volumes before us very clearly discover that the study has been too closely gleaned for the fair reputation of the author. M. Collins's "Amtsvorträge," "Sermons on various Occasions," are elegant and impressive, but declamatory rather than argumentative. "Sermons preached before their Prussian Ma-

jesties,



jesties, by M. Pischon;" and "On Various, and Important Occasions, by M. Sack, chief preacher to the king at Berlin;" of which we prefer those by the latter writer, are more plain and simple in their diction, yet more earnest and animated in the manner in which they are composed. M. Ammon of Göttingen, to whose indefatigable labours we have just paid a due tribute of respect, has also published an excellent volume of discourses, under the title of "Christliche Religions Vorträge im Geiste Jesu," "Christian Sermons in the Spirit of Jesus:" while, for those who pretend to a greater degree of liberty in their explanation of certain facts and doctrines in the Bible, M. Häfili of Dessau has submitted to the world his "Vier Predigten über die Protestantisch Christliche Freiheit," "Four Sermons on Christian Freedom in the Protestant Churches;" and M. Drasecke of Mölln, his "Predigten für denkende verehrer Jesus," "Sermons for the *free-thinking* (or, as it is the fashion to denominate it among ourselves, *rational*) Worshippers of Jesus."

In our last retrospect we noticed that a spirit of liberality and intercourse was considerably increasing between the catholics and protestants of the German states: and we can now positively affirm, with no small degree of satisfaction, that various works have been brought forwards, and with considerable impression upon the public mind, for the express purpose of subverting a multiplicity of unimportant differences between the two churches, and of mutually advancing their respective votaries to a state of nearer approximation. Professor Schlegel of Griefswald has led the way in this benevolent un-

dertaking: and the cause has been considerably assisted by M. Planke's "Abriss einer Historischen und Vergleichenden Darstellung der Dogmatischen Systeme," "Historical and Comparative Sketch of the Principal Christian Sects;" M. Tittman's "Neueste Geschichte der Religion und Theologie" "Newest History of Religion and Theology;" and various other publications of the same stamp. The catholics of Bavaria seem to have been most influenced by the discussion, and have made more considerable efforts to throw off the unessential but burdensome trappings and manacles of popery than those of any other electorate. In the mean time the Jesuits have spared no pains to revive their order, and the La-Trappists have boasted of having augmented their numbers. It has been the object of M. Wolf of Leipsic, to demonstrate the danger of encouraging the former, and of M. Leclerc, in his "Enthüllten Trappisten," to expose the misanthropy of the latter; while, perhaps, with more considerable success, than either, the liberal and learned Abbé Glaz, whose convent has lately been suppressed among many others by the express order of his government, has in various publications endeavoured to tranquillize the consciences of the Monks and Nuns who have hereby been once more compelled to intermix with the world, and has admitted that these institutions, though sometimes productive of good, were often seminaries and asylums for almost every evil.

While such have been the general effects to harmonize catholics and protestants; attempts have not been wanting to lay the foundation for other accordances and unions. Several schemes have been



been advanced for assimilating the Roman Catholic church with the Greek; and still more for cementing the church of Calvin with that of Luther: a fact which is not unlikely to take place very speedily in Baden, under the auspices of the government itself, which has stepped forwards to promote the proposed uniformity. M. Planke, who has taken an active part in the discussion of the subject, has entered at large into its difficulties and facilities in his work "Über die Trennung und Wieder-vereinigung" &c., "On the Separation and Re-union of the Principal Christian Sects, with an Historic View of the Circumstances which gave rise to the Separation of the Lutherans and Calvinists in Germany, and of the Attempts which have been made to re-integrate them."

The philosophy of the day, too, the *pure criticism* or *transcendental philosophy* of the different ramifications of the Kantian school, has held out a friendly hand towards the professors of the Gospel; who in many instances have too readily, we think, accepted the proffered alliance: and hence the "Christian Ethics" of professor Rostock, as well as the "Lehrbuch der Christlichen Moral," "Elements of Christian Morals," of professor Vogel, are expressly founded upon human reason as developed in the Kantian hypothesis. This, so far as we have examined it, is an union by no means likely to subserve the cause of either sect: the gospel can gain nothing from *transcendental philosophy*,—nor can the latter amalgamate with the simplicity of the former *as a science*: they may both be professed by the same man, and both be acted upon, as the same man may be a politician and a poet; but their intermarriage and assimilation can

be productive of nothing but confusion and discord.

The idea of propagating the gospel though foreign and barbarous countries seems to have been as prevalent in Germany, and the neighbouring countries of its northern borders as in England. In various instances we believe that this benevolent object has been pursued conjointly: and hence we have had, published in Low Dutch, by M. Brake, a Batavian divine of exemplary character, a collection of Historic Memoirs relative to the Missionary Expeditions in England, Holland, and Germany, translated principally from English and German resources. The sect which has chiefly engaged in this pious office on the continent is the Moravian, or that of the United Brethren: their central point of assemblage is at Barby; and here it is that M. Risler has printed his "Erzählungen aus der ältern und neuern Geschichte der Brüderkirche," "Selections from Ancient and Modern Histories of the United Brethren:" as also the regular narratives of the proceedings of the united bretheren in relation to their evangelical missions to the East Indies, the sixtieth number of which has already issued from the press; and from which indeed the above selections of M. Risler have been chiefly extracted. It was from this church that the English evangelical missionary society received, if we mistake not, Dr. Vanderkemp who has been so successfully employed in its service, as we have already related, in the back settlements of the Cape of Good Hope; and it is to this church also that the missionary society of the established church of England has applied for adventurous legates.

While



While neither Spain, Portugal, nor Italy has offered us any thing worthy of individual enumeration, biblicism as a science has occupied but little attention in France. The religion which has once more become an engine of this last state, has merely presented to the hands of its votaries new editions of books that were formerly in esteem, and of which many ought never to have sunk in the public estimation.

We have had, however, from an anonymous writer, a “*Sommaire des Principales Preuves de la Vérité et de l’Origine Surnaturelle de la Révélation Chrétienne*,” “Summary of the Principal Proofs of the Truth and Supernatural Origin of the Christian Religion;” which is a serious and impressive publication; rather too much imbued with a spirit of melancholy, apparently from personal sufferings during the late tremendous troubles in France, but not the less interesting, nor the less argumentative on this account.

Nor ought we, by any means, to lose sight of M. Villers’s “*Essai sur l’Esprit et l’Influence de la Réformation de Luther*,” “Essay on the Spirit and Influence of the Reformation of Luther.” This essay evinces considerable attention to the period of which it treats, and is drawn up with much strength of judgment as well as liberality of mind. It owes its birth to a prize question proposed by the National Institute to this effect;—“What has been the influence of the reformation of Luther upon the political situation of the different European states, and upon the progress of knowledge?” Our author, far, however, from bounding his views by the immediate æra of Luther, peeps considerably beyond into the growing state and situation of Europe, by which alone Luther himself was

enabled to effect his important and beneficial purposes. “The reformation itself,” says he, “is evidently nothing more than a necessary result of other circumstances which preceded it; an event of the sixteenth century with which, to adopt an expression of Leibnitz, the fifteenth was pregnant, or, at most, the cataract of the river.” He divides his considerations into two heads: under the first contemplating the results of the reformation with respect to general politics; and, under the second, with respect to general literature and philosophy. That it was a fruitful source of many important changes both in the politics and literature of Europe, and consequently of the world at large, we very readily admit; but when the formation of the American republic, and of the present government in France are severally referred to it, as well as various other events almost as remote and unconnected, our readers, we believe, will be disposed to think with ourselves, that the learned writer has travelled in some degree beyond his record, and discovered a progeny for the reformation which it must find no small difficulty in being able to affiliate.

Independently of this essay, M. Villers has also written, and expressly, indeed, as an appendix to it; an “*Esquisse de l’Histoire de l’Eglise*,” “Sketch of the History of the Church, from its Founder to the Reformation.” In this dissertation, as in the former, there is more of politics than of religion: the characters of our Saviour and of his apostles are drawn indeed, with decency and respect, but they are rather regarded as political than religious reformers; and a comparison is hence instituted, not between Christ and Moses, but between



between Christ and Julius Cæsar. A similar "History of the Reformation" has been published by professor Heeren of Göttingen, entitled "Kleine Historische Schriften;" but its plan embraces other reformation as well.

Upon crossing the Atlantic, we perceive that America is still rather supplied from the British press, than a contributor to the press from her own powers. Among the most important of her indigenous labours, we have to notice a posthumous publication of the "Works of Dr. William Smith, late Provost of the College of Philadelphia," in two volumes octavo, consisting of sermons, essays, and occasional criticisms, many of which last might have been omitted without loss to any thing but the size of the volumes:" "A Companion to the Fasts and Festivals of the Episcopal

Church," published anonymously; but chiefly selected from Nelson's excellent work on the same subject: "A Companion to the Altar," by Mr. Hobart, considerably indebted to the same source: "An Ecclesiastical History of New England," designed chiefly for the use of the Baptist persuasion; of which the author, Mr. Backus of Massachusetts, is a member, and to whose individual concerns and afflictions it is limited: Dr. Young's "Universal Restoration of all Men, proved by Reason, Scripture, and Common Sense," which evinces more benevolence of heart than legitimacy of argument; and a few single sermons upon particular occasions, by Dr. Livingston, Dr. Moore, bishop of the Protestant Episcopal Church of New York, Dr. White, and Mr. Alden, which offer nothing for individual detail.

## CHAPTER II.

### PHYSICAL AND MATHEMATICAL.

A POSTHUMOUS "History of Medicine," in two volumes octavo, the work of M. Tourtelle, Professor in the University of Besançon, and Professor in the School of Physic at Strasburg, has been published by his son. Its range is from the origin of medicine to the commencement of the eighteenth century; and consequently merely retreads the ground which has been so frequently trodden over, and so minutely beaten before, as to leave scarcely any point of importance to be gleaned of which the world has not been long in possession; and especially in consequence of the popular productions of Castel-

lanus, Le Clerc, Freind, and Good. The history is divided into the four periods; 1st, of the antients, comprising the entire space from the earliest annals of medicine to the commencement of the Arabian æra; 2dly, the period that extends from the destruction of the Alexandrian library in the sixth, to the beginning of the fifteenth century; 3dly, from the beginning of the fifteenth to the close of the sixteenth century, and consequently including the first dawn of medical knowledge upon its resurrection, till it had acquired some considerable pretensions to scientific arrangement: 4thly, the whole of the



the seventeenth century, comprising the history of Van Helmont, Sanctorius, Des Cartes, Sydenham, Mead, Hoffman, Boerhaave, Stahl, and other learned physicians of the same epoch. The work would have been more valuable if it had extended a century lower; and its value would have been still further augmented, had it been less a biography of medical practitioners than a well digested history of the progress of medical science and opinions; ideas, however, distinct in themselves, and which cannot, expediently, be treated of in the same publication.

M. Salmade, member of the academic societies of sciences, natural history, and medicine, has commenced a work of which the first volume only is announced, entitled "*Precis d' Observations Pratiques sur les Maladies de la Lymphé; &c.*" "Summary of Practical Observations on the Diseases of the Lymphatic Vessels, on the Rickets and Scrofula;" and M. Pomme has re-edited, with considerable improvements, two popular works first introduced to the public four or five years ago, the one entitled "*Mémoires et Observations Cliniques sur l'Abûs du Quinquina;*" and the other "*Traité des Affections Vapeureuses des deux Sexes; ou, Maladies Nervouses; vulgairement appellées Maux des Nerfs.*"

M. Brieude, of the Medical Society of Paris, has published, in two volumes octavo, "*A Treatise on Phthisis Pulmonalis:*" in which he directs his chief attention to the origin of the complaint. He then divides it into *acute* and *chronic* with regard to the duration of the disease, and *tracheal* and *pumonary* in relation to its particular seat. His *Thesaurus Medicaminum* is but small, and for the most part feeble,

excepting when he recurs to mercury, which in its muriatic state, and exhibited in the form of syrup, he regards as highly efficacious in stimulating the secretory organs, removing obstructions in the lungs, and resolving tubercles of every kind: he hence believes it to be highly beneficial in every species and stage of the disease, excepting the colliquative. Into its different species, however, he has not entered with any accurate discrimination; and he is palpably defective in the science of pneumatic chemistry.

M. Reich's "*Treatise on Fever and its general Treatment,*" published originally in the German tongue, has been translated into Latin by M. Kölreuter, and printed at Carlsruhe. The translator has appended four excellent memoirs of his own; on vital power; on certain cases of practical medicine; on delirium and mania; on epidemic putrid fever.

In our last retrospect we noticed that the Brunonian or rather Brownéan hypothesis had continued to excite much controversy, not only in Germany, but in Italy and Spain. In the first of these countries the dispute is still persevered in with unabating acrimony: yet so many forcible objections have been offered against it, that it is professed by few of its votaries without some degree of modification, Röschlaub, Frank, Pfaff, and Van Hoven, are amongst the warmest of its adherents: while professor Kilian of the university of Bamberg has been fighting it, not merely by general opposition, but by advancing the very questionable theory of Schelling as a more rational and intelligible system. This Schellingian system has also been started in Sweden by M. Troxler, a physician of some celebrity, who finished his



his academical studies at Jena, in a work entitled "Versuche in der Organischen Physic," "Essays on Organic Physics." It is here, likewise, designed to combat the Brownéan hypothesis of excitability.

From various observations in professor Metzger's "Gerichtlich-medecinishe Abhandlung," "Dissertations on Medical Jurisprudence," and more especially in an express treatise on the danger of the yellow fever of America spreading in Europe, and the most effectual means of preventing it, it should seem that the idea that this dreadful malady is not contagious, or in other words that it is a mere topical or acclimating affection, is not the general opinion of the continent. We perceive in America, "A Collection of Facts; interspersed with Observations on the Nature, Causes, and Cure of the Yellow Fever," by Dr. Ruston; written with a view of confirming the same opinion. This work, however, which is published in the form of letters to the inhabitants of the United States, and has only closed what the author calls his *first part*, has now no prospect of being completed, in consequence of his premature death. The work institutes a comparison between the yellow fever and various other plagues and pestilences, from that of Athens described by Thucydides, to that of London in 1665.

The cow-pox does not appear to have excited quite so much perturbation in other countries, as it has done of late in England: it seems to be advancing with an easy and gradual progress; yet its inefficiency, together with a variety of evils dependent upon it, have been attempted to be exposed by Dr. Caldan, in a memoir read before

the academy at Padua, exhibiting a variety of unsuccessful cases that had occurred in the Friuli. This memoir, however, has been replied to with some warmth by Dr. Demetrio Neranzi of Padua, Drs. Miotti and Mazzaroli of Udina, and especially Dr. Pegrani of the same place in his Ragguaglio della Vaccina in Friuli. It is the object of the combatants to prove that the evils referred to by Dr. Caldan had no existence, or were much exaggerated in his relation of them. A little opposition appears also to be still exhibited in France, as we judge from various publications which have reached us, and especially "Quelques Observations importantes," &c. "Several curious and important Observations relative to the Vaccine Inoculation in particular and the Medical Art in general," by M. Jonard, an intelligent physician of the department of the allies. M. Jonard is a most strenuous advocate for the Vaccina; he combats every mischief which is said to attach to it; and not only denies that it ever can lay the foundation of any secondary complaint, but asserts that it facilitates and effects a cure of pre-existing maladies. The sober defenders of the practice will not, however, be obliged to him for this sort of unnecessary and injudicious support.

"Leçons du Cit. Boyer sur les Maladies des Os," "The Lectures of M. Boyer on Diseases of the Bones." This is an useful practical work in two octavo volumes, drawn up by M. Richeraud, at the lecturer's express request, and digested into a regular treatise. It is divided into two parts: the first, offering an account of the diseases which affect the substance and continuity of bones; the second, such as attack their articulations or connexion.



neurons. The best chapter is on the white-swellings. In that on necrosis, the authors discover a palpable acquaintance with Mr. Russell's valuable treatise on this subject.

M. Vincenzo Malacarne of Padua, in his "Ricordi dell' Anatomia, Chirurgica, &c." "Records Anatomical and Chirurgical respecting the Head and Neck," has discovered himself to be an excellent anatomist and a skilful operator. The present work, which comprises two volumes octavo, includes several minor publications by the same author of an anterior date. In the first section of the first volume he treats of the external parts of the head: and of the internal in the second. The same order is pursued in the second volume, with additional and minuter remarks.

In Germany, M. Blumenbach has completed and published his "Manual of Comparative Anatomy," which, if not equal to the more operose works of Camper and Cuvier, will be found highly useful as a book of easy reference; and M. Sömmerring has published a set of excellent plates of the human eye, "Icones Oculi Humani." M. Thelow of Erfurt has commenced a series of "Descriptions of remarkable pathologico-anatomical subjects," under the title of "Beschreibungen Merkwürdiger Pathologisch-anatomischer Gegenstände," of which the first number only has been offered to the public: and a society of able practitioners have given notice of publishing, at Halle, a "Journal for Anatomical Varieties." The cranioscopy of Dr. Gall seems to be gaining credit on the continent although with various modifications. The chief publications on this subject are by

Hagedorn, Leune and Walther; to which may be added the anatomical figures of Loder, which are now completed, and cannot but be acceptable to the medical and surgical student.

In the field of pharmacy we meet with little worthy of distinct enumeration. M. Tromsdorf of Erfurt has republished his "Lehrbuch der Pharmaceutischen Chemie." "Manual of Pharmaceutic Chemistry," as also his "Apothekerschule" "Tabular Instructions for Apothecaries;" and M. Bucholz of the same city has edited his "Gendris der Pharmacie, &c." "Elements of Pharmacy in conjunction with Chemistry:" but there is little in either that can promise them an extensive or pre-eminent fame. There is something more valuable in M. Rivet's "Dictionnaire Raisonné de Pharmacie." "Descriptive Dictionary of Chemical, Theoretical, and Practical Pharmacy," published in two volumes at Paris, and which might perhaps answer in an English version. M. Parmentier has also compiled his "Code Pharmaceutique," for the use of the civil hospitals, by order of the minister of the interior: but it is in many respects unworthy of his abilities. The divisions are the usual ones: the list of materia medica precedes: the officinal preparations follow; and what the French style the *magistral* constitute the next class. M. Parmentier has offered his reforms with a timid and sparing hand, but his introductions to the different classes of medicines will be found valuable. M. Beau-poil has published some important "Inquiries ("Recherches Medico-Chimiques") into the Virtues and Principles of Cantharides," in which



he has successfully followed up the experiments of Thouvenel introduced into the *Annals of Chemistry*. We wish much that we had space or time to analyse these useful indagations.

In scientific and practical chemistry, M. Cadet has published an able dictionary in four volumes octavo. It includes the new theories and language, and on these accounts is superior to the present *Chemical Dictionary* of our own countryman Nicholson. The Paris "New Dictionary of Natural History" is also completed. It extends to twenty-four octavo volumes; and is not more full than interesting.

The favourable report of M. La Croix to the National Institute, upon the merits of S. Dandolo's "*Fondamenti della Scienza Chimico-Physica*," "*The Foundations of Philosophic Chemistry applied to the Formation of Bodies, and the Phenomena of Nature*," has produced a second edition of this excellent work at Milan. Professor Winterl has published a smaller and more practical work at Pest, in Lower Hungary, entitled "*Introduction to the Chemistry of the Nineteenth Century*;" which would be more valuable, if several of the results it contains were less suspicious, and the author's boast of converting flint into pot-ash could be supported by sufficient experiments.

Gmelin of Göttingen has also re-imprinted his very useful "*Grundriss*," or "*Outlines of Chemistry*;" Scherer's *Chemical Journal* is entitled to respectable notice; but above all the "*Allgemeines Journal der Chemie*," "*General Journal of Chemistry*," by M. Trommsdorff, which is to be occasionally

enriched by contributions from Klaproth, Hermbstädt, Scherer, Richter, and others of equal celebrity.

The science of Galvanism has been followed up in Germany in many instances with considerable success; but from the mere love of novelty and an undue force of imagination it has absurdly, at times, been confused with Perkinism and animal magnetism. The best histories of Galvanism and its most extraordinary experiments have been compiled by Trommsdorff and Pfaff.

Spalanzani's posthumous, but very valuable "*Memoirs on Respiration*," published at Geneva, by M. Senebier, we have already noticed in our account of its English version. No work in natural history has lately appeared before us possessed of equal merit, both on account of accuracy and extent of experiment, and ingenuity of reasoning. Sonnini has been long engaged in publishing a new edition of "*Buffon's Natural History*:" it is now nearly completed, and will extend to, at least, a hundred-and-twenty octavo volumes. He has been fortunate in his coadjutors: and the additional matter brings down this comprehensive compilation to the latest discoveries. M. Lacépède, who found himself incapable of introducing the whole of his observations upon cetaceous fishes in his general ichthyologic system, has now published their "*Natural History*" in a separate work. The whale or cetaceous class forms a connecting link between other classes of fishes and the mammalia: while their element is that common to the former, their structure corresponds to that of the latter. M. Steinbuch of

Furth



Furth, in his "Analecten Neur Beobachtungen, &c." "Collection of New Observations and Inquiries in Natural Science," has trodden, sed haud æquis passibus, in the path of Spalanzani: he has given, however, an account of another vibrio; and some not unimportant observations on the revivification of animals dried for six months. From the MSS. of the late professor Hermann of Strasburg, a fascicle of "Zoological Observations," and another of "Apterologic Memoirs," have been published, containing many valuable notices. M. Ochsenmeimer has given a minute description of the "Schmetterlinge Sachsens," "Papillions of Saxony;" and M. Reubel, the votary of Schelling, a "Pflanzen und Thier-Physiologie," "Physiology of Animals and Plants."

The laws and structure of vegetables have been investigated in a variety of excellent publications. The "Illustrationes Plantarum imperfecte vel nondum cognitaram," by M. Pallas, is a work highly creditable to his industry. Willdenow has added several admirable opuscles to his former labours: the "Hortus Berolinensis" is growing considerably under his hands: he has written a most entertaining "Introduction to the Study of Botany without a Guide," "Anleitung zum selbststudium der Botanik," as well as a book entitled "Botanik für Frauersimmer," "Botany for the Ladies." Professor Sprengel of Halle has published volume the third of his "Anleitung zur Kenntniss der Gewächse," "Introduction to the Knowledge of Plants;" which contains observations upon the cryptogamia. M. Kohlhaase has given an extensive "Description of Poisonous Plants," and has success-

fully employed the new invention of marble plates for his drawings.

M. Thomas has produced from the Paris press the first number of his "Histoire de Végétaux, &c." "History of Vegetables collected in the Islands of Mauritius and Bourbon." This number contains ten plants: and the author's object is to describe and delineate the figures of such only as constitute new genera, or render the genera of anterior authors more perfect. From the pen of M. Ventenat we have received a very choice and valuable work in his "Description of Plants either entirely new or hitherto but little known, cultivated in the Garden of J. M. Cels, with figured Plates." The proprietor and describer are both members of the national institute: the former has been engaged during the last thirty years in procuring exotics from every region at a vast expense, and he has been highly successful. The work consists of ten fascicles, each of which offers ten distinct plants: they are exquisitely designed by Redonté, and engraven as well by Sellier. We omitted to notice in our last Register that Dr. Barton, one of the professors in the university of Pennsylvania, had consented to compress and rearrange his lectures on the vegetable kingdom, and to publish them under the title of "Elements of Botany." It is a work of considerable ability, and we have met with none that confers more credit on American literature. We have now to notice that it has since been re-edited in our own country, by a gentleman well qualified for the task, who has appended an addition of British examples, and occasional notes. But the most important work which has reached us upon this subject, either from the old or



the new world, is M. Mirbell's *Traité d'Anatomie et de Physiologie Végétales*. The new facts it unfolds, and especially from the unpublished observations of Humboldt, are equally curious and important; and, though in itself but a manual extending to not more than two volumes in octavo, it supplies, by its comprehensive survey, the deficiencies of Du Hamel and Senebier. The first volume, and part of the second contain the anatomy and physiology of vegetation. A methodic vocabulary follows; and the work closes with a satisfactory explanation of the systems of Tournefort, Linnéus, and Jussieu. A third volume is promised, which is to unfold a history of botanic science, and offer various criticisms on the different systems advanced.

In the department of mineralogy the public is largely indebted to M. de Launy, for his very excellent "*Minéralogie des Anciens*;" lately printed at Brussels, in two volumes octavo. The author takes a wide and elaborate retrospect of all the knowledge of the antients, not only on the subject of mineralogy, but on every thing connected with it. He steers a middle course, in many of his opinions, between Buffon and Gmelin. We have only to wish that his arrangement had been a little more perfect. Haüy's "*Minéralogie*," so highly entitled to be naturalized in every language of polished life, has been rendered into German by M. Karsten, member of the board of mines at Berlin, and could not have fallen into the hands of a more able translator. Professor Ludwig, of Leipsic, has published a "*Handbuch de Mineralogie*," "*Compendium of Mineralogy*;" and the "*Anfangsgründe der Mineralogie*" of the same philosopher, has

reached a second edition, which is augmented by the latest discoveries, and is hence rendered one of the most useful books in the science. M. Schwabe, of Jena, has written a neat "*Einleitung*," "*Introduction to the History of Mineralogy*," in which a variety of important questions are proposed and perspicaciously solved. M. Bertrand, whose labours, often valuable but more frequently fanciful, we have had numerous occasions of adverting to, under the title of "*Nouveaux Principes de Géologie, Mineralogie*," &c. "*New Principles of Geology, Mineralogy, Physical Geography, compared with, and opposed to the Systems of Antient and Modern Philosophers to the Time of Delametherie*," has attempted to introduce a new general theory, which is rather Neptunian than Plutonic, or in other words, rather inclines to that of aqueous solution than vitreous fusion. It is pleasantly composed, but bears the common characteristics of his prior works.

Agricultural chemistry is considerably indebted to M. Hermstädt, of Berlin, for a collection he has lately made of the best original German, or translated treatises upon this subject. M. Leopold, in his "*Agricola*," has also furnished a work of considerable excellence, comprising every branch of rural economy: upon which department M. Gaudich has likewise published his fourth volume, entitled "*Nebersicht der ganzer Landwisthschaft*," "*Entire Survey of Agriculture*;" and M. Pross, the sixth volume of his *Handbuch*, or "*Manual of Practical Husbandry*;" the progress of which works it is now sufficient to observe without criticizing their merits. But it is impossible to present even a catalogue of all the publications



publications of this description entitled to notice which have appeared on the continent as general systems, or as relating to distinct electorates or provinces. Suffice it to say, that we have met with few remarks that can afford much information to our own agriculturists, who appear to excel the different nations on the continent in nothing more than in their general tillage and husbandry. In Mecklenburg, Livonia, Bohemia, and many other domains, we are happy to perceive the establishment of agricultural societies, in some measure similar to the institution of our own board, and actuated by the same laudable and benevolent spirit.

In the important science of inland navigation, we meet with no attempts equal to those in our own country; nor with many on that of external navigation entitled to very minute attention. S. Amoretti, the librarian of the Embrosian library at Milan, has touched upon the former in his "*Viaggio de Milano a tre Laghi, &c.*" "*Journey from Milan to the three Lakes, Major, Lageno, and Como, and the surrounding Mountains.*" His maps are clear and well designed, and his description of the lakes and rivers appears to be accurate as well as entertaining. Upon the latter subject we ought not to suppress from our notice "*The Journal of Andrew Ellicott, late Commissioner on behalf of the United States, during the Years 1796—1800, for determining the boundary between the United States and the Possessions of his Catholic Majesty in America.*" This work is replete with maritime observations of high interest and importance. The route pursued by Mr. Ellicott was from Philadelphia to Pittsburg, on the Ohio, the

extent of which river he coursed till its junction with the Mississippi: thence to Nanchez, whose inhabitants are described at some length, and apparently with much fidelity; from Nanchez to New Orleans, the island and city of which, it seems, forms no part of the territory ceded by France and Spain to North America; and from New Orleans along the guideline on the Mobile, through Pensacola, to the Chattahoochee. Our traveller lastly descended the river St. Mary, and returned home by the Carolinas. We have been particular in delineating this route, because it is little known to our English geographers; and a consultation of the book that contains it may furnish our chartists with much accuracy, as well as many valuable hints. Indeed we have seen no transatlantic maritime journal possessed of any thing like the merit of the present, since the publication of Mr. Mackenzie's *Voyage and Discoveries*. The following account of a symbolic intercourse between Mr. Nolan, who accompanied our author from New Madrid to Massao, and certain wild hordes of American Indians, whose oral language has never been studied by Europeans, is too curious to be prætermitted. Such a language by signs might in all probability be perfected by a little attention, and rendered highly useful to mankind at large. "While in our camp he observed a number of Indians who were from the west side of the Mississippi, and spoke to them in the several languages with which he was acquainted; but they could not understand him: he then addressed them by signs, to which they immediately replied, and conversed some time with apparent ease and satisfaction. This was



the first time I had either seen or heard of this curious language; and, being led by curiosity to speak to Mr. Nolan upon the subject, he informed me that it was used by many nations on the west side of the Mississippi, who could only be understood by each other in that way; and that it was commonly made use of in transacting their national concerns. A vocabulary of part of this curious language has been sent to the American Philosophical Society, by William Dunbar, esq. of the Mississippi territory and contains a much more particular account of it than I could give." Before we quit the department of geography we will mention that Mr. Pinkerton's valuable work upon this subject has been re-edited in Philadelphia, and with very considerable additions and improvements in those articles that relate to the United States, and the American continent at large, through the assistance of Dr. Barton, to whose abilities we have already paid a due tribute of respect: that in Germany new and very amended editions, including the latest discoveries, have appeared of the geographies of Fabri and Gaspari: and that at Paris a good geographic and statistic atlas of France, divided into its hundred-and-eight departments, arranged alphabetically, has been published under the direction and superintendence of the Messieurs Brion, father and son; while M. Mentelle, of the national institute, continues his voluminous work entitled "The Mathematical, Physical, and Political Geography of every Part of the World." This last is published in numbers, which have already completed not less than *eighteen* volumes, 8vo. independently of a supplementary atlas, which is in folio. It ap-

pears to possess the merit of accuracy and great research.

In the class of astronomy we observe that M. Burja has published the fourth volume of his comprehensive and valuable "Course" of this science: that M. Von Zach has opened a "Monathliche Correspondenz," for the purpose of circulating the earliest intelligence of all astronomic discoveries; which has the prospect of being ably conducted, and amply enriched from many of the best sources: and that baron Von Zach, director of the royal and endowed observatory of Seeburg, near Gotha, has presented to the public a very able and elaborate work in his "Astronomische der Sonne in Zeit, sur Verwandlung der Sternzeit in Mittlere Sonnenzeit," "Astronomic Tables of the mean and direct Ascension of the Sun in Time, for the Purpose of changing Stellar into mean Solar Time." To these solar tables are appended two supplements, and a catalogue of the fixed stars as completed in 1792, after minute attention to them for several years.

The department of architecture and perspective do not appear to have been much enriched by any distinct labours directed to them during the period before us; yet we perceive many valuable hints communicated in the "Sammlung Nützlicher aufsätze und Nachrichten der bankunst betreffend," "Collection of useful Tracts and Intelligence relative to the Science of Architecture," published annually by the royal board of architecture at Berlin; the communications of which have now extended to a fifth volume.

Military tactics have been far more productive. We cannot stay to notice all the publications on this subject which have fallen with-



in the range of our acquaintance. The following, however, we must not omit: "The Memorial Topographique, et Militaire, &c." "A Topographic and Military Memoir, published by the *Dépôt de la Guerre*." It is a periodical work, and the number before us, the first, contains various important contributions. A journal of this kind, properly conducted, might surely be successful at the present moment in our own country. Col. Von Gross has given us a treatise "*Über die Höhere Taktik*," "On Superior Tactics;" meaning the higher and more important branches of the science, in which, from an able survey of the military transactions of the last war, he points out a variety of changes which appear to have become ab-

solutely necessary. M. Seume, formerly an officer in the Russian service, already known by the production of several useful treatises, has in some measure followed the example of M. Mongéz, of the national institute, with respect to naval tactics, and in a dissertation, "*Über die Bewaffnung*," recommended the reintroduction of many of the weapons of the ancients. Count de Rocheaymont has written a useful elementary book, entitled "*Introduction à l'Etude de l'Art de la Guerre*;" and professor Helwig of Brunswick, a more scientific and elaborate performance, which he has denominated "*Kriegspiel*," or "The Game of War;" a performance which extends to the whole scale of its operations, as well defensive as offensive.

### CHAPTER III.

#### MORAL AND POLITICAL.

"**O**RIGINES Gauloises, celles des plus anciens Peuples de l'Europe puisée dans leur vraie Source," "Origin of the Gaulois, the most antient of the European Tribes, drawn from unquestionable Authority, by Latour d'Auvergne-Corret, chief Grenadier of the French Republic." This is a posthumous work; for the author, or pretended author, was killed in the battle of Eberkausen in 1800. The people to whom it refers are the Bas-Bretons, or inhabitants of Lower Bretagne, in the north-west corner of France, and were united to the French crown in 1532. There is no doubt that they were originally a branch of the common

family of the Cymri, who are generally supposed to have descended in a direct line from Gomer, whose name is easily convertible into this patronymic appellative. It is truly extraordinary, however, that the Lower Bretons constitute the only remain of a Cymric lineage on the continent: and it is hence doubtful whether this part of France was first peopled from Wales or Ireland, or afforded migrations to the two latter countries as from a parent stock. There is much fancy in the book before us, and but little substantial fact; and what is of more consequence, there is much error and confusion of tongues and nations. The writer has read



about scalds and bards, about Ossian and the Edda, about Erse and Runic, Scandinavian and Gaëlic; but he has confounded the whole of his reading and researches in the most extraordinary manner we have ever met with. It possesses a vocabulary of simple Bretagne terms which seems, in a considerable degree indeed, to be drawn up from Pelletier, but is nevertheless useful in the way of comparison: against these simple terms, in the opposite column of the page, runs an equal vocabulary of Hebrew, Syriac, or Chaldaic words, from which the author supposes the former to be deduced; and in many instances it is probable he is correct.

A subject somewhat similar, but in many respects more comprehensive and elaborate, has been pursued by M. Picot, professor of history and statistics in the Genevan academy, under the title of "*Histoire des Gaulois, &c.*" "*History of the Gauls from their Origin, till their Intermixture with the Franks, and the Commencement of the French Monarchy.*" The Gauls, properly so denominated, were a savage race occupying the central parts of France in a diagonal line, stretching from the Alps to the mouth of the Loire; towards the southern provinces dwelled the Aquitani or Basques; the quarter of the Lower Bretons we have already designated; while the Franks, who imposed a new name and race of kings on antient Gallia, were seated along the Rhine and throughout Flanders. Our author has not entered into this geographic detail of the position of the different aboriginal tribes, so necessary to be exhibited in a work of this nature. In other respects, however, his labours will be found

highly useful, and indeed satisfactory; and especially in relation to the original customs, laws, religion, government, and language of the country. It extends to three volumes, 8vo.

M. Amheillon, one of the ablest contributors to the memoirs of the national institute, is engaged in continuing M. Lebeache's "*History of the Lower Empire, from the reign of Constantine the Great.*" Five-and-twenty volumes of this work are now published; but several yet remain to complete the design, as it has at present but barely reached the commencement of the republican form of government; and has consequently to record the splendours of the illustrious house of the Buonapartes.

M. Chateau, the translator of Blair's *Chronological Tables*, has published an able work, entitled "*The Science of History, containing a general System of the Knowledge which ought to be attained previously to the Study of History.*" Many of our modern historiographers would do well to consult it. From the pen of Vau blanc we have received the first volume of his "*Rivalry of France and England, from the Conquest of the Island by William Duke of Normandy, till the Rupture of the Treaty of Amiens on the Part of England (par l'Angleterre).*" It is enough to copy this title to show that the work it announces is expressly designed to exhibit an Anti-anglican spirit; a spirit which, in truth, is admirably sustained through almost every page we have glanced at. M. Lorio Ballors has given a more liberal performance in his "*Annals of French and Foreign Statistics;*" which, though far from being accurate in every point, contains a considerable por-  
tion



tion of genuine and valuable information. As does also M. Toulangeon's "History of France, from the Revolution of 1789;" which is unquestionably one of the best publications to which the eventful epoch referred to has yet given birth.

"Histoire de Flibustiers, &c.," "History of the Bucaniers or Freebooters." This volume is translated from the German of M. d'Archenholtz, whose work has escaped our notice. The stock from which these filibustiers or freebooters originated, is to be found in the hunters of wild cattle in what was then Hispaniola, has since been St. Domingo, and is now the empire of Hayti: they were chiefly Normans, and accustomed to the rudest and most uncivilised manner of life. They were driven from their central possession of the island by the Spaniards, and were hence induced to engage in some other occupation. They accordingly confederated into a fraternity of pirates, and the coasts which they visited in their more early excursions were those of Cumana, Carthagena, Porto-Bello, Cuba, and New Spain: they were assisted occasionally by the French and English, when at war with his most Catholic majesty, and often, in their various exploits, exhibited the most surprising energies both of body and mind; and their singular achievements, if they do not deserve the admiration of mankind, cannot be perused without the utmost astonishment. They were at length extirpated from the American seas and West Indian islands, chiefly by an English fleet under admiral Vernon; and many of them suffered death in Great Britain, to which they were transported, for piracy. The history before

us affords an able and comprehensive account of this extraordinary fraternity.

From the Vienna press we have received M. Reisser's "Geschichte der Oesterreichischen Monarchie," "History of the Austrian Monarchy;" a monarchy that now exists no longer, having been merged into the vaster political gulf of an *empire*. The present work, though the tramels of a spirit in some degree subjected to the *powers that are*, are at times too obvious, will always be useful in informing the world of the *powers that have been*. The "Geschichte des Oriets," "Antient and Modern History of the East," of M. Brehme, is chiefly designed for the explanation of the sacred scriptures; but in this country is considerably superseded by the labours of Mr. Harmer, and other biblical expositors of similar application. In Germany it may still have its use. The interesting republic (if so it may yet be called) of Switzerland has been largely celebrated by the pen of history. M. Meister, in his "Helvetische Geschichte," has written its history during the last two thousand years: independently of a separate work, entitled "History of the late Swiss Revolution:" while M. Zschökke has engaged in a similar undertaking, and with considerable success, in his "Memorabilia" of the Helvetic Revolution. A "History of Sweden" has been composed with equal comprehension of plan and energy of diction, by M. Ruhs, of Greisswald: while M. Jekel has directed his labours, and not in vain, to a "History of Poland, anterior to its degrading Partition." The histories of distinct German principalities and electorates are too numerous for quotation: we shall therefore only observe, that a

"Compendium



"Compendium of the History of the German Empire at large," has been offered to the world by M. Breyer, of Jena; and a broad sketch of the history of the moral and political cultivation of Europe, more especially including the German empire, by M. Arnt, in his "Germanien und Europa."

Our tours, travels, journeys, and local descriptions are nearly innumerable; and it is difficult, confined as we are to such narrow limits, to attempt even a selection of what is before us. Professor Link, we perceive, has published a third volume of his well known "Travels through France, Spain, and a part of Portugal;" M. Fischer, who is also equally celebrated in our own country for his travels towards the same quarter, has likewise added another volume to his former work. M. Seume has given a picturesque and humorous "Walk (Spaziergang) to Syracuse," by the way of Prague, Vienna, Trieste, and Rome. The past and present state of Italy has been ably and accurately detailed in a periodical work by M. M. Rehfuß and Tschernen, who have lately visited it. M. Campe has published a "Tour through France and England," in which he at length pays that tribute of merit to the latter country which he withheld in a former work. M. Wichelhausen, who formerly practised physic at Moscow, has given us some instructing "Outlines" towards a picture of this city; which, at the same time combines much genuine and important information concerning the Russian empire at large; and M. Muller, another Russian physician, in his "Reise von Vollhynia nach Cherson," has communicated, in a lively and

agreeable manner, the incidents of a "Journey from Vollhynia to Cherson," performed in the year 1787.

In the "Quadro Storico di Milano," "Historic Picture of Milan antient and modern," we possess an useful introduction to all that is worthy of notice in this interesting city; as well in relation to its historic annals, as its present monuments, population, and public establishments.

The French tours and travels are nearly as numerous as those of Germany: but the most splendid which has reached us is M. Sköldebrand's "Voyage picturesque au Cap Nord," "Picturesque Tour to the North Cape," in 2 vols. large folio, embellished with various apparently very accurate maps and charts, and an abundance of exquisite engravings, in aquatinta, of the most interesting views in Sweden. It is curious to reflect, that of the different histories the republic of letters is yet possessed of these northern regions, the one has now been printed in *France* by a resident *German*; and the other in *England* by a resident *Italian*, we mean M. Acerbi. M. Bory de St. Vincent has published a quarto volume of "Essays on the Fortunate Islands, and the antient Atlantides; or a Summary of the general History of the Archipelago of the Canaries," being the result of observations made in the course of a voyage to the quarter in question; in which he allows himself as large a latitude of fancy as ever fell to the share of his learned and ingenious countryman M. Baillie upon the same subject, and offers an hypothesis equally untenable, and far less satisfactory. *If*, in reality, these wretched spots of barren earth constituted the antient Hesperides,



perides, and Elysian Fields, they must have sustained a change even greater than that supposed by volcanos in the book before us. But we believe we have yet to learn the actual site of Mount Atlas, and the golden gardens of the Hesperides. The volume is enriched with three moderate charts, and seven tolerable engravings. M. Bory has also favoured us with the result of his "Travels in the four principal Islands of the African Seas," in 3 vols. 8vo. and illustrated with fifty eight quarto plates, from drawings taken on the spot. These travels were performed by order of the French government in the years 1801, 1802, and contain a narrative of the passage of capt. Baudin to Port Lewis, in the Mauritius. The remarks on the natural history of the islands visited, are, in many respects, valuable; and particularly the botanical observations. M. Bourgoing's "Tableau de l'Espagne Moderne," long since translated into our own tongue, has reached a third, and very considerably corrected and improved edition. M. Fischer's "Travels" to the same country have also been rendered into French, and published as a companionable, but successive work to the above of M. Bourgoing: and the very excellent and valuable "Voyage to Iceland," undertaken, a few years since, by a society of literati, at the express command of the prince of Denmark, has been ably translated into the same language, in five volumes octavo, by M. Gauthier de la Peyronie, whose abilities the world has already estimated by his prior version of the Travels of M. Pallas.

The American press, in Mr. Adams's "Letters on Silesia, written during a Tour through that

Country in the Years 1800, 1801," has presented a work that may vie with many in the same line on this side the Atlantic. Mr. Adams is the eldest son of the late president of the United States; his letters are addressed to his brother Mr. Thomas Boylston Adams, at Philadelphia, and at the time of undertaking the tour they describe, he was minister plenipotentiary from the United States to the court of Berlin. We find nothing in them of a diplomatic tendency, with respect to modern affairs; little of a statistic nature; in both which respects we confess we have been considerably disappointed. But they offer a fair representation of the country traversed; and have occasional references to its civil establishments, as well as its situation both before and since the conquest of Frederic William. A hurried outline, indeed, of Silesian history is attempted in the second part of the letters; but it is chiefly drawn up from Kloeber. We have also received from the same quarter a volume of "Letters from London," written by Mr. Austin, during the two preceding years, in which the author was a resident in the British metropolis. They are sprightly, diversified, and by no means illiberal: and cannot fail of having been an acceptable present to the transatlantic circulating libraries. That we may not have to recross the Western ocean in the course of the present chapter, we shall add here, that in the department of law, Mr. Bayard, a barrister of acknowledged abilities, has drawn up an "Abstract of the Laws of the United States," which relate chiefly to the duties and authority of the judges of the inferior state-courts, and the justices of the peace throughout the Union;



Union;—a work much wanted, and well executed, and ably illustrated by extracts from the law-books of England.—And that Judge Cranch, of the circuit court of the district of Columbia, has published the first volume of his “Reports of Cases adjudged in the Supreme Court of the United States, in August and December Terms 1801, and February Term 1803.” We trust so valuable a work will be persevered in. The department of trade and commerce offer us nothing of particular moment. An anonymous “Essay on the manufacturing Interest of the United States,” is the best which has reached us upon this subject; but it is by no means a masterly performance.

The department of politics and statistics on the continent has been chiefly occupied with publications of temporary importance and duration; and especially in France. We have met with some, however, of a different description, or whose intrinsic merit entitles them to distinct enumeration. Of this class are the following “*Caractere des Armées*,” &c. “Character of the different Armies of Europe in the present War; with a political parallel between the Power and the Resources of the Romans and French.” This little volume has been sufficiently called for to be both re-imprinted, and translated into English, in our own metropolis.—“*Precis Historique*,” &c. “Historical Summary of the French Revolution,” by M. Lacretelle, jun.; an accurate and impartial statement, developing several facts but little known even in this late hour of the day. “*Statistique Générale et Particulière*, &c.” Statistic History both General and Particular of France and its

Colonies,” by a society of men of letters and science. Published by P. E. Herbin, 7 vols. 8vo. with an Atlas in 4to. Bulky as this work is, we have perused it, and with considerable satisfaction; it offers, in plain language and scientific arrangement, a topographical, physical, agricultural, political, æconomical, and commercial description of what is now the French empire. A list of M. Herbin’s coadjutors is prefixed, and they are all men whose names are well known to the literary world. From Germany we have received M. Sörgel’s “*Geschichte des Verunglückten*,” &c. “History of the Destruction of the Balance of Power;” a useful work, though chiefly a compilation. M. von Proff’s treatise “On the Separation of the legislative and executive Powers;” and a valuable posthumous work by M. Hippel of Königsburg, “On Legislation and the Prosperity of States.” M. Schram is also entitled to the notice and gratitude of the public for his dissertation “On the Reformation and Improvement of public Schools, in a moral, literary, and political point of View.”

In juridical science M. Fluerbach has published a valuable volume of “*Civilistische Versuche*,” “Essays on Civil Law;” M. Thiebaut a highly useful “*System des Pandecten-rechts*,” “System of Pandect-Law;” and M. Almendingen a book of elaborate and comprehensive “Enquiries relative to the Nature and Principle of Criminality in civil Societies; and of the Proportion which Punishments ought to bear to Crimes,” in which various of the opinions of M. Fluerbach are ably attacked, and sometimes proved erroneous. France, amongst a vast multiplicity of works



works upon the same subject, has produced the first twenty numbers of the "Bulletin de l'Institut de Jurisprudence," &c. "Journal of the Institute of Jurisprudence and political Economy," a work of considerable extent, and profound indagation. We shall revert to it when it has made a further progress, M. Rayneval has given us a new edition of his "Institutions of the Law of Nature and Nations," a book well worth perusing by every civilian: and M. Le Gin has undertaken an "Analyse Raisonnée," &c. "A correct Analysis of the Law of France; with a Comparison of it to the Roman Law, the Custom of Paris, and the New Code." This work is to be periodical; one volume of it has only hitherto appeared, and it seems to prove the writer well qualified for his task.

Few men have laboured more severely of late years in the recondite science of ethics and metaphysics than M. Degerando. His elaborate and well digested work upon the antient systems of philosophy we have already had occasion to notice; and our attention is now called to his treatise "De la Generation des Connoissances Humaines," "On the Origin of Human Understanding;" a treatise which we cannot but commend, on account of the accuracy of its reasonings, as well as the justness of its conceptions, although we occasionally have the misfortune to deviate from the author in *limine*.—Aware, as we have long been, of the tendency of the more fashionable opinions lately encouraged among the German theologians, we were not prepared to ex-

pect a new version of the works of Spinoza, from the divines of the university at Jena; yet thus it has been, for professor Paulus has completed the undertaking, and thought that he could not be engaged in a more useful employment.

Education is a science which has of late been much studied on the continent. M. Schwartz's "Erziehungslere," or "Science of Education;" and M. Stephani's "System of Public Education," are both books of considerable merit. The opinions of M. Kant upon this important subject have been carefully collated and published by Dr. Rink, under the title of "F. Kant über Pädagogik:" while the ideas of Fichte have been communicated to the public, in some degree in a state of opposition to the former work, by M. Johannsen, in his treatise "Über das Bedürfniss und die Möglichkeit," &c. "On the Want and Possibility of a Science of Pædagogics." In France one of the most useful works we have met with upon the same subject, though regarded in a different point of view, is "La Gymnastique de la Jeunesse," &c. "Gymnastics for Youth, or an Elementary Treatise on those Amusements which contribute to the exercise of the body considered in respect to their physical and moral utility;" by M. M. Durivier and Jauffret. M. Melchior, of Copenhagen, has published a judicious work, entitled "Comparatio inter commoda," &c. "Comparison of the Advantages and Disadvantages resulting from public and private Education," in which he thinks the choice must depend upon relative circumstances.



## C H A P. IV.

WE begin, as in our domestic retrospect, with the labours of the literary societies. The activity of the French National Institute appears to be in some measure impeded by the renewal of hostilities. We have already entered into a brief statement of its constitution, and division into three classes, of physical and mathematical, moral and political, literary and polite. Without entering into a catalogue of the different articles contained in the volume for the year, before us, published by each of these departments, we shall only observe, that two of the most entertaining or important appear to us to be the Memoir presented by a committee of the first class, consisting of M. M. La Place, Rochon, and Levesque, containing "Observations important to be made on the tides, in the different parts of the Republic;" and that presented by M. Le Breton, perpetual secretary of the third class, containing a general "Notice of its Labours."

The very able contributors to the "Annales de Chymie" have published their forty-seventh volume, which extends to No. 150; many of the articles are of peculiar importance: the best, as it appears to us, are those by M. Klaproth and M. Parmentier.

The Emulative Medical Society of Paris (Société Médicale d'Emulation) has published the fifth volume of its labours, which, instead of being directed to medical subjects alone, strictly so called, embraces a much ampler field, and pursues every branch of science that is in the remotest degree connected with it. There are four excellent

memoirs in it on the climate of the Antilles belonging to France, by M. Cassan, and a valuable letter, one of the last of his writings, by M. Fontana, on the disease of corn, denominated *l'ergot*, as also on the *tremella*.

The annual volume of the Berlin society for natural history (Gesellschaft Naturforschender) has made its appearance, being the fourth in a regular series; but exhibits nothing that needs particular enumeration. The papers on Galvanism are of some importance towards this rising branch of modern experimental philosophy.

The Swedish academy (Svenska Akademien) has begun a republication of its labours in an octavo instead of a quarto form, for the sake of easier portability, and diminished expense. The first part of this new edition is the whole that has yet reached us: it contains the memoirs of the year 1786, the æra of its foundation. Whilst in this quarter of the continent, we will wander a few steps from our direct route to notice, that the indefatigable M. Olof, of Lindenberg, has at length published in quarto the first volume of his elaborate "Antiquitets Lexicon," "Dictionary of Antiquities," which is to contain a full account of the history, manners, institutions, religion, geography, coins, &c. of Greece and Rome. It will extend to at least five or six volumes, when completed.

The American philosophical society at Philadelphia has published the first part of the sixth volume of its "Transactions." A wide field is before it in the department of natural history and local geography,



phy, to which we trust it will turn its attention, rather than to subjects which have been satisfactorily discussed before, or may be, with perhaps better success, investigated by other societies. The historical society of the state of Massachusetts, has also published an additional volume, being the ninth, of its "Collections." It has now long set an example which we should like to see copied by other states of the American republic, as well in industry and judgment as in object of pursuit.

Without quitting this continent, we perceive, in the department of biography, several articles entitled to our attention. Of these, the first is "The Life of George Washington, Commander in Chief of the American Forces, &c. by John Marshall, Chief Justice of the Supreme Court of the United States." General Washington's papers have been intrusted for this purpose to the hands of Mr. Marshall very nearly from the period of his decease, and consequently the work before us has been long expected by the public. It is not, however, such as we could have exactly wished for. It is rather a history of the republic from its earliest rise than the biography of an individual. We well know the difficulty of separating the political transactions of the American states from the private life of its illustrious founder: it is necessary indeed that they should, *to a certain extent*, be associated: but what we object to, is the introduction of large masses of state papers and acts of congress, which might have been referred to alone, without being blended in the body of the work before us. To what extent a biography thus conducted may pul-

lulate we know not: two volumes are only yet before us, and they merely bring down the life of the general and the history of the republic to the year 1776.—"The Life of General Hamilton" has been cursorily given by a variety of biographers, and in a variety of shapes: of these *éloges*, Dr. Mason's appears to be the most accurate and elegant that has hitherto fallen into our hands. "The Life and Military Achievements of Toussaint Louverture, late General in Chief of the Island of St. Domingo," has also been published anonymously upon a small scale, but in strong impressive language, and with a view of exposing the deep criminality and perfidy of the French government. We believe it to be chiefly compiled from a similar work printed about three years since in our own country.

The late venerable and unfortunate chief pontiff has found an able biographer in S. Farrari, who had antecedently proved his abilities for this line of composition in his *Lives of the Popes Clement XIII. and XIV.*, as also in various memoirs of the literati of the university at Padua. The work before us is in one volume, quarto, in the Latin language; and is designed as a continuation of Sandini's *Lives of the Popes*: it is however composed in far purer diction,—a diction indeed which may be truly styled classical. M. Moneron, already known to the world as an ardent admirer of English poetry, by his version of *Paradise Lost*, has now evinced a still stronger attachment to it by a "Life of its Immortal Author." The work is, for the most part, a judicious abridgment of Mr. Hayley's *Biography*. The eventful "Life of the



the Countess de Barré;" whose beauty and debauchery contributed so much to the general immorality of the court of Lewis XV., who from a workhouse became all *but* a queen, and died upon the scaffold for theft, has been detailed at considerable length by M. Favrolle, and occupies four volumes in twelves: while M. Fortunée Briquet, of the society of belles lettres and the athenæum of arts at Paris, has compressed into one volume, octavo, entitled "Dictionnaire Historique, Litteraire, et Bibliographique," "The Lives of all the French Women, as well as of Foreign Females naturalized in France, who have become celebrated by their Writings, or by the Patronage they have afforded to Men of Letters, from the Establishment of the Monarchy to the present Times." It is a sprightly sketch, and may be conveniently as well as pleasantly referred to.

B. Kant has been *biographized*, if we may be allowed the term, by various of his friends and pupils, and in a manner not often attempted among ourselves. Borowsky, Jachman, Woskiansky, and Kelch, have all tried their rival powers upon the same subject; while the last, with a view of triumphing over all his competitors in minuteness of detail, has given an analysis of his skull, upon the cranioscopic theory of Dr. Gall. M. Reuss, librarian of the Göttingen university, has followed up his "Gelehrtes England," or, "Literary England," by a supplement, in two volumes, entitled "Alphabetical Register of all the Authors in Great Britain and in the United Provinces of North America, with a Catalogue of their Works." M. Schlichtegroll still continues his "Necrolo-

gy and Biography:" the former is now nearly completed, extending to the close of the nineteenth century; while the latter, which comprises the more eminent or select characters alone, and is not designed to extend higher than to the beginning of the seventeenth century, has received about half its finish. M. Meusel has published a supplementary volume to his "Gelehrtes Deutschland," or "Literary Germany," including the *living* writers, and an account of their works; as also two additional volumes, making the fourth and fifth, of his "Lexicon of German Writers who died between the Middle of the Eighteenth and the Close of the Nineteenth Century."

Hungary, though not much enriched within the period of our lucubrations by individual biographies, is neither altogether deficient in this branch of literature, nor in its sister classes of antiquity and philology. M. M. Thibolt and Denis, in their "Catalogus Bibliothecæ," &c. "Catalogue of the Hungarian Library of Francis Count Szechenyr," of which only the first two parts of the first volume of this very extensive work are yet published, propose to give notices of all the Hungarian writers, as well as of all the works that even briefly or remotely relate to this kingdom. The preface to the volume before us, drawn up exclusively by M. Denis, is written with singular excellence and precision. M. Schedius, in his "Zeitschrift von und für Ungarn," "Journal of Hungary," has opened a miscellaneous work of great talent as well as of a very extensive field, so far as we can judge from the first two volumes, which are the whole that has yet reached us. It is for the

most



most part, however, confined to Hungarian literature, although it allows to this its utmost latitude. A periodical work for speculative literary opinions has been opened by M. Sandor, of Raab, under the title of "Sokfélé Iras egybeszedte Sandor István:" from the merit of the first eight numbers we hope it will prove successful. M. Schoenwiesner, in his "Notitia Hungaricæ," &c. "Dissertation on Hungarian Coins and Medals from the earliest Period of the History of the Country to the present Time," has rendered an essential service to the numismatic antiquary:—the work is full and recondite. We perceive that a translation of the *Lælius* of Cicero; or Book on Friendship, has been ably translated into the Hungarian language by M. Virag, of Pest: who has also attempted the "Horatius Poetikaga," "Poetics of Horace," with a spirit and classical attention to the true rhythm of the Hungarian tongue, which cannot but induce us to wish that this elegant poet would add to the art of poetry, the Odes, Satires, and Epistles of the same exquisite writer. We will here mention, as we have omitted to do so in their proper place, that M. Horvath has published an able work, at Presburg, on the "Statistics of the Kingdom of Hungary and the Countries annexed:" M. Schwandter, a valuable "Introduction to the Diplomatic Transactions, principally Hungarian, of the Middle Age:" and M. Winterl, of Buda, an "Introduction to the Chemistry of the Nineteenth Century;" which evinces a competent knowledge of the improvements which have of late years been introduced into this science.

While in this quarter of the European

continent, we will notice also, that M. Stall, of Ofen, has at length published the first part of his Latin, Italian, and Illyrian Dictionary, which has occupied in its preparation not less than forty years of his life; that the work is printing at the expense of the university of Ofen; and that the author, who is now at Vienna, has been fortunate enough to obtain a pension from the Emperor. The dictionary follows the Illyrian language through its various dialects of Servia, Bosnia, Bulgaria, Croatia, Slavonia, Carniola, and the Windisch: but does not at all times sufficiently discriminate. Neither ought we to omit observing, that in his "Musa se Slowenskych," "Muse of the Slavonian Mountains," the author, M. Palkovitz, has begun a work which we trust he will be induced to continue. His poetry is truly pleasing and euphonous: and the dialect employed being equally related to the Bohemian and Slavonian, it may be perused with equal ease by both countries.

Returning to Germany, we perceive that, in the mixt branches of philology and antiquity, M. Gräter, of Leipsic, under the title of "Bragur," has commenced a valuable periodical work, containing the mythology and philological antiquities of the Gothic nations. M. Kaiseren has produced a "History of Chivalry," which cannot fail of affording entertainment and instruction: a second volume has been added to the "Mythological Dictionary" of M. M. Böthjer and Majer: M. Schleyermacher, professor at Halle, has commenced a translation of the entire works of Plato. M. Böttiger, in a work entitled "Sabina, oder Morgensche-



nen in dem Puzzimer einer Römerin," "Sabina; or Morning Scenes in the Dressing-room of a Young Lady," has also largely contributed towards an intimate knowledge of the private life of the Romans.

Homer, and most of the Greek dramatists have been either newly edited or commented upon. The best comments upon the former are those of Köppen; the best edition that of Göschen, of Leipsic, the editor of the splendid edition of Griesbach's New Testament. The Georgics of Virgil have been translated by M. Bock, who has nearly, if not altogether, rivalled the version of M. Voss. M. Alter has produced an elaborate "Treatise on the Tagalic Tongue;" M. Klaproth, of Weimer, a "Critical History of the Chinese Characters;" and M. Leichsteinstein, in his "Tentamen Palæographice-Assyrio-Persicæ," an ingenious, though not altogether satisfactory illustration of the nail-headed or Persipolitan characters.

Germany has given us this year no epic production: the best effusions in the different classes of odes, elegies, pastorals, &c. which have occurred to us are those of Lindenmeyer, Schlegel, and Rosegarten. The best dramatists, independently of those already known, who have increased their stock of productions, Rambach, Röchelitz Collin, and Ziegler. The best novelists, Gerber, Schilling, Schink, and Selbiger.

Notwithstanding the death of M. La Harpe, a thirteenth and fourteenth volume of his "Lycee," or, "Course of Antient and Modern Literature" have already appeared from his posthumous papers, and a fifteenth is yet to be added. The

splendid work of "Le Musée Français," of which we spoke in our last retrospect, is still continued with unabated ardour. M. d'Olivet, under the title of "Le Troubadour," has made a valuable collection of Occitanic or Troubadour poems of the thirteenth century; to which he has also subfixed a neat version.

Under the title of "Erotopsie," M. Petit-Radel has given us a critical history of the amorous or *erotic* poetry of the Greeks and Romans, of which he has translated into French the more voluptuous passages. The volume, it must be confessed, has its merit—and it must be confessed also, that it was only worthy of the author of "The Loves of Pancharis and Zoroa." M. Emenard has been better engaged in a didactic poem, in eight cantos, entitled "La Navigation," which has acquired, and deservedly so, much popularity: it is manly in its sentiments, learned in its references, and correct, fluent, and ornamented in its diction. We wish it every success. "La Guerre des Dieux," by M. Parny, is an heroic poem in ten cantos, possessed of no other merit than that of good versification. It oversteps all the bounds of religion, and even simple morality; and is merely adapted to a land of atheists and debauchees. We perceive among the translations, a version of "Hesiod's Shield of Hercules," by M. Bruguiere, rendered with less elegance than verbal correctness; and an anonymous version of the *Æneid*, to which we apprehend that the friends of the writer will not speedily advise him to subfix his name. The best dramatic pieces are "Pierre le Grand," a tragedy, in five acts, by M. Car-



tion-Nisas, which will probably be no longer exhibited; and "Le Séducteur Amoureux," by M. Longchamps, a rhyme-comedy, in three acts. The best novels are "Mémoires of Athanæsa," in four volumes, in twelves, by Mad. Guénard; "Le Philosophe de Charen-

ton," "The Philosopher of Charenton," by the author of la Gastronomie, a satirical production against the race of misanthropes and melancholy philosophers; and "La Veuve de Catane," by M. de Laumay.



# PRICES of STOCK for the Year 1804.

N.B.—The highest and lowest Prices of each Stock in the course of any Month are put down in that Month.

1804.	Bank Stock.	3 p. ct. red.	3 p. ct. cons.	4 p. ct. cons.	5 p. ct. Navy.	5 p. ct. 1797.	Long Ann.	Short Ann.	India Stock.	India Bonds.	S. Sea Stock.	Old Ann.	New Ann.	Exch. Bills.	Omni.	Irish 5 p. ct.	Imp. 3 p. ct.	Lottery Tickets.	Prizes.
Jan.	{ 155½ 145½	57 54½	56½ 54	73½ 70½	90 89½	95½ 90½	168 15½	37 3½	173½ 169	2 pr. 1 dis.		55½		3 1 pr.	5½ 2 pr.	84 81½	55½ 53½	20 0 17 9	98
Feb.	{ 155½ 151	53½ 51½	55 54½	73½ 71½	89 87½	94½ 92½	16½	3½	173½ 166½	2 pr. par.	61½ 59½	55½ 54½		3 1 pr.	2 4½ dis.	83	55½ 54½	17 7	98
March	{ 154 152½	56½ 55½	57½ 55½	73½ 72½	90½ 88½	94½	16½	3½	173 168½	1 pr. 3 dis.	63½ 61½	57½ 56	56½	2 pr. 1 dis.	¾ 3½ dis.	83½	56½ 54½	17 10	99½
April	{ 153 147	55½	56½ 54½		91 89½				170½ 167	par. 2 dis.	60½			1 pr. 2 dis.	1½ dis.	81½	55½ 55½	18 0 17 11	
May	{ 153½ 149½	56½ 54½	57 55½	72½ 71½	92½ 90½	95½	16½	3	172½ 170½	par. 2 dis.	61½			1 pr. 3 dis.	5 3½ pr.	85 82½	54½	25 0 18 0	98
June	{ 154½ 152½	55½ 54½		72½ 71½	92½	95½	16½	3	171 169½	1 4 dis.	60½	55½		1 5 dis.	4½ 2½ pr.	85 84½	54½ 53½		99
July	{ 157 154½	57½ 55½	58½ 56½	75½ 52½		98½ 96½	17½ 16½	3½	177 172	par. 3 dis.	63	56½ 55½		1 pr. 2 dis.	7½ 4½ pr.	86 84½	56½ 54½	17 17	99½
Aug.	{ 162	57½	58½ 56½	75½	92½ 91½	99½ 97½	17½	3½	177 175½	par. 2 dis.	62½ 61½	56½	56½	par. 2 dis.	7½ 6½ pr.	88½ 87½	56½	17 18	100
Sept.	{ 160½	57½	57½	75½	92½ 91½	99½	17½	3½	178 176	1 2 dis.	63 61½	57½	57½	1 dis.	7 6½ pr.		57½ 56½	18 0	
Oct.	{ 160	56½	57½	72½	90½				176½	par. 2 dis.		56½	56½	par. 2 dis.	7 5½ pr.	84½	56½	28 10 18 15	98
Nov.	{ 160½ 161½	57½ 56½	58½ 57½	74½ 72½	91½ 89½	99½ 97½	17 16½	2½	181 176	1 2 dis.		57	57½	1 dis.	8½ 6½ pr.	86½ 84½	56½	18 7	98½
Dec.	{ 168½ 166½	58½	58½	74½		99½ 98½	17	2½	182	1½ dis.	64½	58½ 57½	58½	1 2 dis.	9 8 pr.	87½ 86½	57½ 56½	18 11	100















